

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

A SCHOOL OF DESTINY



A School of Destiny

This is the dramatic story of Brigham Young University, founded by Brigham Young in 1875 with the simple instructions to Karl G. Maeser, a German convert to the Mormon faith who was to become its principal, "You should teach not even the alphabet or multiplication tables without the inspiration of the Lord. That is all. God bless you, good-bye." Founded as a private school in Provo, Utah, and dedicated to the standards and principles of the LDS Church, it struggled for 75 years during which it was threatened with being closed down on 21 recorded occasions.

In contrast to this humble beginning, Brigham Young University has now become the largest private university in the country, with a daytime attendance of 25,000 full-time students who come from every state of the union and 106 foreign countries. It is open to all races, faiths, and nationalities, and its student body includes over 8,000 young men and women who have given two years of their lives at their own or their parents' expense to take the gospel of Jesus Christ to more than 54 countries of the world. Its founding Church now maintains on campus 120 branches of the Church, which are operated conjointly with the University and each of which has a membership of approximately 200 students. Sunday is as busy for the campus as any day of the week. The school operates continuing education programs which include 300,000 students scattered throughout the United States and foreign countries. It has educational centers in Austria, France, Spain, Israel, and Mexico. Its sponsoring Church is now building a language training mission next to BYU which will utilize the University's resources to train 2,218 missionaries each year, making it one of the largest language training centers in the world.

An exciting account of the growth of a prominent American university dedicated to the principles of a sound Christian education, this book is well worth the reading.

Dust jacket illustration depicts, from right to left, Dallin H. Oaks, Ernest L. Wilkinson, Howard S. McDonald, Franklin S. Harris, George H. Brimhall, Benjamin Cluff, Jr., Karl G. Maeser, and Warren N. Dusenberry.

Dust Jacket

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Contents

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY A SCHOOL OF DESTINY

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Brigham Young University Press

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 76-10344
International Standard Book Number: 0-8425-0905-4
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Brigham Young University Press, Provo, Utah 84602
Printed in the United States of America
76 8M 17941

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Foreword

When Harvard College was founded in 1636, the Massachusetts colonists wrote, "After we had builded our houses, provided the necessities for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and to perpetuate it to posterity." The earliest statement of the educational aim of Harvard declares: "Everyone shall consider the main end of his life and studies is to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life."

The essential harmony of religion, education, and life was once generally accepted by Americans. Indeed, most institutions of higher learning in the United States began under religious auspices. Nine colleges were founded in the United States during the Colonial Period, and all nine were sponsored by Christian sects. These included Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. Church and public funds were used to support them.

During the 19th century, when education was becoming divorced from organized religion, when society and business were becoming secularized, Mormons in the Great Basin, instead of following the educational trend away from religion, were establishing a series of religiously oriented, church-sponsored academies, including Brigham Young Academy at Provo. These academies became an educational network which included Brigham Young University and its branch in Hawaii, Ricks Junior College in Idaho, schools in the Pacific and South America, and more than two hundred university-affiliated institutes of religion in the United States and abroad. These institutions provided the means for inculcating both the intellectual content of the gospel and a formula for personal and collective righteousness. Claiming to possess a body of doctrine based on divine revelation, the Mormon religion nonetheless represents an intellectual habit and discipline capable of logical demonstration and mental persuasion. It encourages devotional practice and a personal commitment. Mormons have always believed that piety and the exercise of the mind were entirely compati-

ble. The result has been that the Mormon university student is encouraged to view religious activity not just as an extracurricular activity added to his so-called secular studies, but as the central focus of his university experience, both academic and social.

One of the strengths of Brigham Young University has been the creativity implicit in the ever-recurring tension between academic excellence and religious training, between indoctrination and inquiry. This has encouraged scholarly and spiritual probing — a search for worldly truth and theological understanding — that has been healthy and productive for both students and faculty. From the beginning, Latter-day Saints were instructed to discover and nurture truth “by study and also by faith.”

This and also the four-volume history of BYU, entitled *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, abundantly illustrate the intimate relationship of religion to education and life among the Latter-day Saints. In each stage of the University’s development the Church has sought to maintain a faculty which would be at once a congregation of disciples and a community of scholars. Whether in science, the humanities and arts, or religion, teachers would be imbued by the spirit of God in all their instruction. This has been accompanied by a faith on the part of the Church that the students could accept moral direction without sacrificing intellectual vitality; that explicit, demanding religious commitments could be at the base of a genuine educational achievement; and that dedication to spiritual objectives could be combined with the pursuit of scientific, intellectual, and artistic excellence without detriment to either. The Mormon prophet Joseph Smith declared: “Man was created to dress the earth, to cultivate his mind, and to glorify God.”

That Brigham Young University is a school dedicated to the search after things “virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy” is illustrated by the fact that musical and dramatic productions are major events which are attended by as many students as attend athletic contests; that modest standards of dress and grooming have been maintained, even in recent years; that 12-stake religious firesides held once a month draw an average attendance of 18,000 members of the BYU community; and that as many students actively participate in church activities on Sunday as attend classes during any day of the week. More than 100 separate branches (congregations) of the LDS Church are operated on campus.

The Church has benefited from the aid of BYU faculty and graduates who have helped provide the professional expertise needed to develop and implement modern-day Church programs in such fields as curriculum planning, social services, internal communications, historical efforts, and the entire educational system.

When Brigham Young organized by a deed of trust in 1875 the educational institution which bears his name, the aim was to build a

school surpassed by none. During the first years of the school's existence, Brigham Young died, thus leaving to others the responsibility of carrying out his plans. Brigham Young Academy had to look for support to its students, its dedicated faculty, the faithfulness and effectiveness of its Board of Trustees, and the blessings of Almighty God. Until his death in 1895, Abraham O. Smoot, whom Brigham Young had sent to Provo to look after civic and church matters, took the responsibility of financing the Academy. After his death the First Presidency of the LDS Church assumed the main financial responsibility. They were assisted in the early years of the 20th century by Jesse Knight, a Mormon mining magnate.

During its early years the dominant educational force in the Academy was Karl G. Maeser, a superbly trained German-born convert to Mormonism who served as principal from 1876 to 1892. He was preceded by Warren N. Dusenberry, a popular teacher who was the first principal of the institution, and was succeeded by Benjamin Cluff, who was responsible for changing the name of the school from Brigham Young Academy to Brigham Young University. In 1895 the title of the executive officer was changed from principal to president. Presidents following those changes were George H. Brimhall, whose main emphasis was on the education of teachers; Franklin S. Harris, one of America's leading agricultural scientists, who organized the graduate school and gave the institution academic stature; Howard S. McDonald, who revived the University from the strains of the war years and started it on its new growth; Ernest L. Wilkinson, under whose direction BYU became the largest church-related and the largest private university in the nation with a campus of more than 100 buildings and a student body of more than 25,000; and Dallin Oaks, whose administration has pointed Brigham Young University in the direction of academic maturity and excellence.

The editor of both the four-volume and this one-volume Centennial History, former President of Brigham Young University, whose administration is discussed as a part of this history, is Ernest L. Wilkinson. Born in Ogden, Utah, son of a Scottish immigrant father and a mother who was of Danish descent, Ernest Wilkinson is a former student of BYU—a graduate of 1921. Editor of the school paper and president of his class, he met there Alice Valera Ludlow, who became his wife in 1923. The couple subsequently became parents of three sons and two daughters.

After teaching two years at Weber State College in Ogden, Wilkinson attended George Washington University Law School, graduating *summa cum laude*. He later went to Harvard, where he received the degree of Doctor of Juridical Science in 1927. While beginning his practice of law with the firm of Charles Evans Hughes in New York City, he served for five years as professor of law at the New Jersey Law School at Newark, then the largest law school in the nation. He also

functioned as a Mormon bishop during these years. Later he opened his own office in Washington, D.C., where he practiced law for 16 years. The most memorable case handled by his Washington law firm involved the Ute Indians. The evidence and testimonies totaled 34,000 pages of testimony and written material. One aspect of the case lasted 16 years, with Wilkinson representing the Utes in obtaining a combined judgment by settlement of \$32,000,000 — the largest judgment up to that time rendered against the United States in any court. While in Washington he was a counselor in the presidency of the Washington Stake and represented the Church on the National Commission of Army and Navy Chaplains.

In 1951 Wilkinson became President of Brigham Young University. In a period of 20 years he oversaw the construction of 80 major buildings, accumulated a superior faculty, and built the enrollment from less than 5,000 to more than 25,000. Wilkinson also served from 1953 to 1964 as chancellor of the Unified (LDS) Church School System. He was also active in business and political affairs. He served as president of the American Association of Presidents of Independent Colleges and Universities and in 1964 was Utah's Republican nominee for the United States Senate. He is the recipient of a number of honorary doctoral degrees. Prior to and upon his resignation from BYU in 1971, he played an active role in the establishment of the J. Reuben Clark Law School at Brigham Young University. He is still the senior member of the Washington, D.C., law firm of Wilkinson, Cragun and Barker, which he organized. During the past four years his work as editor of the four-volume and one-volume editions of the BYU Centennial History has occupied the bulk of his time and deserves the gratitude of all friends of Brigham Young University.*

Leonard J. Arrington, Church Historian
The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
September 1974

*With minor changes, this is the foreword to the four-volume history, which has been used with this one-volume edition by permission of Leonard J. Arrington.

Preface

Both the four-volume history and this one-volume edition tell the story of the strange and often incredible events which launched and fostered Brigham Young University during its first century of colorful existence. From the very beginning it has been a Cinderella story. The school was born in poverty, nurtured in conflict, orphaned by the death of Brigham Young before he had completed his endowment gifts, restricted and harrassed by Young's heirs who had veto power in administrative matters, left homeless when its uninsured building was completely destroyed by fire, threatened with faculty and administrative resignations because of irregular or missed salary payments, and nearly abandoned on many occasions because of lack of funds to carry on.

During its first 21 years the academy was a private school without a sponsor or means of support to finance its operation. It survived only because of the financial sacrifices made by its faculty and Board of Trustees and voluntary gifts from its friends and from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

In 1896 the school was incorporated as an educational subsidiary of the LDS Church, which assumed responsibility for its survival. But even then it had to compete with other Church schools for funds and recognition of its academic programs. It was still plagued by lack of funds to carry on. And even after it was taken over by the Church, serious consideration was given by certain Church leaders to curtailing its Program and permitting state institutions of higher learning to take over most of its functions.

All through the first two decades of the present century there was a constant struggle to obtain funds to survive. The serious economic depression of the early 1920s required the Church to close most of its academies, and the worldwide depression of the 1930s forced the Church to transfer all but one of its junior colleges to the states of Utah and Arizona. As late as 1945 a new President of the University, Howard S. McDonald, was asked to recommend whether the school should be continued.

The report of President McDonald in favor of its continuance and the greatly increased enrollment at the end of World War II seem to have ended any serious idea of closing the institution. Altogether between 1875 and 1945, because of financial and other pressures, serious consideration was given to either closing or sharply curtailing the activities of the University on 21 different recorded occasions. In the last 25 years so much progress has been made that it is inconceivable that anyone with ordinary vision in the school's early, struggling years could have foreseen the status of the school today.

BYU's present student body of over 25,000 in Provo makes it the largest private university in the nation. These students come from every state of the union and 106 foreign countries. Open to all races, faiths, and nationalities, its student body includes some 8,000 young men and women who have given two years of their lives at their own or their parents' expense in taking the gospel of Jesus Christ, as understood by the Latter-day Saints, to more than 54 countries of the world. During the academic turbulence and campus anarchy of the 1960s and early 1970s, BYU attracted national attention as an island of law and order. BYU students maintain high standards of dress, grooming, behavior, and respect for their country. Every day the national anthem is played as the American flag is raised and lowered on campus, during which time students all over campus stand at attention.

The LDS Church now maintains 120 branches (congregations) on the Provo campus, which are operated conjointly with the University, and each of which has a membership of approximately 200 active student members. Most of the officers come from the student body. In this way its students grow spiritually at the same time as they are growing intellectually. The campus is as busy on Sunday as any other day of the week. No other university in America provides this amount of religious training and activity.

Its continuing education program includes approximately 300,000 students scattered throughout the United States and in foreign countries, the largest program of its kind in the United States. This number includes students at educational centers in Austria, France, Spain, Israel, Mexico, and England.

In 1972 the University established the J. Reuben Clark Law School with an intended capacity of 500 students. It is already approaching its capacity, and was accredited by the American Bar Association at the end of its first semester.

The sponsoring church is now building a Language Training Mission (LTM) next to the Provo campus which will have a capacity to train 2,218 missionaries each year in 20 foreign languages. The LTM will be staffed largely by BYU teachers and students who are fluent in the languages, and the facility promises to become, in the words of the late Church President Harold B. Lee, the language training center of the world. The LTM will be completed this year, and consideration is

already being given to its enlargement to accommodate more missionaries and to teach a greater number of languages.

As the school enters its second century of operation, Brigham Young University trustees, administrators, faculty, staff, and students are enthusiastically working to fulfill the vision of John Taylor, third President of the LDS Church, who prophesied that the day would come when “Zion will be as far ahead of the world in everything pertaining to learning of every kind as we are today in regard to religious matters.”¹ Indeed, Brigham Young University may anticipate that through proper leadership, righteous deportment, and outstanding performance of its faculty and students, the University, under the leadership of the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve Apostles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, may fulfill the dream of Charles H. Malik, former president of the United Nations General Assembly, who voiced the fervent hope that some day “a great university will arise somewhere — I hope in America — to which Christ will return in His full glory and power, a university which will, in the promotion of scientific, intellectual and artistic excellence, surpass by far even the best secular universities of the present, but which will at the same time enable Christ to bless it and act and feel perfectly at home in it.”²

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1. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1855-86), 21:100.
 2. Charles H. Malik, “Education in Upheaval: The Christian’s Responsibility,” *Creative Help for Daily Living* 21 (September 1970): 10.

Editor's Introduction and Acknowledgments

To understand the history of Brigham Young University, one must understand the educational philosophy and practice of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, its sponsoring institution. That Church was named through direct revelation given to Joseph Smith (*see* Doctrine and Covenants, sections 20, 21, and 115). The overall beliefs of the Church are contained in four books called the standard works of the Church: the Bible, the Book of Mormon (1830), which is the record of a civilization that inhabited the American Continent from 589 B.C. to approximately A.D. 400 and which confirms the Christian beliefs of the Bible; the Doctrine and Covenants (1835), which is a record of divine revelations given to Joseph Smith, first President of the LDS Church; and the Pearl of Great Price (1851), which is a compilation of certain writings of Moses, Abraham, and Joseph Smith. The Church and the school are committed to the ideal of an all-embracing, inspiring Christian education. Secular education is considered a handmaiden of religion in the eyes of the Latter-day Saints. M. Lynn Bennion summarized this basic Mormon belief:

Mormon education embraces secular learning as a constituent part of universal truth, which emanates from a divine source. All education, therefore is religious and essential to progress. Even the vocational aspects of education are permeated with moral and religious aims. According to Mormon philosophy, the sciences have as their content the discovered truths of God and the humanities, at least theology, contain the revealed truths of God. This concept has given a tremendously broad scope to Mormon education, all of which serves a religious end. Education, therefore, from the Mormon viewpoint, must be mental, physical, moral, and spiritual. Any conflicts that may arise between science and religion are due to man's faulty or incomplete understanding of them. There can be no conflict between eternal truths. God is what He is because of the truth He possesses, and man, who is the spiritual offspring of God, may attain to the stature of Godhood

through knowledge of its divine use. This in fact is the goal of man: to follow in the footsteps of his Father.¹

This philosophy of Christian education has not been confined exclusively to the Mormons or to Brigham Young University. As late as 1953, in an address to the Association of American Colleges, M. E. Sadler, president of the association and president of Texas Christian University, urged a vigorous return to Christian education:

Certainly an educational institution cannot make itself meaningfully Christian by encouraging the establishment of any number of religious side shows around about its program. As a matter of fact, many thoughtful educational leaders wonder if the establishment of these peripheral religious projects has not dulled the conscience of some institutions and kept them from developing more fundamental programs.

The problem cannot be solved merely by adding a course here, or a department there, nor by having any number of prescribed chapel or so-called religious services. As I see it, the full solution of this problem involves a complete conversion, a new direction, a return to vital religion as the focal center of *all* sound education. It will not suffice to have religion merely as one stone in the total educational building. It must be the overreaching beam, the focalizing center, the permeating spirit, the uniting force which gives meaning and significance to *all* subjects and *all* courses. If God is the ultimate and controlling reality of life, learning is obviously inadequate unless it does confess Him as its Foundation.²

The difference between other universities committed to a Christian education (which are rapidly diminishing in number and importance) and Brigham Young University is that the Christian doctrines taught at Brigham Young include not only the teachings of the Bible but the corroborating teachings of the Book of Mormon and modern revelations given by the Lord to Joseph Smith, the first Mormon prophet, and to his successors. In this respect, Brigham Young University is unique among Christian universities, just as its sponsoring Church is unique among Christian churches.

This concept of a complete Christian education has been an inseparable part of the philosophy and practice of the LDS Church from its organization in 1830 and of the University since its founding in 1875. The Prophet Joseph Smith was an avid supporter of education, basing his commitment to education on revelations he received. A few of the more well known are

1. Milton Lynn Bennion, *Mormonism and Education* (Salt Lake City: LDS Dept. of Education, 1939), pp. 123-25.
2. M.E. Sadler, "Some Crucial Issues in Higher Education," *Association of American Colleges Bulletin* 39 (March 1953): 7-16.

The Glory of God is intelligence, or in other words light and truth (D&C 93:36).

It is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance (D&C 131:6).

A man is saved no faster than he gets knowledge, and if he does not get knowledge he will be brought into captivity by some evil power in the other world, as evil spirits will have more knowledge, and consequently more power than many men who are on earth (*History of the Church*, 4:588).

Whatever principle of intelligence we attain unto in this life, it will rise with us in the resurrection. And if a person gains more knowledge and intelligence in this life through his diligence and obedience than another, he will have so much the advantage in the world to come (D&C 130:18-19).

Both the four-volume and one-volume histories were written at the request of the President of BYU and its Board of Trustees to mark the University's Centennial year, which began in October 1975. The first two volumes of the larger work were written by Ernest L. Wilkinson, President Emeritus, and the last two volumes were jointly edited by Wilkinson and Leonard J. Arrington. Because the brevity of this volume will not permit the story of all phases of the 100-year history, this volume will sometimes refer to the four-volume history for more complete information.

The first draft of this one-volume history was made by W. Cleon Skousen, associate editor, to whom the editor is greatly indebted. It has been edited, reviewed, and in some cases revised by the Centennial History staff, particularly the editor, who takes full responsibility for its contents. Many others have assisted in the preparation of this one-volume history, especially Glenn V. Bird, Orson Scott Card, Linda Gravley, Roy K. Bird, Linda Lee, and Pamela Fugate. Edith Johnson was the head secretary in the preparation of this book. All of those who contributed in any way to the four-volume history, which, as indicated, has been used as a basis for this one-volume history, are also entitled to credit. The names of those making major contributions to the four-volume history will be given in the fourth volume of that edition, which will be published before the end of the Centennial year.

Ernest L. Wilkinson, President Emeritus
of Brigham Young University and
Editor of this volume

1

Utah Valley before BYU

Tourists motoring down the north-south axis of Utah find that barely twenty-two miles after leaving Salt Lake City the freeway winds around the point of a mountain and suddenly one of the most beautiful valleys in the state opens before them. This valley is virtually surrounded by mountains, with 11,750-foot Timpanogos (the “sleeping Indian princess mountain”) brooding over the valley on the east and mighty Mount Nebo crowning the horizon on the south. Over half of the valley is occupied by Utah Lake, some thirty miles long and thirteen miles wide, the largest body of fresh water in Utah.

About midway on the eastern side of the lake is the mouth of a swift mountain river — originally called the Timpanogos, but now named the Provo River — which surges out of Provo Canyon into the lake. Adjacent to this river and nestled snugly against the towering peaks of the Wasatch range lies the community of Provo, a beautiful, cloistered university town of approximately 60,000 people. This is the home of Brigham Young University, the school which has the largest single campus enrollment and the largest off-campus continuing education enrollment of any private university in the United States.

Nonresidents of Utah often associate Brigham Young University with Salt Lake City, the home of the University of Utah. Provo lies forty-five miles to the south, where peaks towering more than 7,000 feet above the valley floor, which is already 4,500 feet above sea level, providing Brigham Young University with one of the most dramatic and beautiful settings for a college campus in America.

Until settlers came to build farms and cities in Utah Valley, it was the annual gathering place for the fifteen to twenty thousand Indians of the intermountain region. When the Mormon pioneers arrived in March 1849, they accidentally built their first fort right in the middle of one of the Indians’ main campgrounds. They also found that the early spring rains caused the Provo River to overflow and flood their fields.¹

1. Grace Winkleman, ed., *Provo: Pioneer Mormon City* (Portland, Oregon: Binforde and Mort, 1942), p. 51.

For these two reasons they moved the townsite to a new location about two miles to the southeast, where Provo is presently situated.

This valley also attracted the Spaniards, who once intended to build a number of settlements. As early as the American revolutionary period, Spanish explorers were seeking an alternative route from Santa Fe to California which did not require them to trek across hundreds of miles of blistering desert. On 29 July 1776, Father Silvestre Vélez de Escalante set out with nine other Spaniards and several Indian guides to establish a Spanish trail from Santa Fe, New Mexico, up along the Colorado River and then westward to Monterey, California.² This is called the Spanish-Ute Trail. But Utah Valley is as far west as the Spanish party traveled. Father Escalante wrote in his journal,

There would be room in the valley for as many villages of Indians as there are in New Mexico. . . . The climate here is good, and having suffered so much from cold since leaving the river of San Buenaventura [Green River], we found this valley very comfortable both day and night. Aside from all these advantages, in the range that surrounds the valley there is plenty of wood and timber, plenty of shelter, water and grass, to raise herds of cattle and horses.³

During the next fifty years an occasional Spanish trading party entered the valley, but Indian hostility coupled with Escalante's inability to convince his superiors of the importance of establishing a mission on the Spanish Fork (just south of Provo but still in Utah Valley) discouraged the establishment of a settlement there.

The man who made the first permanent impact on the valley was a French-Canadian, Etienne Provost.⁴ He was originally given credit for discovering the great South Pass in 1823 when he was supposed to have led a troop of fur trappers into the Bonneville Basin for the Ashley-Henry Rocky Mountain Fur Company.⁵ However, subsequent research reveals that Etienne Provost was not with this company, but rather came into Utah Territory with a company of trappers from Taos, New Mexico.⁶ In the fall of 1824 Provost's company barely escaped being wiped out in a massacre on the shores of Utah Lake where he had agreed to smoke a peace pipe with the Utes:

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2. Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, "Diary and Travels," pp. 173-82; cited in Winkleman, *Provo*, p. 19.
 3. Escalante, "Diary and Travels," pp. 180-82; cited in Winkleman, *Provo*, p. 20.
 4. This spelling is the old French form. The modern French spelling is *Provot* with the *t* silent; hence the name *Provo* in its present phonetic, anglicized form.
 5. Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York: Rufus Rockwell Wilson, 1936), 1:269.
 6. Stella M. Drumm, "Etienne Provost," in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), 14:250-51; cited in Winkleman, *Provo*, p. 22.

At a preconcerted signal, the Indians fell upon them, and commenced the work of slaughter with their knives, which they had concealed under their robes and blankets. Proveau, a very athletic man, with difficulty extricated himself from them, and with three or four others, alike fortunate, succeeded in making his escape; the remainder of the party of fifteen were all massacred.

In spite of the fact that the very next year his partner, Le Clerc, was killed by the Indians,⁷ Provost maintained a foothold in the valley. Writers of the period assert that within a decade he had driven out most major competition and had become one of the foremost fur trappers in the entire region.⁸ Only when the fickle trends of fashion sent the price of pelts down to a dollar apiece did Provost abandon his role as one of the famous mountain men and return to his home base in St. Louis. He died on 3 July 1850 at the age of sixty-eight.⁹

Provost probably never knew that one year before his death the Mormon pioneers had expanded south from Salt Lake City and spilled over into Utah Valley where the name of Provost was and is still revered. Earlier, during the Spanish-trader days, the most-used place name in the valley had been *Timpanogos*.¹⁰ The Indians had given this name to their tribe, to the “sleeping Indian princess mountain,” to the lake, to the principal river feeding the lake, and to the canyon through which the river ran. But the Mormons changed nearly all of these names. They left the name of Timpanogos for the mountain, but the Indians became the Utes and the shimmering sheet of fresh water was designated Utah Lake. The river, the canyon, and the carefully laid out Mormon village were named after Provost: Provo River, Provo Canyon, and Provo City, now the most notable monuments to the memory of the famous mountain man.

If Brigham Young had followed the advice of Jim Bridger, Utah Valley might have become the capital of the Intermountain West. Bridger warned against the dry climate in Salt Lake Valley and urged the Mormon leader to settle further south around Utah Lake where there was “plenty of timber on all the streams and mountains and abundance of fish in the streams.”¹¹ Nevertheless, when on 24 July 1847 Brigham Young came out of the canyon to the east of Salt Lake Valley, he scanned the stunted sage brush (probably in most cases

7. Kansas Historical Society, “Records of the U.S. Superintendency of Indian Affairs,” St. Louis, Missouri, Vol. 6, setting forth the casualty list appended to John Dougherty’s report on the fur trade 25 October 1831. That this LeClerc was Provost’s partner is deduced from the time and circumstances of his death; cited in Winkleman, *Provo*, pp. 30, 192.

8. Winkleman, *Provo*, p. 31.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

10. J. Marinus Jensen, *History of Provo, Utah* (Provo: New Century Printing Co., 1924), p. 30. Timpanogos is an Indian word meaning *big rock water*.

11. Excerpts from William Clayton’s journal for 14 April 1847 to 25 July 1847 appear in *Heart Throbs of the West*, comp. Kate B. Carter (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1945), 6:292-95.

shadscale or salt-bush) and occasional trees which stretched away toward the salt sea in the distance and said, "It is enough. This is the *right* place. Drive on."¹²

Thus Salt Lake Valley became the headquarters of the new Mormon commonwealth, and Brigham Young waited nearly two years before he felt it was safe to establish a Mormon settlement in the more beautiful valley of the Ute Indians to the south. In fact, it was trouble with the Indians which led the Mormon leader to hasten the settlement of Utah Valley. In 1848 a small group of Mormons settled in northern Utah Valley. Early in 1849 a band of renegade Utes began stealing horses and cattle and shooting at some of the settlers. Hosea Stout wrote, "This little band had separated themselves from the rest because they were determined to live by stealing from the whites while the rest [of the Indians] were friendly and would not suffer it. They had for some time been very insolent and some of them had even shot at some of the whites."¹³

These depredations finally resulted in bloodshed at Battle Creek (Pleasant Grove) where four Indians were killed. Brigham Young was very displeased with this development and immediately dispatched a party of men to Utah Valley "for the purpose of farming, and fishing, and of instructing the Indians in cultivating the earth and teaching them civilization."¹⁴

John S. Higbee led thirty-three families into Utah Valley during March 1849 and set up the Valley's first real settlement.¹⁵ This colony began on a subsistence level, but within three months of their arrival their daylight-to-dark work schedule had brought 225 acres under cultivation.¹⁶

The first harvested bushel of wheat was rushed by horseback to Neff's gristmill in Salt Lake Valley to provide the first bread the colonists had eaten in four months.¹⁷ A sawmill and a gristmill were built, followed by a tannery. The people were so desperate for leather that they hacked their way up to Bridal Veil Falls to get pine bark for the tannery.¹⁸ So many of the people were barefoot that they could not wait for the leather to be properly tanned. It was taken from the vats half cured and made into shoes. Others made their boots out of green

12. Wilford Woodruff's description of Brigham Young's words, the only one on record, was given in a Pioneer Day address, 24 July 1880, which was published by the LDS Bureau of Information, Salt Lake City. The quotation is on p. 18, with italics added.

13. Hosea Stout journal, 8 Vols., original in possession of Mrs. L.S. Palmer, Salt Lake City, 4:94-97; cited in Winkleman, *Provo*, p. 42.

14. Winkleman, *Provo*, p. 44.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

17. Jensen, *History of Provo*, p. 39.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

hides with the hair on the outside to match their buckskin trousers. Their stockings were often made from old wagon covers.¹⁹ Shirts, coats, and caps were made of homespun — a coarse, hand-woven cloth with heavy, uncomfortable seams.

As soon as the settlers completed their new fort they began making plans for laying out the town. The city limits originally covered nearly sixty square miles, compared to the present size of about twelve square miles.²⁰ In the middle of their new fort the settlers built a commodious log schoolhouse. It was fifty feet in length and was used as a meeting-house, amusement hall, and school. The completion of this large log structure by a mere handful of colonists was considered such an achievement that Brigham Young came from Salt Lake City to dedicate it.²¹

During this early period there were many altercations with the Indians, but finally Brigham Young's policy of "feed them, don't fight them" provided a semblance of peace and permitted the negotiation of a trade agreement. A huge powwow was held in Provo during May 1850, and Brigham Young brought in 2,500 pounds of flour, meat, and other provisions for the occasion.²² This was by no means the end of Indian hostilities, but it stabilized the situation for a while.

When the settlers felt a degree of security, they moved out of the fort and built cabins along the east side of Main Street (now Fifth West). Soon a carding mill was built, and the first lime was mined and burned. A saddle and harness shop opened for business, and some ingenious fellows constructed a threshing machine. One day forty-two wagons came to Provo loaded with sugar manufacturing machinery which John Taylor, who later succeeded Brigham Young as President of the LDS Church, had managed to ship all the way from France. The machinery was soon hauled away, however, and taken back to Salt Lake City where it was set up in the area now known as Sugar House.²³

Provo grew rapidly during 1851, and in 1852 Brigham Young sent George Albert Smith, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, to preside over the stake in Utah Valley and supervise the settlements farther south. Elder Smith described the burgeoning pioneer communities:

The settlements extended in [Utah] County a distance of about fifty miles. The different branches are known as Mountainville [Alpine], Lehi City, American Fork, Battle Creek [Pleasant Grove], Provo City, Springville, Palmyra City [Spanish Fork], Payson, and Summitville [Santaquin].

19. Ibid., p. 41.

20. Ibid., p. 77.

21. Ibid., p. 61.

22. Winkleman, *Provo*, p. 61.

23. Jensen, *History of Provo*, pp. 62-63.

Considering the time it has been settled, and the number of inhabitants, Utah is one of the most flourishing counties in the world. . . .

Provo contains over two hundred families, three saw mills, one grist mill, one shingle machine propelled by water, one carding machine and fulling mill, and one manufactory of brown earthenware. There is also a turning lathe for turning wooden bowls, one thrashing machine propelled by water power, and two cabinet shops. A meeting house, eighty feet by forty-seven, to be finished with gallery and steeple tower, has been commenced.

Last week I let the brethren who are new comers, have fifty town lots, which cost them only the expense of recording and surveying — one dollar and a half each.²⁴

By that time Provo was becoming more than a mere frontier outpost. The settlers had begun to embroider its precincts with orchards and fields watered from the Provo River, which had been channeled into a growing network of irrigation canals and ditches. Log cabins began to be replaced with adobe houses. The people knew conditions might continue to be harsh, but their cultural setting had stabilized enough to let them begin substantial and permanent buildings.

High on their priority list was the organizing of a school program which would provide educational opportunities for local youth and interested adults. Even back in that cold, miserable spring of 1849 when the settlers first arrived, Mary Ann Turner had conducted classes in one of the log huts at Fort Utah. George W. Bean joined her after a pioneer cannon exploded and blew off one of his arms.²⁵ From the start, the pioneers were determined that their children should be educated.

In retrospect, we can detect in this struggling pioneer community the infant educational movement that would eventually give rise to Brigham Young University.

24. *Millennial Star*, 14:668.

25. Jensen, *History of Provo*, pp. 38-41.

2

Education by Divine Command

Mormon commitment to and enthusiasm for education is a direct result of LDS religious doctrines. Socially ostracized from New York, the birthplace of their religion, and driven from Ohio in 1837, from Missouri in 1839, and from Illinois in 1847, the Mormons were never allowed to put their philosophy of education into practice until they arrived in the Great Salt Lake Valley. Nevertheless, education was a vital part of their faith from the beginning. Practically all of the educational aspirations attributed to Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders in the West actually originated with Joseph Smith. He in turn attributed his anxiety to establish an elaborate system of education to commandments received directly from God.

Among the divine revelations given to Mormon prophet Joseph Smith are these: “It is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance”;¹ “The glory of God is intelligence”;² “A man is saved no faster than he gets knowledge”;³ and “Whatever principle of intelligence we attain unto in this life, it will rise with us in the resurrection. And if a person gains more knowledge and intelligence in this life through his diligence and obedience than another, he will have so much the advantage in the world to come.”⁴

Joseph Smith and his associates were specifically instructed to “study and learn, and become acquainted with all good books, and with languages, tongues, and people.”⁵ A later divine revelation stated, “It is my will that you should . . . obtain a knowledge of history, and of countries, and of kingdoms, of laws of God and man.”⁶ To Mormons,

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1. Doctrine and Covenants 131:6; hereafter cited as D&C.
 2. Ibid., 93:36.
 3. Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B.H. Roberts, 7 Vols. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1902-12), 4:588; hereafter cited as *History of the Church*.
 4. D&C 130:18-19.
 5. Ibid., 90:15.
 6. Ibid., 93:53.

then, religious education includes all truth, both secular and theological, and should help each student to

distinguish between right and wrong;
acquire a spiritually satisfying appreciation of the good and the beautiful;
seek and emulate the good;
understand that which is destructive and evil without participating in it;
gain the intellectual and physical skills needed to support himself and his family; and
develop a strong sense of responsibility in serving his fellow men.

Three Dimensions of Education

From the beginning, Mormon education was for the whole person: mind, body, and spirit. Church leaders stressed practical or secular learning as a companion to religion. Dr. M. Lynn Bennion, superintendent of Salt Lake City public schools, summarized the Mormon philosophy of education:

Mormon education embraces secular learning as a constituent part of universal truth, which emanates from a divine source. All education, therefore, is religious and essential to progress. Even the vocational aspects of education are permeated with moral and religious aims. . . . This concept has given a tremendously broad scope to Mormon education, all of which serves a religious end.⁷

Mormon leaders recognize that dogmatism and other abuses of religious-oriented education in past centuries led to the backlash of secularization. But they also feel that the complete secularization of either public or private education is a serious mistake that produces moral cripples and spiritual invalids. Mormon educators, therefore, work to create a climate of academic freedom, allowing the student to search for truth through secular and spiritual means at the same time.

The LDS Church is not alone in its view of education. In a 1953 address to the Association of American Colleges, Dr. M.E. Sadler, then president of Texas Christian University, strongly urged a vigorous return to religious-oriented education:

It will not suffice to have religion merely as one stone in the total educational building. It must be the overreaching beam, the focalizing center, the permeating spirit, the uniting force which gives meaning and significance to *all* subjects and *all* courses. If God is the ultimate and controlling reality of life, learning is obviously inadequate unless it does confess Him as its Foundation.⁸

7. Milton Lynn Bennion, *Mormonism and Education* (Salt Lake City: LDS Department of Education, 1939), pp. 123-25.

8. M.E. Sadler, "Some Crucial Issues in Higher Education," *Association of American Colleges Bulletin* 39 (March 1953):7-16.

Mormon Education in Ohio

Mormon education was religiously oriented from the beginning. Founded on 6 April 1830 in western New York, the LDS Church shortly moved its headquarters to Kirtland, Ohio. It was only fourteen months after the Church's founding that two of its leaders, W.W. Phelps and Oliver Cowdery, were commanded to collaborate in "selecting and writing books for schools in this church."⁹ Five months later, in November 1831, a revelation instructed parents to see that their children were given a good education and trained to "walk uprightly before the Lord."¹⁰ Another revelation specifically reprimanded Frederick G. Williams, one of the leaders of the Church, because he had "not taught [his] children light and truth, according to the commandments."¹¹

The first issue of the first newspaper published by the Mormon Church emphasized the need for setting up schools at the earliest possible date. *The Evening and the Morning Star* for June 1832 said:

The disciples should lose no time in preparing schools for their children, that they may be taught as is pleasing to the Lord, and brought up in the way of holiness. Those appointed to select and prepare books for the use of the schools will attend to that subject as soon as more weighty matters are finished.¹²

The School of the Prophets

But children were not the only ones to receive education. As early as 27 December 1832, the Lord instructed Joseph Smith to set up adult education in the Church. Sixty priesthood bearers were asked to set aside the necessary time to attend "the school of the prophets."¹³ The revelation decreed that the school was "established for their instruction in all things *that are expedient* for . . . those who are called to the ministry in the Church, beginning at the high priests, even down to the deacons."¹⁴

The phrase "instruction in all things that are expedient" turned out to include an encyclopedic array of subjects. They were to study "things both in heaven and in the earth" [apparently referring to such things as astronomy, geology, archeology, physics, chemistry, and biology]; "things which have been" [history]; "things which are" [current events]; "things which must shortly come to pass" [prophecy and perhaps the study of historical trends]; "things which are at home" [domestic affairs]; "things which are abroad" [foreign affairs]; "the wars and the perplexities of the nations" [international relations]; "the

9. D&C 55:4.

10. Ibid., 68:25-28.

11. Ibid., 93:42.

12. "Common Schools," *The Evening and the Morning Star* 1(1832):7-8.

13. D&C 88:127, 136:38.

14. Ibid., 88:127.

judgments which are on the land” [scriptural fulfillment]; “and a knowledge also of countries and kingdoms” [modern history and geography].¹⁵ No institution of learning could receive a much higher or broader curriculum mandate than this. And it was all the more remarkable because of its being given to a young church on the frontier of the United States.

The School of the Prophets started by studying theology, political science, literature, and geography.¹⁶ Later, a well-known Jewish rabbi, Joshua Seixas, was brought from Hudson Seminary in Ohio to teach Hebrew. Greek, Latin, and some of the sciences were also added to the course of study.

Brigham Young explained the unique character of the School of the Prophets by saying, “It was expressly designed for the education of the Elders of Israel in the sciences of Theology, and the design was to connect this branch with every other branch of useful knowledge.”¹⁷

The Kirtland Coeducational “High School”

In December 1834 Joseph Smith launched a school for the general education of young men and women in Kirtland, Ohio. The success of this school was indicated in a report by William E. M’Lellan dated 27 February 1835. M’Lellan was an experienced schoolteacher who had only thirteen days earlier been sustained as a member of the newly organized Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. He wrote:

The school has been conducted under the immediate care and inspection of Joseph Smith, Jr., Frederick G. Williams, Sidney Rigdon, and Oliver Cowdery [the presiding officers of the Church], trustees. When the school first commenced, we received into it both large and small, but in about three weeks the classes became so large and the house so crowded, that it was thought advisable to dismiss all the small students, and to continue those only who wished to study penmanship, arithmetic, English grammar, and geography. . . . Since the year 1827, I have taught school in five different states, and visited many schools in which I was not engaged as teacher; in none, I can say, with certainty, I have seen students make more rapid progress than in this.¹⁸

Concerning this high school, which met in the newly constructed Kirtland Temple, Joseph Smith wrote in his journal:

Kirtland High School is taught . . . by H.M. Hawes, Esq., professor of Greek and Latin languages. The school numbers from one hundred and thirty-five to one hundred and forty students, divided into three departments — the classics, where the languages

15. Ibid., 88:79.

16. Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, p. 8.

17. *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), 3 December 1867, p. 1.

18. *Latter-day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate*, February 1835.

only are taught; the English department, where mathematics, common arithmetic, geography, English grammar, writing, and reading are taught; and the juvenile department, the last two having each an assistant instructor.¹⁹

Mormon Education in Missouri

Meanwhile, Joseph Smith had been instructed to move some of the Church members to Independence, Missouri, near what is now Kansas City. This second stake (diocese) of the Church immediately duplicated the cultural pattern of the members in Ohio, including a frontier school. In his autobiography, Parley P. Pratt wrote that

A school of the Elders was also organized, over which I was called to preside. This class, to the number of about sixty, met for instruction once a week. The place of meeting was in the open air, under some tall trees, in a retired place in the wilderness. . . . To attend this school I had to travel on foot, and sometimes with bare feet at that, about six miles. This I did once a week, besides visiting and preaching in five or six branches a week.²⁰

In 1833 a mob attacked the Mormon community at Independence, destroying the Church press and the building housing it, flogging and abusing several of the leaders, and forcing the entire populace to flee across the Missouri River. Eventually they established a new headquarters in the upper part of the state at a place they named Far West. Concerning the settlers at Far West, the official Missouri annals state: "There were many teachers among them and school-houses were among their first buildings. The school-house in Far West was used as a church, as a town hall and court-house, as well as for a school-house."²¹

The *Boston Atlas* commented in 1839 that

The Mormons were in truth a moral, orderly, and sober population. They were industrious farmers and ingenious mechanics. They were busy about their own affairs, and never intermeddled in the concerns of their neighbors. They were exceedingly peaceful and averse to strife, quarrels and violence. They had established schools, they encouraged education; and they all had the rudiments of learning, taught under our school system in the East.²²

However, other circumstances led to such a public clamor against the Mormons that in 1838 Governor Lilburn W. Boggs issued an expulsion order granting the Mormon people only three days to begin moving completely out of the state or face extermination. Forced to obey the

19. *History of the Church*, 2:474.

20. Parley P. Pratt, *Life and Travels of Parley P. Pratt* (Chicago: Law, King & Law, 1888), p. 100.

21. *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri* (St. Louis: National Historical Co., 1886), p. 121.

22. *The Boston Atlas*, 16 March 1839.

illegal order,²³ the Mormons evacuated their cities in midwinter and finally assembled in Illinois, on the swampy east bank of the Mississippi River. Within five years they succeeded in building the largest community in Illinois.²⁴ They called it Nauvoo, meaning “The City Beautiful.”

Mormon Education in Illinois

Almost before the first crude cabins were completed in their new location the Mormon settlers turned their attention to education. Joseph Smith asked the Illinois Legislature not only for a city charter but for a university charter as well. The Illinois State Legislature granted both on 16 December 1840. Among its provisions the act provided that

The City Council may establish and organize an institution of learning within the limits of the city, for the teaching of the Arts, Sciences and Learned Professions to be called the University of the City of Nauvoo which institution . . . shall have all the powers and privileges for the advancement of the cause of education which pertain to the Trustees of any other college or university in the state.²⁵

At that time Stephen A. Douglas was secretary of state for Illinois, and Abraham Lincoln was a member of the state legislature. The University of the City of Nauvoo became the first municipal university in America.²⁶ The Church intended it to be the “parent school” for the inauguration and supervision of all education in the area, from “common schools up to the highest branches of a most liberal collegiate course”²⁷ — kindergarten to the highest college degree, under the administration of the university.²⁸ This exact pattern was followed when the University of Deseret (now the University of Utah) was later established in Salt Lake City.²⁹

As for the faculty and administration, non-Mormon historian Hubert H. Bancroft wrote,

The president of the University and professor of mathematics and English literature is James Kelly, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and a ripe scholar; Orson Pratt, a man of pure mind and a high order of ability, who without early education and amidst

23. Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), p. 9.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

25. “The City Charter of the City Council of Nauvoo” (Nauvoo, Illinois: 1842), p. 8.

26. Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, p. 22.

27. “Proclamation to the Saints Scattered Abroad,” *Times and Seasons* 2(1841):274-75.

28. Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, p. 23.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

great difficulties had to achieve learning as best he could, and in truth has achieved it, professor of languages; Orson Spencer, graduate of Union College and Baptist Theological Seminary, New York, professor of church history, belles-lettres and oratory. In the board of regents we find the leading men of the church.³⁰

By 16 August 1841 the Church newspaper in Nauvoo, the *Times and Seasons*, announced that “The department of English literature is now in successful operation” and advised that the university was ready to offer a “general course of mathematics, including arithmetic, algebra, geometry, conic sections, plane trigonometry, mensuration, surveying, navigation, analytical geometry, and the differential and integral calculus”³¹ — a rather remarkable offering for a frontier city.

The Mormon Trek to the Rocky Mountains

On 27 June 1844 Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were murdered by a mob in Carthage, Illinois. The leadership of the Church fell heavily and unexpectedly on the shoulders of Brigham Young. This was to be a great test of his leadership, for within a year mobs moved in around Nauvoo and threatened to take the city by violence unless the Saints agreed to evacuate by spring. Brigham Young knew that Joseph Smith had prophesied in 1842 that eventually the Saints would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, and the new Mormon leader recognized that the fulfillment of that prophecy was imminent.³² He therefore began organizing his people into “Camps of Israel” to prepare for an exodus. They were forced to leave in midwinter 1846.

In the first flood of refugees there were around 15,000 men, women, and children, about three thousand wagons, thousands of cattle, horses, and mules, and flocks of sheep, swine, and chickens, all hastily brought across the frozen Mississippi River to join the trek west.³³ The next task was to cross 1,500 miles of rivers and plains and eventually get the religious refugees settled in the valleys of the Rocky Mountains.

Struggling to Preserve Educational Resources

In the midst of organizing and making such a trek, Brigham did not overlook the Saints’ commitment to education. In fact, on 4 February 1846, the same day that the Nauvoo refugees put their first wagon across the Mississippi River, Samuel Brannan left New York on the ship *Brooklyn* with another company of Mormons bound for the Rocky Mountains by way of California. They carried with them “a large quantity of school books, among which are named spelling books,

30. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco: History Company, 1890), p. 146.

31. *Times and Seasons*, 2(1842):663.

32. *History of the Church*, 5:85.

33. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer*, p. 11.

histories, books on arithmetic, astronomy, grammar, geography, Hebrew grammars, slates, etc.”³⁴ After the first company of Saints had reached the Salt Lake Valley a special appeal was addressed to the members of the Church “dispersed throughout the earth” in which the Church leaders urged

that all the Saints should improve every opportunity of securing at least a copy of every valuable treatise on education — every book, map, chart, or diagram that may contain interesting, useful, and attractive matter, to gain the attention of children, and cause them to love to learn to read; and also every historical, mathematical, philosophical, geographical, geological, astronomical, scientific, practical, and all other variety of useful and interesting writings, maps, etc.³⁵

Education Begins in Utah

Once they had arrived in the mountains, the Mormon settlers seemed almost as anxious to get schools started as they were to establish their towns or to plant crops. Most of their educators had come with them, and this influenced the early pattern of education in Utah. Following the pattern set by Joseph Smith, they laid out their towns so that even the farmer could live in the community and

enjoy all the advantages of schools, public lectures, and other meetings. His home will no longer be isolated, and his family denied the benefits of society . . . but they . . . can surround their homes with the same intellectual life, the same social refinement as will be found in the homes of the merchant or banker or professional man.³⁶

The colonists almost immediately opened schools. Western historian Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California wrote that “in the pioneer days every new settlement, as soon as it had planted crops, opened a school — in the open air, in tents, in log houses, in adobes.”³⁷ The first school in Utah

was opened in October, 1847, in the Old Fort in Salt Lake City, three months after the arrival of the first immigrants, and was held in an old military tent, resembling an Indian wigwam. Jane Dil-

34. B.H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 Vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1957), 3:27-28; hereafter cited as *Comprehensive History of the Church*.

35. “General Epistle from the Council of the Twelve Apostles,” *Millennial Star* 10(1848):85; the minutes of the high council at Winter Quarters show that even in the bleakness of this wasteland Mormon schools were operating.

36. George Albert Smith, diary, 3 March 1851, typescript of original in BYU Library, Provo, Utah.

37. Herbert Eugene Bolton, “The Mormons in the Opening of the Great West,” *Deseret News*, 14 November 1925.

worth, age 17, was the teacher, and nine pupils reported to her on the first day. In the following January, Julian Moses taught school in his newly built log house in the Old Fort, and enrolled adults as well as children. Within two years, similar pioneer schools were to be found in most of the settlements.³⁸

The first public building in each Mormon settlement was a schoolhouse, a multipurpose structure used for school during the week, church services on Sunday, and public meetings and an occasional dance in the evenings. Since these buildings took considerable time to erect, classes were often initiated long before the permanent community structure was available. The Mormons went to great lengths to commence the educational process for their people. For example, Brigham Young sent George Albert Smith from Salt Lake City to settle what became known as Parowan and Cedar City. On 3 March 1851, Smith recorded in his diary:

My wicky-up is a very important establishment, composed of brush, a few slabs and 3 wagons. A fire in the center and a lot of milking stools, benches and logs placed around, two of which are fashioned with buffalo robes. It answers for various purposes, kitchen, school-house, dining room, meeting house, council house, sitting room, reading room, store room. To see my school some of the cold nights in February, scholars standing round my huge camp fire, the wind broken off by the brush and the whole canopy of heaven for covering. Thermometer standing at 7° one side roasting while the other freezing requiring a continual turning to keep as near as possible an equilibrium of temperature. I would stand with my grammar book, the only one in school, would give out a sentence at a time and pass it around. Notwithstanding these circumstances, I never saw a grammar class learn faster for the time.³⁹

This example of dedication to education was not unusual. During the second winter in the Salt Lake Valley, the Saints nearly starved to death because of a cricket plague which had destroyed more than half their crops the previous summer.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the First Presidency

38. Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, p. 40.

39. John C. Moffitt, *The History of Public Education in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1946), p. 20.

40. Captain John W. Gunnison, government explorer of Utah, painted this vivid picture of the valiant but fruitless battle against the devouring enemy:

In vain did the sorrowful farmers surround their fields with trenches, and fill them with water; the black host, leaping in, floated over, and with wonderful instinct, kept on the course of march, and mounting up the wheat-stock, would eat it off at the curve which was bent by the weight of the fruit more precious than golden seeds. Whole families might be seen standing guard, with branches and boards in their hands, uttering loud shouts, and endeavoring to turn back and beat

stated in a report to the members of the Church located in other parts of the world that "There have been a large number of schools the past winter, in which the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, Tahitian, and English languages have been taught successfully, and this in spite of the fact that many of the people were forced to eat rawhide, thistle roots, and segos."⁴¹

Anson Call, one of the pioneers who helped build the town of Fillmore, wrote of his community's dedication to education:

We immediately commenced to build a corral for our cattle. We then built a schoolhouse, established a school where we obtained logs for our dwellings, built a fort in the shape of a triangle. The camp was generally poor, consisting of brethren who had just emigrated from the states and from England. I was counselled by Brigham to erect mills. I immediately commenced building a sawmill. Our settlement was 70 miles from any other.⁴²

The first school at Manti was built in 1850 and consisted of a building twenty by thirty-six feet "built for school purposes and public worship."⁴³ The first schoolhouse in Payson was built early in 1853 and was thirty by twenty feet. It, too, was used for public worship.⁴⁴ An adobe schoolhouse was built in Pleasant Grove in 1852.⁴⁵ Also in 1852 the people of Provo built a home for George Albert Smith, their leader and a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. The building was a substantial adobe home, sixty by thirty feet and two stories high, with two large rooms on each floor. Elder Smith soon donated the building back to the community, whereupon it became the Provo Seminary, serving as schoolhouse and meetinghouse for the Provo Third Ward.⁴⁶

The University of Deseret

Just as they had done in Nauvoo, the Mormons in Utah soon turned their attention to higher education. On 28 February 1850 the territorial legislature provided for the establishment of the University of the State of Deseret.⁴⁷ It was to have "branches in all parts of the state" and

off the invaders. See John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons* (Philadelphia: Lippencott, Grambo & Co., 1852), pp. 30-31.

41. "First General Epistle of the First Presidency," *Millennial Star* 11(1849):230.

42. Anson Call, journal, pp. 42-43, LDS Church Archives.

43. Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, LDS Church Historical Department, 3 July 1850; hereafter cited as Journal History.

44. *Deseret News* 3(1853):92.

45. Howard R. Driggs, *Timpanogos Town* (Manchester, New Hampshire: Clarke Press, 1948), pp. 117-19.

46. "History of Provo," *Tullidge's Quarterly* 3(July 1884):260.

47. The name *Deseret*, taken from the Book of Mormon (Ether 2:3), means

“provide well-qualified teachers, and books of the most approved kind.” As a state institution, it was to provide “instruction free, so that the old and the young, rich and poor, men, women, and children throughout the state . . . may have the privilege of acquiring the most perfect education possible, and any useful profession, to the overthrow of monopolies, and the prosperity of our glorious union.”⁴⁸ This was the first public institution of higher learning west of the Mississippi River.⁴⁹

The chancellor selected to head the new university was Orson Spencer, who had succeeded Kelly as head of the University of Nauvoo.⁵⁰ He was a graduate of Union College and the Baptist Theological Seminary with a master of arts degree. The Legislative Enabling Act made the chancellor the executive officer of the university and chairman of its twelve trustees.⁵¹

By order of the Board of Regents, Chancellor Spencer wrote the prospectus for the new university. It reflected the high aspirations of the Mormon leaders to make the University of Deseret a distinguished part of their earthly “kingdom of God.” It was to be treated “like the foundling babe of the Hebrews,” as a “child of providence, destined to live and flourish.” The chancellor’s intent, no matter “how obscure its [the University’s] parentage,” was to make it a central repository for worldly knowledge in all fields, a haven where “multitudes of all ages [would] find an asylum of safety and a nursery of arts and sciences available upon the cheapest terms,” where education would “be brought to the . . . laboring classes of every grade — of every religious faith — of every political or social creed, and of every living language.” Whatever was “valuable in the laws and usages of nations . . . or in morals, or in Pagan and Christian ethics,” or in “physical laws” was to be “copiously poured into the lap of the Institution.”

“Religion, politics, literature, discrepant prejudices, private and public rights of individuals” were to “enjoy the highest order of freedom, of individuality, and of community” which “have been so long sought after by the great and good of all ages.” This was to be the “institution and heir of promise . . . the only institution of its kind . . . for all nations.”

“honey bee,” a symbol of industry, thrift, frugality, and fortitude (*see Comprehensive History of the Church*, 3:422). *Deseret* would have been the name of the State had not Congress insisted on *Utah*, after the Ute Indians. Nevertheless, the people adopted the beehive as the state emblem, and Utah is therefore called the Beehive State.

48. From a petition to the legislature requesting the incorporation of a university, submitted some time before the legislature met in February 1850; quoted in Ralph Chamberlin, “The Initial Years,” *University of Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1960), p. 5.

49. Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, p. 76.

50. Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, pp. 4-5.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 541.

All of this comprehensive program of knowledge and learning was to be taught by the “master spirits of the nineteenth century,” who were already assembling in response to the gospel call. Students would be taught to “save the good and cast the bad away.” They would study the “path of nature up to nature’s God.” It was the hope of the chancellor that the rich men of every nation and of every religious faith would donate generously so that “no persons will be denied the benefits of the University for want of pecuniary means.” To that end “correspondence will be kept up with persons in the service of the University living in London, Edinburgh, Paris, Rome, Copenhagen and Calcutta.”⁵²

Unfortunately, the University of Deseret was never able to realize the Mormon dream of blending secular and religious learning. Though it opened temporarily in impoverished quarters in 1850, it was forced by economic circumstances to close down completely from 1852 to 1867. When it opened again it survived a difficult period of development and eventually became the University of Utah. But because of its separation from the LDS Church, it achieved its stature and national reputation in education as a completely secular state institution, leaving the goals of Orson Spencer’s prospectus to be fulfilled by another institution of higher learning. Ralph V. Chamberlin, centennial historian for the University of Utah, wrote,

It is clear that the Regents and other leaders during the first years of the Territory expected the University of Deseret to become the greatest of the world’s educational institutions. With the continued influx of new people and influences from the outside and a general breaking down of Utah’s isolation, it became increasingly clear, however, that Church and State could no longer be conducted essentially as one. The promise early held out of a social condition in Utah in which there would be freedom from the blasts of political warfare, party strife, and national perplexities was not to be fulfilled. The Mormon Church, therefore, soon began to develop its own private educational system, a system having at its head a university for which they were free to picture a supreme destiny such as was initially envisioned for the University of Deseret.⁵³

A “supreme destiny” was thus inherited by Brigham Young University; but when that institution was set up in 1875 as a small academy for elementary and high school students, no one would have guessed that its future was filled with such great promise.

52. Ibid., pp. 541-42.

53. Ibid., p. 9.

3

Educational Aspirations in the Rocky Mountains

Because state and local officials had often sanctioned and sometimes participated in the persecution and abuse of the Mormons in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, it was suspected that the Saints might set up a government of their own somewhere in the West. Stephen A. Douglas and Illinois Governor Thomas Ford had actually suggested that they do so.¹ However, on the eve of their expulsion from Nauvoo, Brigham Young approved a statement of the Mormon high council which said that “our patriotism has not been overcome by fire — by sword — by daylight, nor by midnight assassinations which we have endured; neither have they alienated us from the institutions of our country.”²

Colonel Thomas L. Kane, a non-Mormon, overtook the refugee Saints along the pioneer trail and specifically asked what they intended to do as they proceeded west into what was then Mexican territory. Brigham Young replied, “We would be glad to raise the American flag; We love the Constitution of our country, but are opposed to mobocracy; and will not live under such oppression as we have done. We are willing to have the banner of the United States Constitution float over us.”³

The Mormon prophet kept his word. Although the peace treaty with Mexico was not proclaimed until July 1848, a year after the Mormons had reached the mountains, the Church leaders “raised the stars and stripes in the Salt Lake Valley . . . at least ten months before the authority of the United States was extended over it.”⁴

On the Saints’ arrival in the Salt Lake Valley, many questioned whether they could eke out an existence there. Veteran trapper Jim Bridger is said to have told Brigham Young he would give “\$1,000.00 if he only knew if we could raise an ear of corn.”⁵ Even twelve years later

1. *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 3:420-22.

2. *Ibid.*, 3:416.

3. *Ibid.*, 3:414.

4. *Ibid.*, 3:422.

5. Another version of this incident had been accepted for many years: “On

Horace Greeley used adjectives such as “parched, glistening, blistering, blinding sterility” to describe the territory. He declared that if the Mormons had paid the government a penny an acre for their land they would have been swindled.⁶

But the record is clear that Brigham Young considered all of these adverse conditions as favorable for the building of a great commonwealth. Having seen the Saints completely dispossessed on three separate occasions, Brigham hoped that in a desert the Mormons could be left alone long enough to establish their “kingdom of God” society. He was aware of the trials that life in the mountains would entail, but he believed that the ordeal would develop men and women of integrity and industry. He was certain that the Saints could govern themselves, and he hoped they would quickly be accepted as a state.

On their way across the plains the Mormon pioneers practiced a system of theocratic government which proved very effective. All the necessary guidance, government, appointments, policies, and procedures initiated by the various priesthood councils of the Church were then submitted to the people for approval or disapproval. This policy of “common consent” had galvanized the Mormons into a voluntary but unified society — which was later interpreted by federal officeholders as ecclesiastical authoritarianism. Actually, it was a system of home rule, and the Mormons conducted all their affairs under this type of government during their first two years in the mountains.

The Mormons Set Up a Civil Government

By 1848, however, the discovery of gold in California opened a transcontinental thoroughfare connecting East and West that passed through the previously isolated Mormon commonwealth. With the sudden influx of people, even though most of them were merely passing through, the Mormon leaders recognized the need for a well-ordered civil government. Accordingly they called a constitutional convention in February 1849 and held an election one month later.

As might have been expected, the Mormon people elected to public

8 July 1849 in the Journal History the following is found: ‘the mountaineers never thought we could raise corn here, Mr. Bridger says he would give a thousand dollars per bushell of all the corn we could raise in the valley.’ It is interesting that part of this statement has been rubbed out and someone has written in pencil, ‘This is edited wrong.’ The right version is on the opposite page which reads, ‘Mr. Bridger says he would give \$1000.00 if he only knew if we could raise an ear of corn.’ This is signed by Andrew Jenson and William Lund as being correct”; Fred R. Gowans and Eugene E. Campbell, *Fort Bridger* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), p. 170.

6. William R. Palmer, “The Pioneering Mormon,” *Improvement Era* 45 (August 1942):493. The quoted phrase is Palmer’s summary of Greeley’s impression of the area.

office the very same people who had successfully governed them in the past and for whom they had both affection and respect. President Brigham Young became governor; one of his counselors, Willard Richards, became secretary of state; and his other counselor, Heber C. Kimball, became chief justice.⁷ Each of the bishops of the respective LDS wards was selected as a judge or magistrate. This was entirely logical from the Mormon point of view, since bishops filled the role of “judges in Israel” under their theocratic government. To their way of thinking, the placing of reputable Church officials in positions of civil government was the best means of assuring integrity and efficiency in the administration of public affairs.

Although this system of government seemed to work well, when the Saints petitioned Congress in 1849 to accept their “State of Deseret,” they got a negative answer. They soon discovered that non-Mormons viewed their political organization as an obvious violation of the most elementary aspects of separation of church and state, even though all the officials were elected by vote of the people.⁸ Washington — and most of the nation — looked upon the Mormons as a band of highly dedicated eccentric religious refugees who could not be granted the home rule ordinarily allowed the residents of U.S. territories.⁹ The Mormons, on the other hand, felt they had demonstrated a very remarkable capacity for self-government, and they looked upon themselves as representatives of American civilization in the mountain wilderness. They felt that by working within the structure of the U.S.

7. *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 3:427.

8. United States military officials who made some of the earliest contacts with the newly established State of Deseret could not resist expressing considerable admiration for as well as apprehension of what they saw. Captain John W. Gunnison wrote, “We found them, in 1849, organized into a state with all the order of legislative, judicial, and executive offices regularly filled, under a constitution eminently republican in sentiment, and tolerant in religion; and though the authority of Congress has not yet sanctioned this form of government, presented and petitioned for, they proceed quietly with all the routine of an organized self-governing people, under the title of Territory; . . . While professing a complete divorce of church and state, their political character and administration is made subservient to the theocratical or religious element”; John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1856), p. 23. Captain J. Howard Stansbury, who made the first government surveys in the Great Basin, spent the winter of 1849-50 with the Mormons. He reported: “In the organization of the civil government, nothing could be more natural than that, the whole people being of one faith, they should choose for functionaries to carry it into execution, those to whom they had been in the habit of deferring as their inspired guides, and by whom they had been led from a land of persecution into this far-off wilderness, which under their lead, was already beginning to blossom like the rose.” Howard Stansbury, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Co., 1852), p. 132.

9. *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 3:512-16.

Constitution¹⁰ they could demonstrate the high level of peace and prosperity that a “kingdom of God” culture could achieve;¹¹ and the Mormon philosophy of education was an important part of that culture.

Colonel Thomas L. Kane, a prominent non-Mormon friend of the Saints, urged them to insist on full statehood and not compromise by accepting territorial status:

You are better off without any government from the hands of the congress than with a territorial government. The political intrigues of government officers will be against you. You can govern yourselves better than they can govern you. . . . I insist upon it, you do not want corrupt political men from Washington strutting around you, with military epaulettes and dress, who will speculate out of you all they can. They will also control the Indian agency, Land agency, and will conflict with your calculations in a great measure. . . . And then there are always so many intrigues to make political parties among you, the first thing you know, a strong political party is rising up in your midst, selfish, and against your interests.¹²

Wresting Political Control from the Mormons

This proved to be entirely prophetic. In the beginning the representatives of the Church, assisted by Colonel Kane, were successful in getting President Millard Fillmore to appoint Brigham Young the governor and federal Indian agent for the territory,¹³ but in 1854 President Franklin Pierce decided to replace him. As it turned out, the newly appointed governor, Colonel Edward J. Steptoe, moved on to California without even presenting his credentials to the chief justice of the Utah Federal Court to be sworn in. Brigham Young had expressed great confidence in Colonel Steptoe, and had stated publicly that if Steptoe had presented his credentials, “I would have taken off my hat and honored the appointment.”¹⁴ Colonel Steptoe later joined with non-Mormon Chief Justice John F. Kinney in recommending to President Pierce that Brigham Young be reappointed. This was done.¹⁵

However, by 1857 the political situation had altered radically. On the strength of a few affidavits, which were never investigated, and without the consent of Congress, President James Buchanan on May 28 ordered an army of about 2,500 men to march on Utah and quell an

10. John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons*, pp. 154-55.

11. James R. Clark, “Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah” (Ph.D. dissertation, Utah State University, 1958), pp. 14-42.

12. *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 3:432.

13. *Ibid.*, 3:501-2.

14. *Ibid.*, 4:187.

15. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), p. 496.

alleged rebellion against the United States.¹⁶ This became known as the “Mormon War.” This expedition eventually involved 6,600 troops, 10,500 government employees and camp followers, 7,606 wagons, 66,478 working oxen, and 19,200 mules, and is estimated to have cost the American people somewhere between twenty and forty million dollars.¹⁷

Since this “war” was launched by the President without an action of Congress or official investigation of the facts, Brigham Young became determined to keep the army out of Utah until the Church leaders could be assured that the rights of the people in Utah would be protected. He therefore insisted that the army remain in Wyoming and that the new governor, Alfred Cumming, proceed with his escort into the territory to ascertain for himself what the true situation was.

Governor Cumming complied with this request. After entering the valley he found the charge of “rebellion” to be completely unfounded, and was able to report to General Albert S. Johnston, commander of the troops, that

I have been everywhere recognized as the governor of Utah; and so far from having encountered insults and indignities, I am gratified in being able to state to you that in passing through the settlements, I have been universally greeted with such respectful attention as are due to the representative of the executive authority of the United States in the territory.¹⁸

Following extensive negotiations, the army was allowed to enter the Bonneville Basin — but only after Brigham Young had been assured that General Johnston would set up camp in Cedar Valley, some forty miles beyond Salt Lake City, and that there would be no attempt to occupy the territory or establish federal law. President Buchanan, meanwhile, attempted to lend some semblance of credibility to this rather fantastic political blunder by solemnly granting “forgiveness” or amnesty to the Mormons for their so-called rebellion. Thus “peace” was restored.

Cultural Impact of the “Outsiders” on the Mormon Commonwealth

Nevertheless, the takeover of Utah by a non-Mormon governor and the temporary encampment of a substantial contingent of rough military men altered the course of Utah history and had a demoralizing impact on the culture of the region, including the Mormon aspiration to preserve a spiritually rooted system of education. The presence of the army and the non-Mormon control of public affairs introduced the public vices into Mormon community life for the first time. As historian Gustive O. Larson describes it, “camp followers introduced ‘civiliza-

16. Ibid., pp. 494-98.

17. *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 4:555-56.

18. Ibid., 4:384.

tion' through 'whiskey street' in Salt Lake City, and women of the street [who had come with or followed the army] plied their trade in Mormonism for the first time."¹⁹

John L. Smith, chief clerk of the territorial legislature, recorded his impression of the impact of the army on the Mormon community: "The miserable howling demoniac yells of the midnight brawlers, maddened by the intoxicating draught, contrasts strangely with the peace which has ever before reigned in 'Deseret.'"²⁰

The police department had to be increased by two hundred men, making it four times larger than before.²¹ Apostle George Albert Smith wrote that "several murders have been committed, two of which have occurred in this city; the mayor of our city has to hold a court every day. Street fights prove rather expensive, but are of frequent occurrence. Our brethren, however, keep out of the way and [the non-Mormons] have the fun all to themselves. Although the annoyance to the people, and drunken fights are disgraceful to the community, they are unavoidable as long as the United States treasury pays the expenses."²²

Federal control also brought to the mountain commonwealth an ever increasing number of political misfits who consolidated their mutual ambitions in an attempt to set up their own territorial capital at Corinne and use the federal authority of Washington to enforce their policies upon the Mormon people.²³

The Impact on Education

The wresting of political control from the Mormons had a tremendous influence on the educational institutions being set up in the territory. The newly arrived "outsiders" began to use their Washington-supported position of influence and power to insist that the schools built in all-Mormon communities, with Mormon funds and Mormon labor, were not public schools, and that public schools should be created. Actually, the Mormons had treated their schools as public institutions in the sense that anyone could attend them. Admittedly, however, they were saturated with Mormon influences. The complete lack of general textbook materials had led the majority of the schools to use the Bible and various Mormon religious books as reading texts. Mormon teachers also followed the traditional Church school policy of teaching religious and secular subjects as complementary aspects of the same curriculum.

But the federal officers, even friendly Governor Cumming, urged

19. Gustive O. Larson, *Outline History of Utah and the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1965), p. 90.

20. *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 4:462.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 462.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 460.

23. Gustive O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1971), p. 36.

the Mormons to conform their educational concepts more closely to those of the East. He commended them for constructing large and spacious schools, but insisted that still “you have no free or common schools.”²⁴ What he was really saying was what every territorial governor would say after him — that Washington would not be satisfied until the Mormons, who had already funded their own school system, also put up the money to create a system of tax-supported, nondenominational, secularized schools. The Mormons protested against this double educational burden, especially since they had no need or desire for their own children to attend this type of public school. They insisted that each group or denomination should have the right to establish their own schools and determine how their children should be educated. As John Taylor, Brigham Young’s successor, would later say: “We want to treat all men kindly and with due respect; but we do not want to be governed by their religious views, nor put our children under their teachings.”²⁵ On another occasion he said,

I would like to know if a Methodist would send his children to a Roman Catholic school, or *vice versa*? I think not. Do either send their children to “Mormon” schools, or employ “Mormon” teachers? I think not. Do we object to it? No, we do not. . . . But would we interfere with other religious denominations? No. Prevent them from sending their children where and to whom they please? No. . . . They can take their course, and we want the same privilege.²⁶

Even in the Mormon schools, however, there gradually appeared a sprinkling of non-Mormon teachers. The hiring of teachers was done by the local bishop, who also had the responsibility of seeing that the teachers received their pay. In surveying the meager supply of potential instructors, some of the bishops became fascinated with the manners and fastidious ways of academically qualified outsiders from the East who were looking for jobs. It was not long before Brigham Young was hearing that some of these “strangers” who were employed as teachers were sponsoring anti-Mormon propaganda. Young’s reaction was characteristic:

Bishops, I wish you would just resign your offices if you can not learn any better than to get such characters into your school houses. Not but what there is once in a while a good man comes along who is a school teacher who is not a “Mormon”; but, as a general thing, what have these men done? They have planted the seeds of infidelity in the hearts of the children, decoyed the hearts of their female pupils and led them to ruin, and they have turned

24. Alfred Cumming, “Governor’s Message to the Legislative Assembly of Utah,” 12 November 1860, State Archives, Salt Lake City, p. 18.

25. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 Vols. (London: Latter-day Saints’ Book Depot, 1855-85), 20:107.

26. *Ibid.*, 19:248-49.

round and cursed us. That is the character of some of the men our Bishops get into their school houses.²⁷

Rival Denominational Schools Appear in Utah

Besides the pressure from the federal government to set up a public school system, in 1867 other denominations began to compete with Mormon schools by establishing parochial schools in the major communities of the territory. At that time the size of the Protestant population in Utah was still relatively small and factionalized. In 1866 Major General N.B. Hazen estimated there were only about 300 non-Mormons in Salt Lake City. He noted, nevertheless, that they had started a newspaper, established a church, organized a school, and attempted to develop a community of interest. He further observed that they were still suffering from considerable factionalism. The one matter on which they could generate comparative unity was the need for mission schools specifically designed to recruit Mormon youth and convert them to Christianity.

The Protestant school system blossomed quickly. That Mormon leaders regarded these schools as a serious threat is evidenced by this statement in 1871 by Apostle Joseph F. Smith:

Some Latter-day Saints are so liberal and unsuspecting that they would just as soon send their children to Mr. Pierce down here as to anybody else. I would not do it. However good a man Mr. Pierce may be, he should not teach one of my children as long as I had wisdom and intelligence to teach him myself, or could find a man of my own faith to do it for me.²⁸

Orson Hyde, another Mormon apostle, was a little more blunt when he declared in 1878 that

Under the profession of great piety and deep solicitude for the redemption of our children from the influence of Mormonism, many alleged charitable enterprises have been put on foot in the shape of opposition schools, to decoy them into their traps.²⁹

The Protestant schools were apparently quite successful in attracting Mormon students, in spite of the opposition of Mormon leaders. James R. Clark, in his doctoral thesis, states:

Protestant schools established in Utah in the territorial period were primarily mission schools having as a goal the conversion of Mormon children to Christianity. They educated a smaller number of Protestant children. At least 50 per cent, if not more, of the pupils in Protestant schools in Utah were children of Mormon parentage.³⁰

27. Ibid., 16:17-18.

28. Ibid., 14:288.

29. Ibid., 20:97-100.

30. Clark, "Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah," p. 167.

Mormon feelings were further aggravated by the zeal with which Protestant fund raisers went back East and gave the most gruesome portrayals of conditions in Utah in order to raise funds to "save the Mormon children."

Nevertheless, the men and women who operated the mission schools for various Protestant denominations were competent and dedicated. As M. Lynn Bennion has pointed out:

No fair student can fail to recognize the contribution the various Protestant churches made to the educational progress of Utah. Their teachers were for the most part well trained and devoted to their work. Their undisguised motive, however, was to rescue young Mormons from Mormonism.³¹

Mormons Motivated to "Bestir Themselves"

In his *History of Utah*, non-Mormon H.H. Bancroft points out the stimulating influence which the denominational schools had on the minds of Mormon leaders as they realized the urgency of setting up Mormon schools:

The St. Marks grammar school, founded in 1867 in connection with the Episcopal Church, the Salt Lake Seminary, established by the Methodists in 1870, and others founded later by various denominations, received so much patronage that it became necessary for the Mormons to bestir themselves in the matter and there was afterward more efficiency in the school system, private institutions being also founded by the Saints, among them the academy in Provo and the Brigham Young College at Logan.³²

President Chester A. Arthur, in his presidential message to Congress in 1884, emphasized how successful the denominational schools were becoming in Utah. "Honorable mention," he said,

is due to the many Christian Denominations that have established colleges, schools and churches in Salt Lake City and many other parts of the Territory. Among these are churches and schools maintained by the Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Baptists, Catholics and perhaps others, all or nearly all of which has been accomplished within the last fifteen years. Some one or more of these churches and schools may be found in nearly all the principal cities and towns of the Territory and are chiefly supported by the benevolence of the people and churches of the states. These are in addition to those common schools established by the Mormons by legislative authority. The denominational schools now number 79 with an average daily attendance of nearly 6,000 pupils, many of whom are the children of Mormon parents. These schools are distributed as follows: Episcopalian, 5:

31. Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, p. 136.

32. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco: History Co., 1889), pp. 707-8.

Methodist, 10; Congregational, 26; Presbyterian, 35; Baptist, 2; Catholic, 1.³³

Although the denominational schools were usually quite small, the percentage of students from Mormon parents was large, rousing the concern of Mormon leaders. The 1887 report of the Presbyterian school in St. George is significant:³⁴

Total number enrolled in day school since September 1st . .	15
No. of day pupils both of whose parents are Mormons	12
No. of day pupils one of whose parents is Mormon	3
No. of day pupils from apostate Mormon homes	0
No. of day pupils from "Gentile" homes	0
No. of day pupils who belong to your sabbath school	10
Monthly average belonging to Sabbath School	9

It will be noted that in this particular case one or both of the parents of all of these students were Mormons. It will also be noted that the teacher of this school had succeeded in getting ten of these students to attend the regular Presbyterian Sunday School.

A report from Miss P. J. Hart, Presbyterian schoolteacher at Kaysville in 1887, indicates that she had a larger school than the one in St. George. Her total enrollment was forty pupils, thirty-four of whom were from homes where one or both of the parents were Mormons.³⁵

Low tuition made Protestant schools attractive to Mormon students. Clyde Wayne Hansen noted that by 1890 "over 67 percent of all the young people attending the secondary schools [in Utah] were going to schools sponsored by religious faiths other than Latter-day Saints." About "28 percent attended Mormon schools." The remaining five percent were enrolled in public schools.³⁶

When more than one Protestant denominational school came into a Mormon community, there was sharp competition for attendance. This is indicated in the report of Miss Mary Clemens, who operated a Presbyterian day school in Hyrum, Utah. She reported,

There was some complaint about paying \$0.75 per term tuition, and since they are expecting the Methodists to open a free school here, I reduced the tuition to 50 cts. per term. I don't know whether I should have done so or not.³⁷

33. Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, pp. 138-39.

34. Clark, "Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah," p.151.

35. Ibid., p. 154.

36. Ibid.

37. Clyde Wayne Hansen, "A History of Non-Mormon Denominational Schools in Utah" (master's thesis, University of Utah, 1953), pp. 5-6.

The Catholic Schools

A somewhat different relationship developed between Mormons and Catholics in Utah. From the beginning the Catholic schools were supported by tuition rather than charity from abroad, and therefore they did not resort to the usual catalog of horror stories about the Mormons that the Protestants used to raise funds. The first Catholic bishop in Utah was Lawrence Scanlan, whose life story was written by Robert J. Dwyer, the foremost Catholic historian of Utah. In the Scanlan biography Bishop Dwyer writes,

Early in [Scanlan's] career in the stronghold of Mormonism, the young priest (he had just turned 30) seems to have determined a course of action toward the Latter-day Saints from which he rarely varied in all the subsequent years. He would live among them on terms of cordiality, avoiding intimacy on the one hand, and antagonism on the other. Among his predecessors, Father Kelly seems to have shared some of the Gentile bitterness toward Brigham Young and his followers, and occasionally, as time went on, Scanlan detected a like tendency on the part of several of his associates in the Utah priesthood. He never encouraged it. He took no part in the anti-Mormon crusade, though there was never any doubt as to his stand on the issue of polygamy. He came to Utah too late to know Brigham Young in the latter's prime, but years later, at the unveiling of the famous monument of the great colonizer and leader, he referred with no little feeling to Young's personal benevolence toward him and his fellow Catholics in the days when the [Catholic] Church was struggling to obtain a foothold in Utah.³⁸

James R. Clark makes reference to one example of general good feelings between Catholics and Mormons:

Perhaps the most widely cited example of amicable Mormon and Catholic relations in Utah, used by both Catholic and Mormon historians, is an incident that occurred in St. George in 1879. Details of the incident vary with the historians, but all seem to agree that it was the very friendly relations between the two groups that allowed Father Scanlan's celebration of High Mass in the Mormon St. George Tabernacle with the Mormon Choir rendering Peter's Mass in Latin.³⁹

These were the general circumstances which prevailed in Utah when the Brigham Young Academy came into existence. The dominant political authority was exercised by Washington-appointed, non-Mormon governors and court officials who held a veto power over the all-Mormon Territorial Assembly and nullified many of the Mormon aspirations for the region. Not only were they determined to force the

38. Ibid., p. 145.

39. Ibid., p. 146.

Mormons to give up their educational system for a tax-supported, secularized public school program “devoid of all Mormon influence,” but they also vigorously encouraged the establishment of denominational schools to convert young Mormons away from the faith of their parents.

On the issue of education the Mormons did not always find themselves united. Education was only one facet of the frontier life facing the pioneer settlers. In their first few years in the mountains they suffered three crop failures, the Walker Indian War, and the invasion of Johnston’s army. At the same time they were trying to support a worldwide missionary effort, build hundreds of new settlements throughout the Utah Territory, construct a four-million-dollar temple, and set up a score of home industries which would make the Utah wilderness a prosperous and self-sufficient commonwealth.

Although education had a top priority in the minds of the Mormon leaders, transforming the ideal into a reality under so many adverse circumstances required far more time and resources than the Church leaders had originally contemplated. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the small pioneer community of Provo, where the modest, hesitant beginnings of education were nurtured through several decades of perpetual crisis.

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Dusenberry Brothers: Pioneer Educators

During the first decade of Utah history the total preoccupation of the people with cricket plagues, drought, early frosts, Indian raids, building, and farming delayed the creation of a formal and extensive educational program. Yet by the end of their first three years in the Great Basin, Captain Howard Stansbury of the Army Topographical Engineers reported that "A normal school, designed for the education . . . of teachers, is already in successful operation. Schoolhouses have been built in most of the districts, both in the city and country, which are attended by old as well as young."¹ A study by Christian J. Jensen indicates that nearly all of the eighty settlements founded by the Mormons between 1847 and 1880 had schoolhouses built and in use within one to two years of their founding.²

Before Brigham Young Academy was founded in 1875 there were more than 250 common schools throughout the territory, with about 20,000 pupils and 350 teachers.³ These, of course, were basic or elementary schools, but they were community sponsored and largely community sustained, reflecting the anxiety of the Mormon people to get their educational ideals into actual operation.

What Utah needed in its second decade was an upward thrust toward the academy (high school) level. For Provo this thrust came with the arrival of two young non-Mormon schoolteachers in 1862, brothers named Warren N. and Wilson H. Dusenberry. To these two brothers should go belated but well-deserved credit for launching higher education in Provo and laying the foundation for what became Brigham Young University.

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1. Howard Stansbury, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Co., 1852), p. 143.
 2. Christian J. Jensen, "A Study of How The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Attempted to Meet the Educational Needs of Its Members for the Period of Time A.D. 1830-1900," master's thesis (Brigham Young University, 1931), pp. 34-121.
 3. Edward L. Sloan, ed., *Gazeteer of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Herald Publishing Company, 1874), pp. 39-40.

The Arrival of the Dusenberry Brothers

The Dusenberrys were of Pennsylvania Dutch ancestry. Warren Newton Dusenberry was born in Whitehaven, Pennsylvania, on 1 November 1836.⁴ By 1840, which was just about the time the Mormons were building their temple-city of Nauvoo, the Dusenberry family had moved to Pike County, Illinois, across the river from Hannibal, Missouri, the boyhood home of Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain).⁵ There Wilson was born on 7 April 1841.⁶ Warren's and Wilson's mother, Aurilla Coray Dusenberry, was converted to Mormonism by 1846,⁷ largely because of the persuasions of her brother Howard Coray, who lived a few miles to the north in Nauvoo. Howard and his wife, Martha Jane, later became schoolteachers, and Howard became one of the secretaries of the Prophet Joseph Smith.⁸ Howard went west with the Mormon pioneers in 1846 and was among the very first settlers in Provo in 1849. Meanwhile his sister Aurilla found that her sympathy for Mormonism had aroused a strong antagonism in her husband, Mahlon Dusenberry. So the Dusenberrys did not join the Mormon exodus, but remained in Illinois until 1860.

While the family resided in Illinois, Warren and Wilson attended district schools and seminaries during the winter⁹ and in the summer months learned farming and carpentry from their father. Finally in 1860 the family headed westward. The move was probably prompted by various considerations: the father was attracted by the lure of California gold near Sacramento, while the mother desired to live closer to the headquarters of the Church.

In April, as soon as the weather permitted, the Dusenberrys set out with an ox-team and wagon for the far West. By now Warren was 23 and Wilson was 19. After three weary months crossing the plains they arrived at Provo, Utah, on 30 July 1860 and enjoyed a welcome visit with Uncle Howard Coray. They stayed in Provo until 7 September¹⁰ and then headed for Los Angeles, which was still a small, quiet Spanish-cultured community. Six months later they decided to continue north toward the gold fields of Sacramento.¹¹ After getting settled, Warren took two years of advanced education at Vacaville

4. "Utah County," *Tullidge's Quarterly*, 3(April 1855):426.

5. Robert Kelly Dusenberry, "Warren Newton Dusenberry: Prominent Utah Pioneer, Educator, Judge, and Public Servant, 1836-1915," unpublished typescript in Brigham Young University Archives, Provo, Utah, p. 2; hereafter Brigham Young University Archives at Provo, Utah, will be referred to as BYU Archives.

6. "History of Provo," *Tullidge's Quarterly* 3(July 1884):273.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:519.

9. "History of Provo," p. 273.

10. Dusenberry, "Warren Newton Dusenberry," p. 3.

11. Joseph B. Walton, "Stories: Pioneer Trails and Landmarks," typescript at LDS Church Historical Department.

College¹² while Wilson continued his education in the community schools.¹³

The religious conflict that had been simmering in the family for over twenty years finally erupted in Sacramento. The prospects of raising her family so far away from the centers of Mormon culture and of having her children exposed to the temptations of mining camps were repugnant to Mrs. Dusenberry. Unable to persuade her husband to leave California, Aurilla Coray Dusenberry departed for Provo accompanied by Warren, Wilson, and the two daughters, Mary and Martha Jane ("Mattie"). One other son, John, remained with his father in Sacramento for a time, but came later.¹⁴ Wilson recorded in his journal that he "regretted much leaving California, but my mother wished to come, and we came, and it's all right."¹⁵

The continuing hostility of their father toward Aurilla's religious convictions was reflected in his letter to Wilson in the spring of 1863, in which he encouraged Wilson to keep himself "free from the curse of Mormonism."¹⁶ Instead of healing, this family rift over religious differences widened with the passage of time.

When they arrived in Provo, Warren was 26 and Wilson was 21. Nevertheless, both had been educated far beyond the average in those days for their age and circumstances. They immediately sensed the need to offer their educational training to the community. Although not a Mormon, within a month Warren was hired as a teacher in the First Ward School,¹⁷ which was conducted in the Tabernacle basement, while Wilson got a job in a private school held in a small adobe building

12. "Utah County," p. 426. This "college" was then located in Vacaville, Solano County, California. It was equivalent to a high school. The *Alto San Francisco* for 23 March 1865, reporting on the Vacaville College, states, "Vacaville Methodist School and College was established in the year 1861. At the present time it contains 150 students." The school is no longer in existence.

13. "History of Provo," p. 273.

14. Dusenberry, "Warren Newton Dusenberry," p. 3.

15. Wilson H. Dusenberry, diary, 28 October 1863. Wilson H. Dusenberry apparently kept at least three different diaries. The first was written in 1863 and the second in 1867. A typescript of the diaries of 1863 and 1867 is contained in Harriet Parker Mack's typescript biography of Wilson Howard Dusenberry, a copy of which is on file in the BYU Archives. The second diary, written in 1864, is in the possession of Ben Armstrong. A typescript of the 1864 diary in BYU Archives was sent to Ernest L. Wilkinson by Marion Parker Harris on 5 December 1972. Excerpts from the Wilson H. Dusenberry diaries of 1863 and 1867 appear in Kate B. Carter, comp., *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1958), 1:231-55.

16. Wilson H. Dusenberry, diary, 25 April 1863.

17. A *ward* is a single congregation of individuals comparable to a parish in other churches. A number of wards were combined in a geographical ecclesiastical organization called a *stake*, comparable to a diocese. At this time the Provo wards were part of Utah Stake.

on the corner of First East and Second South streets in Provo.¹⁸ Their uncle, Howard Coray, by now a prominent Provo citizen, probably wielded much influence in the appointment of the Dusenberry brothers to their teaching positions.

Though the Mormons' strong desire to have their children educated prompted a warm welcome for the Dusenberry brothers, neither of them would have guessed that within a few years Warren would be a probate and county judge, county superintendent of schools, and later mayor, while Wilson also would become mayor and a prominent banker, and later serve for forty-six years as a member of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy and later of Brigham Young University. At the moment their whole preoccupation was with teaching.

Warren found the First Ward School lacking in textbooks. There was only one arithmetic book and one reader for every three students.¹⁹ He therefore travelled to Salt Lake City, purchased \$50 worth of books with his own funds, and distributed them among the students.²⁰

Both Warren and Wilson had an instinctive sense of balance between sympathy for their students and discipline in the classroom. Warren said he favored "less harshness in the school. He held the view that education should be made congenial to the pupil, and particularly maintained that the schoolroom should be the exemplar of good manners and proper social conduct."²¹

This attitude of "firmness with fairness" made him popular with the students — but both he and Wilson were able to use corporal punishment when it was needed. Three boys found this out during the first term, when they tried to test their teacher's mettle. They "disturbed school by kicking at the door. . . . Warren caught and whipped them severely."²² Wilson also received his "baptism of fire" from a group of boys when he substituted for Warren one day. Wilson wrote, "Brother Warren sick so I had to teach his school. The little brats were determined on having a spree. Checked their cheer a little, however."²³

Warren and Wilson both exhibited the zest of natural teachers and often expressed the supreme satisfaction which they found in their chosen profession. In Wilson's words, "It was a carnival of joy. Who can teach school without forming ties of affection? Not I."²⁴

But they also found that teaching school for the joy of it was one thing; teaching school for a living was something else. The bare subsistence level of frontier living often made parents reluctant to part with

18. "History of Provo," p. 260.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. "Utah County," p. 427.

22. Wilson H. Dusenberry, diary, 5 February 1864.

23. Ibid., 20 February 1863.

24. Ibid., 6 November 1863.

even a “two-bit” piece except under desperate necessity. Most families lived on farms and many felt that they could not afford the tuition payments for the schooling of their children. Others believed their sons and daughters were needed more at home than behind the school desk. However, neither Warren nor Wilson had held any illusions about this when they became teachers. They knew bill-collecting was going to be the toughest part of launching an educational enterprise. While teaching for one or two private schools Wilson had written in his journal, “running around town after school bills, no use!”²⁵

The Dusenberry School

By the fall of 1863 Warren Dusenberry had decided to establish a school of his own. He soon negotiated with the Cluff brothers to rent the Cluff Hall for \$50 per month.²⁶ It was “a large adobe building located on the corner of Second North and Second East,”²⁷ spacious enough for a large enrollment and particularly well adapted for theatrical productions.

Wilson served as a semi-replacement for Warren at the First Ward School when it opened in the fall so that Warren would have more time to prepare the Cluff Hall for the opening of the Dusenberry School in December.²⁸ Warren probably learned carpentry from his father,²⁹ but in any event “he fitted the school room and with his own hands made the desks from logs [brought from Slate Canyon], the very same that were afterwards used in the Brigham Young Academy.”³⁰

And because it was felt that no respectable school could open without the traditional school bell mounted in the yard to “ring in” the students from their customary haunts, Wilson records that after two weeks of “scouring the town . . . a little school bell was finally located in September.”³¹

The Dusenberrys’ so-called “Provo High School” or “Dusenberry School,” which was really a private elementary school with graded academic levels, opened its doors 7 December 1863 with 83 scholars.³² While the eastern part of the United States was engulfed in the fury of civil war, the most exciting event in pioneer Provo was the opening of the school.

25. Ibid., 24 October 1863.

26. “Utah County,” p. 427.

27. Joseph B. Walton, “Stories: Pioneer Trails and Landmarks.” The license to use Cluff Hall was granted by the Provo City Council on 6 December 1864.

28. Ibid.

29. “Utah County,” p. 426.

30. “History of Provo,” p. 260.

31. Wilson H. Dusenberry, diary, 9 and 17 September 1863.

32. Ibid., 22 December 1863. The school opened late in the year, probably because of delays in getting the building prepared and the facilities

Pioneering a Professional Program

Warren and Wilson constituted the entire staff of teachers, administrators, and janitors,³³ so they were virtually forced to live at the school. The Cluffs provided a bedstead which was a substantial improvement over the hard floor, and weary Wilson Dusenberry recorded in his journal, "Wonderful!"³⁴

The school barely got off to a good start when Christmas vacation commenced. The Dusenberrys used the break to rearrange the "desks and rostrum to the east end of the hall" and buy more lumber to construct additional desks.³⁵ The total capacity of the school was 103 students, but when school opened after the New Year, 120 eager young pupils came trooping in.³⁶

Overcrowding was not the only problem. The first week of January 1864 turned out to be one of the coldest that Provo had ever recorded.³⁷ On January 5 the temperature sank to twenty below zero, and the school stove was so completely inadequate that the students had to be sent home and the school temporarily closed.³⁸ Finally a better stove was found and school convened again. However, the students decided to pull a prank and extend their vacation by sabotaging the new stove. Wilson recorded, "The young-uns kicked the [new] stove down."³⁹ The exasperated Dusenberrys finally repaired the damages and by January 11 Wilson felt the school was "jogging along very well. The stove's [doing] its duty."⁴⁰

The two brothers had expansive plans for their school. This is reflected in the curriculum, which they divided between them. The subjects included grammar,⁴¹ geography, algebra, declamation (public speaking and elocution), essays, arithmetic, beginning animal science, fundamentals of architecture, reading, and spelling. Music was taught by a guest teacher, James Daniels.⁴² It appeared that this was one of the most progressive schools in the entire territory. Warren, with his Vaca-

constructed and in recruiting the students. Many students would not leave the farms until the fall harvest was complete.

33. John C. Moffitt, *A Century of Public Education in Provo, Utah* (Provo, Utah 1944), p. 49.

34. Wilson H. Dusenberry, diary, 17 December 1863.

35. Ibid., 11 December 1863.

36. Ibid., 11 April 1864.

37. Ibid., 5 January 1864.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., 7 January 1864.

40. Ibid., 11 January 1864.

41. Commenting on a circulating rumor that the Dusenberrys "Knew nothing of grammar," Wilson retorted in his diary, "Such froth of ill humor is contemptuous in the extreme" (11 December 1863).

42. This James Daniels is not to be confused with James E. Daniels, who accompanied Warren back to Provo in 1869 after the latter's mission.

ville College background, taught the upper grades while Wilson taught “the little ones.”⁴³

The Dusenberry Pattern of Education

The Dusenberry philosophy of education provided for broad individual participation in the classroom and diversified extracurricular events to stimulate student interest, thereby encouraging greater excellence in scholarship, more regular attendance in classes, and acceptance of school standards and discipline. To achieve these goals the Dusenberry brothers pioneered a number of special programs.

Within a month after the school opened, Wilson had established a “Literary Society,” which met in the evenings to discuss current events, history, science, social problems, and mathematics.⁴⁴ The purpose of such a society was to allow students, teachers, and guest speakers to address joint meetings of students, parents, faculty, and the public on a multitude of subjects ranging from the “Uses of History”⁴⁵ to mathematics. The society offered opportunity for debate as well.

To encourage athletic and physical education, both of the brothers played ball along with their students.⁴⁶ They also encouraged music by organizing a band.⁴⁷ This was a natural for the Dusenberrys, since Warren played the accordion⁴⁸ and Wilson played the violin.⁴⁹

But apparently the most popular undertaking of all was the promotion of the theater arts. Perhaps the glamour of the Salt Lake Theatre forty miles to the north, which the Dusenberrys often attended, had something to do with it.⁵⁰

In their dramatic productions the Dusenberrys were an immediate success. The theater was especially appealing to the rustic men and women struggling for survival yet still dreaming of better things and better days. And by giving vent to hidden aspirations and flights of fancy it provided an escape from the drudgery of their daily lives.

The school’s first large stage presentation was an “exhibition” in March 1864, which attracted visitors from miles around. Wilson’s future wife, Harriet Coray, wrote her impressions after visiting a

43. Wilson H. Dusenberry, diary, 8 December 1863.

44. Ibid., 7 January and 1 February 1864.

45. Ibid., 1 February 1864.

46. Ibid., 17 May 1864.

47. Ibid., 15 January 1864.

48. Harriet Coray Dusenberry, diary, 6 April 1864, photographic copy of the original in BYU Library Manuscript Collection.

49. Wilson H. Dusenberry, diary, 1 August 1864.

50. The Salt Lake Theatre, because of the guidance of Brigham Young and his love for the theater, was even attracting nationally known theatrical personalities who gave stop-over performances on their way to the gaudy showplaces in the silver cities of Nevada and the glittering gold coast theaters of California.

rehearsal: “the scholars seem to take great interest in their parts, and I think they will play them well. Cousin Mattie [Martha Jane Dusenberry] almost surprises me. Indeed, she is quite an actress.”⁵¹ The breathless excitement of this first stage presentation is reflected in a note from Wilson’s journal:

Hastened to the [Cluff] Hall. Prepared it for the exhibition and theater. Scholars were all there. A little rehearsal. . . . Eve[ning] came at last. The Hall was chuck full of the elite of Provo. We, the school, were crammed on the stage. Warren got excited and I, well I can’t tell all I did. The scholars, I think did very well.⁵²

And after getting the community reaction the following day, Wilson recorded jubilantly, “The town loved it!”⁵³

Such diversity in school activities brought visitors from various areas and walks of life to view the successful operation of the school. Provo had never seen anything like it before. Historian Tullidge recorded, “A great change took place in society, effected by the Dusenberry school and the theater, improving the status and conduct of the whole.”⁵⁴

Wilson, unmarried at that time, was delighted with the Mormon concept of encouraging supervised dancing. His feelings were recorded in his journal: “If it is a sin to love to dance, then there is no redemption for me.”⁵⁵

Three years earlier Brigham Young had scolded the people for not sending more of their children to school and for not paying their tuition bills promptly. After all, Mormon philosophy demanded a well-educated membership. Therefore he declared:

Some say they are not able to send their children to school. In such a case, I think I would rise in the morning, wash myself, take a little composition, and try, if possible, to muster strength enough to send my children to school, and pay their tuition like a man. . . . Men able to ride in their carriages, and not able or unwilling to pay their children’s tuition, ought, I think, to have . . . a little catnip tea; and then perhaps, they will be able to send their children to school! I know such persons are weak and feeble; but the disease is in the brain and heart — not in the bones, flesh, and blood. Send your children to school.⁵⁶

The townspeople of Provo set up the Provo School Board to encourage education, but the Dusenberrys could charge only \$3.50 per scholar for the entire term of three months.⁵⁷ To further complicate mat-

51. Harriet C. Dusenberry, diary, 10 March 1864.

52. Wilson H. Dusenberry, diary, 11 March 1864.

53. Ibid., 12 March 1864.

54. “History of Provo,” p. 260.

55. Wilson H. Dusenberry, diary, 3 June 1864.

56. *Journal of Discourses*, 8:40.

57. Wilson H. Dusenberry, diary, 28 March 1864. How much money was actually gathered by taxation of the communities in the interest of the

ters, the growing commercialization of property on Center Street raised the rent for Cluff Hall from \$50 to \$125 per month.⁵⁸

While the school was not in the most favorable financial situation, it was at least as well off as other private schools in the vicinity. But because of the very limited income from the schools, the brothers engaged in farming during the off season,⁵⁹ and Warren, following a budding legal inclination, began serving on the grand jury and in other civic positions.

The Dusenberry Brothers Become Mormons

Shortly after their new school was successfully launched, Warren and Wilson Dusenberry simultaneously but independently of each other decided that their mother and their highly respected uncle, Howard Coray, had been right about Mormonism. By the spring of 1864 they had both decided to be baptized into the Mormon Church.

The record shows that they were sincere and prayerful in their religious commitments. Like most Mormons, however, they did not feel they had sacrificed their freedom in committing themselves to this new faith — it was a completely voluntary commitment. On one occasion prior to his baptism, Wilson had been very critical of some of the sermons of Apostle Orson Hyde and of the administrative firmness of Brigham Young.⁶⁰ However, this did not deter him from later joining the Church once he had decided for himself that the gospel of Jesus Christ had really been restored.

Closing the First Dusenberry School

After two full terms,⁶¹ and in spite of the fact that the Dusenberrys were beginning to expend their energies in other enterprises, their Provo High School began gaining accolades from many sources, including Brigham Young. The latter wrote to William H. Dame, a

Board of Education is not discernible from existing records. Provo was slow to accept any tax imposed for school purposes. When these payments were made more often than not they were made in commodities or service rendered in lieu of cash.

58. Ibid., 30 December 1866; *see also* "History of Provo," p. 260.

59. Wilson H. Dusenberry, diary, 18 and 25 May 1864.

60. Ibid., 30 August 1863. Wilson thought some of Orson Hyde's statements were "very contemptible." He called Brigham Young a "ruler and dictator in Israel." It is, however, a Dusenberry family tradition that Brigham Young stayed with Warren Dusenberry on the prophet's trips southward (*see* an untranscribed taped interview with Robert Kelly Dusenberry family on file in BYU Archives). Brigham Young was undoubtedly acquainted with the Dusenberry brothers (*see* diary of Wilson H. Dusenberry, 8 July 1864).

61. The school ran on three three-month terms with a primary in the summer taught by the ladies. *See* "History of Provo," p. 260, and Wilson H. Dusenberry, diary, 2 August 1864.

prominent businessman and stake president in Parowan from 1856 to 1886, of his pleasure in “observing a growing disposition among the Saints to encourage education and other useful and pleasing studies.”⁶²

Warren felt so good about the operation of the school that he sent for a friend in California named Frank Stone and paid him \$60 per month to teach.⁶³

However, it seems that by the end of the spring term of 1865 the financial burden of paying Jones \$60 and the Cluffs the rent of \$125 every month, combined with various diversionary interests which Warren was developing in the community, forced the Dusenberrys to temporarily close their school. It was to be four years before they tried to open another one. Meanwhile, the closing of the school was followed by a period of commercial activity and deep involvement on their part in Provo community affairs. Between 1865 and 1867 the Dusenberry brothers set up a general store, took over the Provo telegraph agency, and helped maintain the Provo post office. In addition to this, Warren was appointed county tax assessor under George W. Bean and elected president of the county board of education.⁶⁴ He was also made county school examiner and supervisor of the county road district.

Wilson, commenting on the ceaseless activity of his brother in educational administration, quipped, “I believe that he will get sick of some of his offices in the course of time.”⁶⁵

As president of the county board of education, Warren tried to coordinate the various ward and private schools into some kind of unity in order to maintain a standard of quality in teachers, curriculum, and textbooks. He also wanted the board to mobilize better financial support for the schools. But again the problem of all the schools was finances. George W. Brimhall, one of the local private teachers and father of future BYU President George H. Brimhall, complained of his “meagre materials and \$3 tuition per year and openly requested public financing of free schools.”⁶⁶

In addition to the LDS ward schools, there were several private schools scrimping along and trying to survive on dreams and promises from parents. These private schools included John Royal’s, Melissa Riggs’s, M.A. Watson’s, George W. Brimhall’s, and several others.

62. Brigham Young to William H. Dame, 30 November 1864, LDS Church Historical Department.

63. During the hard-fought campaign for mayor of Provo in 1892, political opponents of Warren Dusenberry attempted to show that it was the “genius” Frank Stone who was the real force behind the Dusenberry School (see *Utah Enquirer*, November 1892).

64. Wilson H. Dusenberry, diary, 22 March 1867.

65. Ibid.

66. George W. Brimhall to George Albert Smith, December 1868, George W. Brimhall Family Records, LDS Church Historical Department.

Warren recognized the desperate need to coordinate and support these weak and fragmented educational projects.

The New Role of Warren Dusenberry

Along with their numerous commercial ventures and community enterprises, both Warren and Wilson were very active in the Church. Both of the Dusenberry brothers were ordained seventies⁶⁷ in February 1867,⁶⁸ three years after their baptism. However, the big surprise came on 7 April 1867 when Warren was suddenly called on a Church proselyting mission to the Southern States.⁶⁹ This meant that for two years Warren's and Wilson's partnership would be disrupted. During that time Wilson spent his energies in the store, the telegraph office, and the post office, while supervising a number of community cultural activities.

Warren had a very successful mission. After serving the first part of it in the southern states, he was assigned to work in the Church's Immigration Office in Brooklyn, New York, which had charge of emigration to Zion. His major responsibility seems to have been to round up and arrange for the emigration of the eastern Latter-day Saints, and possibly the Saints arriving from Europe, who wanted to go west.

Warren obviously enjoyed his work, for in one of his occasional letters to Brigham Young he said, "I will not attempt to express to you the consolation and joy that I have in my present labours as bearer of Truth to the benighted world."⁷⁰

Warren returned to Provo sometime in the late summer or early fall of 1869, bringing with him James E. Daniels, whom he had met in the South, to assist him in the establishment of the second Dusenberry School.

Organizing the Second Dusenberry School

In the fall of 1869 the two Dusenberrys and their southern associate organized their new school by renting the Kinsey Building on Provo's Center Street and announcing they would be "teaching nothing below the third grade."⁷¹ The response was so good that they immediately needed more space and were forced to "expand the school to include the vacant rooms and amusement hall of the building then known as

67. The priesthood office of *seventy* in the LDS Church is a special missionary calling. In the last half of the nineteenth century, seventies, even though married, were often called to leave home and family and preach the gospel in some corner of the world without any compensation.

68. Wilson H. Dusenberry, diary, 1 February 1867.

69. Dusenberry, "Warren Newton Dusenberry," pp. 5-10.

70. Warren N. Dusenberry to Brigham Young, 9 July 1869, Brigham Young Papers, box 56, folder 1, LDS Church Historical Department.

71. "History of Provo," p. 261.

the Lewis Hall.”⁷² The J. W. Lewis Store and theater of brick, located at Center Street and Third West, had been completed in the late summer of 1867.⁷³

It appears that J. W. Lewis, who did not own but merely leased or rented the hall from President Brigham Young, was only too happy to rent the hall to the Dusenberry School, since he owed the Church leader at least \$1,600 and in a letter of 24 November 1869 Brigham Young had requested immediate back payment of \$1,600 in cash for the use of the theater.⁷⁴ The acquisition of the Lewis Hall for educational purposes represented a major advancement in the status of the Dusenberry brothers as community school leaders.

Warren also took part in other educational projects in Provo. The county appropriations records describe Warren’s “purchase in 1871 of a law library for the residents of the County,”⁷⁵ for which the county loaned him money. He was probably able to purchase these books while working with the Emigration Fund in New York.

The Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret

Then in 1869 a windfall came to the new Dusenberry School as a result of the reactivation of the University of Deseret in Salt Lake City. The University of Deseret, which was founded by the Mormon Territorial Legislature in 1850,⁷⁶ had been forced by lack of funds to close on 5 March 1852. It was reopened in 1867 and limped along until March 1869, when it “received a newness of life” through new funds.⁷⁷ Its officials immediately began to consider the establishment of branches elsewhere, as had been authorized by the Legislature when it was founded in 1850.

The popularity and success of the new Dusenberry School immediately came to the attention of the University officials. According to Abraham O. Smoot, “It was a conceded fact that [it] is the best school in the Territory.”⁷⁸ Barely, therefore, had the second Dusenberry School been launched when it was visited by Daniel H. Wells, chancellor of the University of Deseret, and Robert L. Campbell, the territorial

72. Ibid.

73. Wilson H. Dusenberry, diary, 18 September 1867.

74. Brigham Young to J.W. Lewis, 24 November 1869, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Historical Department.

75. Utah County Court Records, 5 December 1870, book B, Utah County Courthouse, Provo, Utah, p. 57.

76. Journal History, 28 February 1850. An early published version of the charter is in *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah*, 1855, pp. 59-61.

77. *Biennial Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools for the Years 1874-5* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1876).

78. Minutes of Utah Stake Bishops Meetings, 25 April 1871, LDS Church Historical Department.

superintendent of common schools.⁷⁹ They both knew the Dusenberrys: Daniel H. Wells had visited Provo many times in both civic and ecclesiastical capacities, and Robert L. Campbell had also visited the Dusenberry schools a number of times in connection with his official duties.

They were both so favorably impressed that on 20 May 1870 they recommended in separate letters to Warren N. Dusenberry and the Board of Regents of the University of Deseret that the Dusenberry School become a branch of the University of Deseret.⁸⁰ The recommendation was accepted and within a month's time the Dusenberry School was officially named the Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret.⁸¹

Brigham Young had been a supporter of this project from the beginning. He owned the Lewis Building and the surrounding land⁸² and had looked upon the establishment of what was locally called the "County" or "Dusenberry" Academy⁸³ with keen and benevolent interest. On a number of occasions Brigham Young waived the cost of rent in an attempt to keep the school alive, and probably made other financial contributions. This was acknowledged by Abraham O. Smoot, who stated, "Pres. Young's patronage [to the Timpanogos Branch] extended to several hundred dollars. . . . He has given the people in their poverty the rent of the school house."⁸⁴ Warren Dusenberry expressed the same gratitude: "During all these years of hardship and labor Pres. Young seconded by his counselor George A.

79. In 1865 Campbell was appointed superintendent of common schools by the chancellor of the University of Deseret. He remained in that position until 1866, when he was elected territorial superintendent by a joint session of the Legislative Assembly of Utah. He held office until his sudden death on 11 April 1875. Besides being chancellor of the University of Deseret, Daniel H. Wells was a member of the First Presidency of the Church.

80. *Journal History*, 20 March 1870.

81. *Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools, 1876*, BYU Special Collections, p. 11. Originally the name of "Provo Branch of the University of the State of Deseret" was decided upon, but under the sponsorship of Brigham Young that title was soon changed to "Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret." See minutes of the meetings of the Board of Regents of the University of Deseret, 6 May 1870, microfilm copy in University of Utah Library Special Collections, Salt Lake City, Utah.

82. Brigham Young to Warren Dusenberry, 5 April 1875, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Historical Department. See also Utah County Court Records, 18 October 1875.

83. Untranscribed taped interview with Wilson Maurice Dusenberry, 23 July 1972, BYU Archives.

84. Minutes of Utah Stake Bishops and Lesser Priesthood Meetings, 25 April 1871, LDS Church Historical Department.

Smith, was ever ready with aid and means and other encouragement.”⁸⁵

Little is definitely known about the school’s curriculum, although the emphasis was placed on the training of teachers. In 1871, a year after the official organization of the Timpanogos Branch, the Utah County Teacher’s Institution was formed at the school.⁸⁶ Many teachers received their initial training at the Timpanogos Branch.

Physical education was not taught in schools, but sports of all kinds were engaged in during recess, after school, and on Saturdays. Following the Dusenberry tradition, the school staged many theatrical productions and conducted numerous dances and festivities.⁸⁷ The academic terms added together stretched for ten months of the year,⁸⁸ in keeping with Warren’s philosophy that children should be kept in school “during spring and some of the summer months.”⁸⁹

Although a branch of the territorial University of Deseret, the Timpanogos Branch was administered largely by Mormon Church officials in Utah County. More often than not, decisions concerning its operations were discussed and made in meetings of the Utah Stake High Council, the Church’s governing body for Utah County. Most of its funds were also supplied by citizens of Utah County, who were nearly all members of the Mormon Church.

The Branch began its career amidst great enthusiasm, and the enrollment soon climbed to 300 students, surpassing that of the University of Deseret.⁹⁰ It remained close to that figure for five years until the figure dipped to 221 in the final year (1874-75).⁹¹ But even during that year its 221 students compared with only 116 students at the parent institution in Salt Lake City.⁹² However, there were fewer students enrolled in the “higher branches” of learning (university classes) at the Timpanogos Branch than there were in Salt Lake City.⁹³

Closing of the Timpanogos Branch

Existing records suggest that the Timpanogos Branch was the center of Provo’s cultural life for nearly five years, from 1870 to 1875. Nevertheless, from the beginning the school labored under serious financial difficulties. The parent institution, the University of Deseret,

85. *Daily Enquirer* (Provo, Utah), 4 January 1892.

86. *Deseret News*, 22 November 1871.

87. Minutes of Utah Stake Bishops and Lesser Priesthood Meetings, 24 December 1872.

88. *Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools, 1875*, Utah State Archives, p. 14.

89. Minutes of the Utah Stake School of the Prophets, 11 February 1871, LDS Church Historical Department.

90. Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, p. 80.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

could be of little assistance since it was having financial difficulties of its own.⁹⁴ The federal government also refused to provide the financial aid ordinarily given to territorial schools.⁹⁵ In fact, Washington's mounting hostility toward the Mormon Church was rapidly festering into a major crisis for the Mormon commonwealth.

The Timpanogos Branch was therefore almost exclusively dependent upon local resources to survive. The Territorial Legislature did provide some funds and so did the treasury of Utah County.⁹⁶ Brigham Young was also a major contributor by waiving the rent for the increasingly valuable property which the school occupied. Nevertheless, the situation deteriorated to the point where teachers were compelled to "make monthly peregrinations with huge wheelbarrows to collect the school fees paid in turnips, molasses, and pumpkins."⁹⁷ It was only a question of time before the sacrifices of these early educators became too great a burden. Principal Dusenberry recalled that the teachers "became wearied on account of the financial nonsuccess, and we vacated the premises . . . a time of trials and tribulations."⁹⁸

Some historians have concluded that the Timpanogos Branch was suspended due to "an imperfect organization." This conclusion is based on the assumption that Warren Dusenberry spread his services too thin and was therefore unable to give proper supervision to the school; he became probate judge in March 1874 and also served as Utah County superintendent of common schools in place of his brother. It is also true that the Dusenberry brothers were extremely busy in a variety of interests and often Warren did not appear at the school.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, it seems clear from the records that the school organization remained entirely intact as a functioning operation. Even when Warren was away on business for the Church, such as his year in New York for the Emigration Fund in 1871 or when he served as county superintendent of schools from 1870 to 1874, the school still functioned well. His absence did not destroy the school's organization, for those on the Executive Committee were trained leaders. In an 1873 letter to President George Albert Smith, a counselor in the First Presidency, Principal Dusenberry promised to give up some of his side enterprises if the school should suffer,¹⁰⁰ but since he was not asked to do so it appears that this was not considered a critical factor.

94. Ibid., pp. 95-97, 115-17.

95. Ibid., p. 134.

96. Utah County Court Records, March 1876, book B, Utah County Courthouse, Provo, Utah.

97. "President A. O. Smoot," *Young Woman's Journal* 3(1892):434.

98. *Daily Enquirer*, 4 January 1892.

99. See George Albert Smith Family Records, 25 November 1872 and 25 December 1873, LDS Church Historical Department.

100. Warren N. Dusenberry to George Albert Smith, 25 December 1873, LDS Church Historical Department.

By April 1875 the financial breaking point was reached, and the school closed. The school had rendered a great service, but probably too much had been expected of it. A new school under a different sponsorship seemed to be the only practical alternative.

The Idea Emerges for Brigham Young Academy

The Dusenberry schools had been operated essentially as Church institutions, where students, in addition to their secular training, were schooled in the practice of Christian morality in their personal conduct. Even in the Timpanogos Branch the religious atmosphere prevailed. Thus the Dusenberry schools and the Timpanogos Branch served the purpose of the Church and were acceptable to the officials.

No one was more keenly aware of the need to maintain a religious-oriented school system than Brigham Young. He apparently wanted the best in secular education as well. As early as 1871 he had commissioned John R. Park to embark on a fact-finding educational mission to the eastern states, England, France, Switzerland, and finally Germany. He was instructed to pay particular attention to the educational systems of France and Germany.¹⁰¹

Brigham Young also sought counsel from Colonel Thomas L. Kane of Pennsylvania. Kane was a loyal and distinguished friend of the Mormons who had served as the principal non-Mormon spokesman for Brigham Young and the Church in Washington. In a letter to Brigham Young written on 4 December 1873 at his home in Kane, Pennsylvania, Kane indicates that discussion was going on in high Mormon circles concerning the possibility of Brigham Young founding an educational institution bearing his name. The letter reads in part:

The most cheering, probably the most important feature of the tidings brought by Mr. [George Q.] Cannon is your resolve to found an educational institution worthy to bear your name. It is impossible to deprecate too seriously the growing practice of sending your bright youths abroad to lay the basis of the opinions of their lives on the crumbling foundations of modern unfaith and specialization. Why should you not inaugurate a system of education informed by your own experience of the world, embodying your own dearly earned wisdom and calculated peradventure to endure for ages with the stamp of your originality upon it?

Later in the letter he added:

On two points I know your sentiments; that Utah should before this [1873] have been educating her own teachers, and preparing if not publishing her own text books. The young fledglings who would resort to our Eastern seminaries of learning — to learn what

101. Ralph V. Chamberlin, *Memories of John R. Park* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1949), p. 20.

you will hardly be able to unteach them all their days — *should even now be training in the Brigham Young University, normal college of the highest grade, to officiate as "Zion" tutors and professors* (italics added).¹⁰²

The tone of this letter indicates that the idea for a system of Mormon-sponsored education in Utah was in gestation at least two years before the Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret ceased to exist. This idea became the thrust which produced Brigham Young Academy in 1875.

In 1892, Warren N. Dusenberry, while reminiscing of the years 1874 and 1875 for the *Daily Enquirer*, a local Provo newspaper, stated:

I received a communication from Pres. Brigham Young to call upon him. I did so. After expressing his dissaproved [*sic*] of our breaking up the school [Timpanogos Branch] he said he intended endowing an institution of learning with sufficient means to make it an honor to the Territory and her people. We had talked about this at different times, for years. He requested me, in company with others, to immediately draft the necessary papers for founding the BYA. I knew it would require a great struggle, yet I knew it would be what it is today. Brigham Young was ever helpful.¹⁰³

George Q. Cannon is quoted by his son, Joseph J. Cannon, as having had the following conversation with Brigham Young some time prior to 1875:

When therefore he [Brigham Young] spoke about turning his property into the church I remarked that . . . if he were to take his property which he did not wish to leave to his family and establish colleges and bestow his name they would live and his memory would be kept alive in the minds of the people.

They would be an ever present living evidence of his care and thought for the Saints. What influence my remarks had upon him I cannot say. He did before his death take steps to endow institutions of learning. I drew up the charter of one — The Brigham Young Academy at Provo.¹⁰⁴

Deed of Trust by Brigham Young

The actual Deed of Trust was drawn up by Brigham Young and dated 16 October 1875. As previously noted, George Q. Cannon and Warren Dusenberry seemed both to have been very much involved in the formulation of the Deed of Trust. Warren Dusenberry recalled for

102. Thomas L. Kane Papers, 4 December 1873, LDS Church Historical Department. For a brief account of Kane's activities in Washington, D.C., at the time, see Albert L. Zobell's *Sentinel in the East* (Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan, 1965), pp. 203-8.

103. *Daily Enquirer*, 4 January 1892.

104. Joseph J. Cannon, "George Q. Cannon: Relations with Brigham Young," *Instructor* 80 (June 1945):258-60.

the *Daily Enquirer* that Brigham Young commissioned him “in company with others to immediately draft the necessary papers for the founding of BYA.”¹⁰⁵ The names of those others are not known.

The Church leader singled out six prominent men of Utah County as trustees — Abraham Owen Smoot, former mayor of Salt Lake City and now president of Utah Stake; Bishop Myron Tanner, Provo businessman; Leonard Harrington, prominent leader in American Fork; Harvey H. Cluff, Provo businessman and publisher; Wilson Dusenberry; and William Bringhamurst, a businessman of Springville.¹⁰⁶ He also selected a woman member to represent women’s interests, Martha Jane Knowlton Coray, author and teacher, who with her husband, Howard Coray, had operated a school in the Mormon community of Nauvoo before the Mormon exodus to the Great Basin.

The deed conveyed to these Trustees, “for the use and benefits of the Brigham Young Academy, . . . parts of lots two and three and all of lots four and five in block sixty-nine, commencing at the southwest corner of lot two and running thence east sixty feet, thence north twelve rods, thence east one hundred and thirty eight feet, thence north twelve rods, thence west twelve rods, thence south twenty-four rods to place of beginning, containing in all one hundred and eighty seven 7/11 square rods of ground as plotted in Plot A, Provo City Survey.” This contained about 1.17 acres and was in the center of Provo.

The deed provided that the “beneficiaries of the Academy” were to be Church “members in good standing” or “the children of such members.” The customary courses of “reading, penmanship, orthography, grammar, geography, and mathematics” and “other branches as are usually taught in an academy of learning” were to be taught. To cut across the prevalent trend of barring the teaching of religion and religious tenets from the classroom, Brigham Young specifically stipulated that the “Old and New Testaments, the Book of Mormon and the Book of Doctrine and Covenants shall be read and their doctrines inculcated in the Academy.” This would serve as a foundation to give the students and the community the benefit not only of an educated citizenry, but also of a spiritually educated populace prepared to withstand the specious educational curricula which Brigham Young felt were coming into vogue in Utah and nearly everywhere else. The deed also provided that “each of the boys who shall take a full course, if his

105. *Daily Enquirer*, 4 January 1892.

106. Abraham O. Smoot was serving as mayor of Provo in addition to being president of Utah Stake and a representative in the Territorial Legislature. Myron Tanner was bishop of the Provo Third Ward and an alderman on the Provo City Council. Leonard Harrington had served as a delegate for the Mormons in Washington, D.C., and was mayor of American Fork. William Bringhamurst was a bishop in Springville and a businessman.

physical ability will permit, shall be taught some branch of mechanism that shall be suitable to his taste and capacity.”¹⁰⁷

The trustees were given the latitude to select their president, secretary, and treasurer. This was done five weeks later, as A.O. Smoot was elected President of the Board with W.H. Dusenberry as secretary and Harvey H. Cluff as treasurer.¹⁰⁸

The trustees were also authorized to “make such rules, regulations, and by-laws” as they thought appropriate for the operation of the Academy. Brigham Young and his heirs retained the right to appoint their successors and, of more importance, to approve or disapprove their decisions, a provision which became very frustrating to the trustees in later years.

The deed of trust was notarized in Salt Lake City on 11 November 1875 and was probated in Provo on November 22 in the presence of the members of the Board of Trustees, officially starting Brigham Young Academy. The Board met three weeks later and, on the motion of Mrs. Coray, Warren N. Dusenberry was elected first principal of Brigham Young Academy.¹⁰⁹

Although the founding of this Academy was probably the most important event in the history of Provo to date, its significance was not remotely appreciated at the time. It was not, by any stretch of the imagination, a headline news item either locally or nationally.

The absence of publicity can probably be ascribed to the fact that as originally founded Brigham Young University was not an official Church school, but one of which Brigham Young was individually the founder and proprietor. Matters of the greatest moment, as judged by the public sermons and written instructions of the leaders of the Church for 1875 and 1876, included the completion of the temple at St. George, the promotion of Zions’ Cooperative Mercantile Institution, and the colonization of the Little Colorado River Valley in Arizona. The founding of Brigham Young Academy was not mentioned.

107. Minutes of the Brigham Young Academy Board of Trustees, 16 October 1875, BYU Archives; hereafter cited as BYA Board Minutes. The original Deed of Trust is not available.

108. BYA Board Minutes, 22 November 1875, BYU Archives.

109. *Ibid.*, 4 December 1875.

5

Karl G. Maeser: Spiritual Architect of BYA

The collapse of the Timpanogos Branch marked the virtual termination of direct participation in the teaching profession by the Dusenberry brothers. Warren Dusenberry was appointed the new principal of Brigham Young Academy, but he served only from 3 January 1876 to 15 April 1876.¹ His appointment was apparently intended to be merely a stop-gap until a permanent principal was appointed. Both Warren and Wilson had become deeply involved in business and community affairs, and by 1875 Warren had become the city attorney and city prosecutor in Provo.

The primary responsibility for the launching of the new Brigham Young Academy devolved upon the Board of Trustees with Abraham O. Smoot as the President. Events soon revealed that Abraham O. Smoot was a remarkable leader to whom great credit is due for the survival of Brigham Young Academy. In fact, without his leadership the Academy never would have survived.

Abraham O. Smoot: Special Envoy of Brigham Young

Of second-generation Scotch descent, Abraham O. Smoot was born in Owen County, Kentucky, on 17 February 1815.² His father died when he was thirteen, and he and his mother were baptized into the Church in 1835 when he was twenty. He presided over a small branch of the Church until 1836, when he became the missionary companion of Wilford Woodruff for approximately a year.

After the martyrdom of Joseph Smith, A. O. Smoot was assigned to

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1. The fact that Warren Dusenberry was not even present when appointed and that he was later thanked "for effecting the organization of the Academy" (BYA Board Minutes, 15 June 1877) supports the conclusion that his appointment was temporary. No salary was mentioned nor was his name submitted to Brigham Young for formal approval as required by the deed of trust.
 2. This biographical summary is taken from Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 Vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1931-1936), 3:485-87.

gather the members of the Church in the southern states and lead them west. In the exodus from Nauvoo he led one of the companies to Winter Quarters and then led 120 wagons, the second largest company of the season, to make the trek to the Rocky Mountains immediately following the initial journey by Brigham Young's company.

He was appointed to the first high council in Salt Lake City and became the first justice of the peace. In 1849, when the California gold strike brought thousands of immigrants through Utah, he adjudicated approximately forty disputes between the gold-seekers, who had no other judicial arena between Missouri and California.

In 1851 he was called on a mission to England and the following year was chosen to lead back to Utah the first company of European Saints to immigrate under the new Perpetual Emigration Fund Company. This company arrived in September 1852. Smoot was immediately sent back to supervise the train of wagons bringing to Utah a sugar factory that John W. Taylor had purchased in France.

After the death of Jedediah M. Grant, the first mayor of Salt Lake City, Abraham O. Smoot was elected by the city council in November 1856 to take his place. The following year he was reelected mayor at the regular election. He continued to be reelected until 1866, a total of ten years, serving entirely without pay.

Smoot Receives a Call

By 1868, after many years of privation, Abraham O. Smoot finally finished a commodious home for his family. He had just settled into it when Brigham Young called him to be the new president of Utah Stake with headquarters in Provo. Smoot family tradition has it that the mayor vigorously protested to President Young. First of all, he had obligations as the elected mayor of Salt Lake City and was also a federal office holder. He had already served three missions for the Church and for the first time in his life he had his family comfortably housed. Not accustomed to opposition of this kind, President Young fixed his eye on Mayor Smoot and said, "You can either go to Provo or to hell."³ Smoot went to Provo.

Whatever Smoot thought before he decided to comply, he was not prone to docile capitulation. His was a strong personality, and he never hesitated to speak his mind and hold tenaciously to a position he considered to be right. Some considered him equal in many ways to Brigham Young.⁴ This quality was responsible for saving Brigham

3. This incident was also related to Ernest L. Wilkinson in 1926, while Wilkinson was a student at Harvard Law School, by Dean James Parker Hall of the University of Chicago Law School.

4. Newbern I. Butt, "The Triumvirate of Brigham Young Academy: Brigham Young, A. O. Smoot, and Karl G. Maeser," unpublished paper, n.d., BYU Archives, p. 8.

Young Academy on several occasions. In deferring to President Young's counsel, A. O. Smoot was simply manifesting the great loyalty and faith which he felt toward his leader.

The people of Provo were jubilant with the appointment of A. O. Smoot as their new stake president. They showed their appreciation by immediately electing him mayor. He continued in that capacity, again without compensation, for twelve years.

Just as President Young had hoped, A. O. Smoot became the temporal as well as spiritual leader of the people in Utah Valley. He helped organize two banks and served as president in each of them until the day of his death. He was also an organizer and president of the Utah Woolen Mills and president of the Provo Cooperative Institution. In addition, he operated a lumber mill and a variety of real estate developments. But no position held by A. O. Smoot seems to have monopolized his time, anxiety, and personal finances more than his position as the President of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy. His indebtedness at the time of his death was due almost exclusively to his determined commitment to keep Brigham Young Academy alive even though it cost him a fortune.

The Timid Beginnings of Brigham Young Academy

Under A. O. Smoot's leadership, the first task of the Board of Trustees was to resurrect the new Academy from the ashes of the recently closed Timpanogos Branch. They once more used the Lewis Building, the former school's shabby, much used and abused facility of learning. Earlier that year the *Utah County Times* carried an editorial stating that "the wear and tear of a building used constantly as a schoolhouse, meeting room, and dancing academy for the space of fifteen years, has, we must admit, taken off considerable polish."⁵

When after many delays the school opened on 3 January 1876, there were not many students to welcome. The Timpanogos Branch had opened with a burst of enthusiasm which brought in three hundred students, but only seventy showed up for the beginning of "the first experimental term" of Brigham Young Academy.⁶

The Board of Trustees minutes show nothing for a period of three months, indicating that this first "experimental term" was allowed to assume a leisurely course of quiet survival while the Board was looking for a permanent principal. By April a revolutionary change was in store for the Academy. Circumstances unexpectedly permitted the employment of one of the most outstanding educational personalities in the entire territory — Karl G. Maeser.

5. *Utah County Times*, 27 February 1875.

6. *Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools, 1876*, p. 11; the territorial superintendent of schools, O. H. Riggs, attributed this in part to the fact that "The Trustees have adopted the prepaid system [of paying tuition] which caused some agitation."

The record shows that the Board of Trustees for the new Brigham Young Academy had been seeking to recruit Karl G. Maeser for a number of months. Board member Martha Jane Coray recorded in her journal on 24 October 1875: "I went to meeting, Maeser did not come."⁷

It was not like Maeser to miss an appointment, but it may have been by design. At this time he was eminently successful in the operation of his school in the Twentieth Ward in Salt Lake City, and it may have been for this reason that he did not exhibit any particular interest in the position of principal at the new Brigham Young Academy. It may have been Maeser's failure to appear on October 24 which compelled the Board to ask Warren Dusenberry to serve as the principal *pro tem*.

Probably Warren Dusenberry himself urged the appointment of Karl G. Maeser. Susa Young Gates, daughter of President Young, stated, "When the plan of establishing a religious school at Provo had developed in the mind of President Young, the name of Karl G. Maeser was suggested to him by Brother Warren N. Dusenberry, who was principal of the Academy so recently founded."⁸ A. O. Smoot also had a warm recommendation for Karl G. Maeser, since they had been associated in the Twentieth Ward while Smoot was mayor of Salt Lake City.⁹ However, it is unlikely that Karl G. Maeser would have accepted the principalship of Brigham Young Academy had it not been for a sudden change of circumstances in his school in Salt Lake City.

An Arsenal Explodes and Maeser Goes to Provo

On 5 April 1876 a huge arsenal located just north of Salt Lake City blew up. The resulting shockwave caused thousands of dollars in damages to the Twentieth Ward schoolhouse where Maeser was teaching. Susa Young Gates, a daughter of Brigham Young, explains how it had a direct bearing on Maeser's appointment as principal of Brigham Young Academy:

In the spring of 1876, just before April Conference, there occurred the bursting of the powder magazine on Arsenal Hill. Brother Maeser was teaching in the Twentieth Ward school house, and the terrible shock of that occurrence brought all the plaster from the ceiling to the floor.

Going at once to the President's office in search of Bishop John Sharp to report the state of the house, Brother Maeser found himself in the presence of the President as well as the Bishop.

His report was made, and he added that he could not teach school until the building was repaired.

7. The Provo Board had scheduled a meeting with Maeser as early as October 1875; see Martha Coray, journal, 24 October 1875.
8. Susa Young Gates, "Dr. Karl G. Maeser," *Young Woman's Journal* 3(1892):482.
9. Susa Young Gates, "President A. O. Smoot," *Young Woman's Journal* 3(1892):434.

“That is just right,” cheerfully announced the President, “I want to give you a mission to teach in the Brigham Young Academy at Provo.”

Action followed close upon the word with President Young. “Brother Smoot and the Board of Trustees are up here now,” said President Young.¹⁰

President Young’s opening statement — that Maeser was to go on a new “mission” — almost put him in a state of shock. His son, Reinhard Maeser, describes how he felt:

What! another mission! What could it be? Financial daylight was just beginning to dawn upon him. And now another mission! It fairly took his breath away. What did it all mean?

“Yes,” said the President, “We have been considering the establishment of a Church school, and are looking around for a man — the man to take charge of it. You are the man, Brother Maeser. We want you to go to Provo to organize and conduct the Academy to be established in the name of the Church — a Church school.”¹¹

President A. O. Smoot and the Board of Trustees met the very next day, and informal arrangements were probably made at that time to appoint Karl G. Maeser as the new principal of Brigham Young Academy.¹² Thus the destiny of this great educator and the struggling Provo school were interlocked.

Karl G. Maeser

Karl Gottfried Maeser was born 16 January 1828 in the small town of Meissen, Saxony, in Germany.¹³ The principal industry of the town was a large porcelain factory where his father worked as a master painter of chinaware.¹⁴ His father regretted that he had not gone on to become a professional artist, and later told his son Karl:

Karl, if it had not been for this temporary touch of success [employment as a master painter of chinaware], the creations of my mind and brush might have adorned the great art galleries of the world, and my name might have been written with the great artists of my time, but, Karl, I painted for bread too soon.¹⁵

Maeser attended the public school at Meissen, studying the subjects that were stressed in the Prussian schools of that period: religion,

10. Gates, “Maeser,” p. 482.

11. Reinhard Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1928), p. 77. As will be noted hereafter, BYA did not officially become a Church school until 1896 (twenty years later), although from the beginning it leaned heavily on voluntary help from the Church for its support.

12. Gates, “Maeser,” p. 482.

13. Reinhard Maeser, *Maeser*, p. 10.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

geography, composition, arithmetic, history, and music.¹⁶ While attending this school, young Karl developed serious eye trouble that shortly left him totally blind. It was feared that this might be a permanent disability, but after eight months of blindness his sight suddenly returned.¹⁷

Karl caught up with his studies and at the age of fourteen was honored as one of the brighter students of his school¹⁸ by being admitted to the gymnasium in nearby Dresden.¹⁹ This particular *gymnasium* or *Kreuzschule* was one of the more famous schools in that part of Germany.²⁰ Twenty years earlier composer Richard Wagner had attended it for six years.²¹

It is apparent from the record that young Maeser was already directing his career toward professional teaching. In addition to Greek, Latin, German and English, he included in his classes mathematics, history, geography, science, drawing, music, and gymnastics.²² Lutheran religion classes were required subjects, and gave the students a broad, in-depth study of religious principles from the Lutheran point of view.²³

A final examination required at the end of the course lasted one entire day and featured written and oral examinations including the translation of texts in the foreign languages Maeser had studied.²⁴

After completing his work at the gymnasium, Maeser proceeded to take more advanced studies at the famous Dresden *Friedrichstadt Schullehrerseminar*.²⁵ This was one of the official teacher-training colleges which supplied instructors to the common schools of Germany. Maeser found the professors of the college deeply committed to many new educational concepts emanating from such famous educators as Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel.²⁶ Maeser studied Pestalozzi's teaching principles and later utilized these guidelines in setting up the teacher-training program for Brigham Young Academy.²⁷

16. Levi Sealey, *The Common-School System of Germany and Its Lessons to America* (New York: E. L. Kellogg and Co., 1896), pp. 87-88.

17. "Dedicatory," *Daily Enquirer* (Provo), 4 January 1892.

18. Seeley, *Common-School System*, p. 138.

19. Brigham Young Academy Domestic Meeting Minutes, 27 May 1880, BYU Archives; hereafter cited as Domestic Meeting Minutes.

20. Gustav Klemm, *Chronik der königlich sächsischen Residenzstadt Dresden und ihrer Bürger* (Dresden: C. F. Grimmer, 1835), p. 140.

21. Ernest Newman, *The Life of Richard Wagner*, 3 Vols. (New York: A. Knopf, 1940), 1:45-52.

22. Seeley, *Common-School System*, p. 141.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 156.

24. Alexander Ott, "Modern Germany, IV," *Deseret News*, 7 November 1860.

25. Klemm, *Chronik*, p. 524.

26. Friedrich Paulson, *Die Deutschen Universitäten, und das universitätsstadium* (Berlin: A. Asher, 1902), pp. 60ff.

27. Though Maeser was a stricter disciplinarian than Pestalozzi, his compassion for poor children and his deep concern about object lesson instruc-

After successfully passing three rigorous examinations, young Maeser graduated from the teachers college and in May 1848, at twenty years of age, began his professional life as a schoolteacher.²⁸

He first went to Bohemia, where he obtained employment as a tutor to the children of several prominent Protestant families. After three years he returned to Dresden to teach at the first district school. A short time later he was promoted to a position on the staff of the Budig Institute.²⁹

It was during this period that Karl G. Maeser met Edward Schoenfield, who was to be his lifelong friend and future brother-in-law.³⁰ In fact, it was Schoenfield who introduced Karl to Anna Mieth, daughter of the principal at the Budig Institute.³¹ This introduction had some long-lasting consequences, for in June 1854, when Karl was a little over 26 years of age, he was married to Anna in the Lutheran Church in Dresden.³²

First LDS Convert in Saxony

Young Maeser was eventually promoted to the position of vice-principal of Budig Institute. Shortly afterwards he happened to read a highly inflammatory anti-Mormon pamphlet written by a German named Moritz Busch.³³ This pamphlet, instead of turning him away

tion later won him the appellation "The Pestalozzi of the Rocky Mountains." See John T. Miller, "The Pestalozzi of the Rocky Mountains," *The Character Builder* 40(October 1927):1. For Maeser's interpretation of Pestalozzian pedagogy see Benjamin Cluff Theological Notes, 1882 to 1885, BYU Archives, pp. 59ff.

28. Karl G. Maeser, *School and Fireside* (Provo, Utah: Skelton & Co., 1898), p. 351. This book, the only one Maeser ever wrote, shows his systematic adjustment of the German system to the Church Educational System. The teacher training course he took in Dresden was similar to the one he later implemented in the Normal Department at Brigham Young Academy. Maeser's inclination was pedagogical rather than scholarly, and he always regarded himself as a trainer of teachers rather than as a researcher.
29. Ibid., p. 352.
30. Edward Schoenfield, "Dr. Karl G. Maeser," *Liahona: The Elders' Journal* 9 (August 1911):81.
31. Reinhard Maeser, *Maeser*, p. 14.
32. Alma Burton, *Karl G. Maeser: Mormon Educator* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1953), pp. 3-4.
33. A professor of theology at the University of Leipzig and, later, a free-lance writer and editor, Busch was a figure of some renown in Dresden during Maeser's time. Busch's works on the Mormons relied heavily on such anti-Mormon works as Henry Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, which, as Busch's only translator and biographer Norman H. Binger says, "he principally relied upon — or 'plagiarized'" (Norman H. Binger, trans., *Travels between the Hudson and the Mississippi* by Moritz Busch (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1971), pp. 14-20). His travelogue, *Wanderungen zwischen Hudson und Mississippi*, 1850-51, 2 Vols.

from Mormonism, aroused his curiosity. Maeser took it to his friend Schoenfield, and when neither of them could follow the tract's antagonistic line of reasoning, Maeser wrote a letter to Elder Van Cott, president of the Scandinavian Mission at Copenhagen, suggesting that he send some of his best-informed missionaries to Saxony.³⁴ Elder Van Cott promptly sent Maeser's letter to Elder Daniel Tyler, president of the Swiss-German Mission,³⁵ but President Tyler became fearful that the Maeser letter might be a German government trap — missionaries were being arrested whenever they attempted to preach the gospel in Saxony. As a precaution, President Tyler decided to mail Maeser's letter back to him without an explanation. Tyler explained this to his missionaries by saying that if Maeser was sincere in wanting to know more about the Church he would write again. Maeser did so and President Tyler forwarded the new letter to Franklin D. Richards, president of the entire European Mission, with offices in Liverpool, England. Upon reading the letter, President Richards was strongly impressed that Karl G. Maeser was sincere and that consideration should be given to getting the gospel message to him. He therefore called in a missionary named William Budge, who had been converted in Scotland and was one of his most experienced missionaries.³⁶ He was the same age as Maeser. President Richards explained the situation to Elder Budge and asked him if he would like to undertake this mission to Germany, though he was not being instructed to do so because it might result in his arrest and imprisonment. Young Budge accepted

(Stuttgart: Cotta, 1854), contained one chapter on the Latter-day Saints, entitled "Die Heligen vom jungsten Tage" (2: 1-83). Binger characterized it as "an account critical of the dogma but sympathetic toward the experiences of the Mormons." The travelogue is very similar to Busch's book *Die Mormonen, Ihr Staat, Ihr Profet und Ihre Glauben* (Leipzig, Carl B. Lorchk), which was published in 1855.

34. Franklin L. West, *Life of Franklin D. Richards* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1924), p. 129.
35. Karl G. Maeser, "How I Became a Mormon," *Improvement Era* 3 (November 1899):24.
36. William Budge served under unusual circumstances and was a most dedicated missionary. At the age of sixteen while living in Glasgow he saw some blazing newspaper headlines telling of the martyrdom of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum. Although he had never heard of Joseph Smith or the Mormon Church, Budge was incensed that such a thing could happen in a free land like America. Four years later a friend invited him to attend a Latter-day Saint meeting in one of the large halls in Glasgow. Study convinced him that the Church was true, and Budge was baptized on 31 December 1848. Two years later he was ordained an elder and called to preach the gospel without purse or scrip in England. For nine years Budge labored as a missionary, his appointment taking him to Switzerland where he presided over the Swiss Mission, to Scotland where he presided over the Glasgow Conference, to England where he presided over five different conferences, and at various times to Italy, Switzerland, and Germany.

the challenge and with only the most meager means made his way cautiously toward Dresden.

Elder Budge finally located Karl G. Maeser, who welcomed him warmly and invited him to occupy a room in the Maeser home. Although Budge spoke little German, the young Scotch convert taught the basics of Mormonism to Karl G. Maeser and his brother-in-law, Edward Schoenfield, in only two weeks. Both of them were converted and asked to be baptized. The baptismal date was set for 14 October 1855, when President Richards and Elder William Kimball could be present. By the time of their arrival, Elder Budge had also converted one Edward Martin. At midnight on the designated date Apostle Franklin D. Richards, William Kimball, and Elder Budge took Karl G. Maeser, Edward Schoenfield, and Edward Martin to the Elbe River and baptized them. Precautions were taken to avoid attracting the attention of the police.

Later Karl G. Maeser wrote of his baptism as follows:

On coming out of the water, I lifted both of my hands to heaven and said, "Father, if what I have done just now is pleasing unto thee, give me a testimony and whatever thou shouldst require at my hands I shall do, even to the laying down of my life for this cause."³⁷

The testimony came almost immediately, as Maeser and Franklin D. Richards received the gift of interpretation of tongues as they walked back to Maeser's home. Karl G. Maeser related the story:

Our conversation was on the subject of the authority of the Priesthood, Elder Budge acting as interpreter. Suddenly I stopped Elder Budge from interpreting President Richards' remarks, as I understood them, and replied in German; when again the interpretation was not needed as President Richards understood me also. Thus we continued conversing until we arrived at the point of separation, when the manifestation as suddenly ceased as it had come.³⁸

Maeser had entered the Mormon faith knowing that this would probably terminate his professional career as an educator in Germany. No one had been baptized a Mormon in Saxony up to that time,³⁹ and Maeser knew that when word spread through the community that he had become a member of this hated sect he would be "scourged from

37. Karl G. Maeser, "How I Became a Mormon," p. 25; for Richard's reaction, see West, *Franklin D. Richards*, p. 131.

38. Ibid. It is apparent from this statement that Elder Budge knew some German. He had already taught the gospel for several weeks in Germany and on this occasion was serving as "translator." This point is emphasized since some writers say that Budge spoke no German. The above information clearly indicates otherwise; see Schoenfield, "Maeser," p. 82.

39. Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:708.

the city.”⁴⁰ This prospect led him to take his wife and two children in the middle of the night and leave Dresden with the Schoenfields.

They had intended to make their way to the headquarters of the Church in America, but en route they stopped briefly in London, where Karl was called on a mission to Scotland. The Schoenfields continued their journey alone.

Journey to America

When the mission was completed, Brother Maeser took his wife and two children and set sail for New York City. Two days out of New York, their little family was stricken by the death of one of their children. Heartbroken and without friends, they disembarked in New York, where they buried this beloved child.

They proceeded to Philadelphia, where another surprise awaited them: Maeser was called on a mission to the southern states. Traveling without purse or scrip, Maeser often went without food and recreation. While in Richmond, Virginia, he ventured into a music store and asked if he could play one of their pianos. When a distinguished-looking gentleman came into the store and asked for a demonstration, Maeser volunteered. The man, John Tyler, former president of the United States, bought the piano and hired Maeser to give lessons to his two daughters.⁴¹ After six months in Virginia, Maeser was called back to Philadelphia to preside over the conference there. He remained on his mission until June 1860, when he was selected to lead a company of converts to Salt Lake City.

The arduous journey to the mountains took most of the summer, and they did not arrive until September 1860.⁴² It had been five years since Maeser and his family had left Dresden, Germany. During the intervening years he had served two missions and one of their children had died. He had also become remarkably proficient in the use of the English language, though a strong German accent remained with him throughout his life.⁴³

Maeser Becomes a Teacher in Utah

Upon his arrival in Salt Lake City, Karl G. Maeser discovered that another convert, Professor Alexander Ott, a graduate from the University of Berlin, had written a number of articles in the *Deseret News* on the German system of graded classes.⁴⁴ Consequently the prestige of

40. Ibid. Because of pressures from the police, Budge left Dresden shortly after the baptism.

41. Reinhard Maeser, *Maeser*, p. 34.

42. “Immigrants Arriving,” *Deseret News*, 5 September 1860.

43. Edward Schoenfield, “Maeser,” p. 83.

44. Alexander Ott, “Modern Germany,” *Deseret News*, 7, 14, and 21 November 1860.

German education was such that all those who had been trained under its discipline were able to secure immediate employment in the various schools which were springing up in Salt Lake City at that time.

Within seven weeks of his arrival in Salt Lake City, Karl G. Maeser had joined forces with Professor Alexander Ott to set up special classes of instruction in the “higher branches of education.” An advertisement to this effect in the *Deseret News* of October 31 stated:

The undersigned beg to inform the Public that they intend opening evening classes for English, German, French, Italian, Latin, Greek, Gymnastics, Music — Piano, Drawing, Bookkeeping, Mathematics and all the branches of a sound and practical education on November 15th.⁴⁵

The announcement not only described the proposed evening classes for adults, but indicated that within a few weeks there would be an “academy for the general instruction for Boys and Girls.” Tuition would be \$5 per quarter — to be paid in advance — and any who paid in produce could do so at the tithing office price.

Seven days later another announcement in the *Deseret News* advised that the Fifteenth Ward School would be called the Deseret Lyceum, and that Karl G. Maeser and Professor Ott would teach all of the branches of sound and practical education, including the classical languages, drawing, bookkeeping, and mathematics.

On the opening day, November 15, Karl G. Maeser was horrified with the conditions at the Fifteenth Ward chapel or schoolhouse. As he said, “I began teaching in the 15th Ward under conditions so primitive that teachers of today [1890s] can have no conception of them.”⁴⁶ He later pointed out the disadvantages of the early schools, which made no distinction between administrative, teaching, and janitorial functions, the teachers having to do all three. Since he came from an aristocratic background in which he was never obliged to do any menial labor, this at first disturbed Maeser, but he accepted it and quickly changed his mode of life. He went to work with so much vigor that he soon attracted the attention of community leaders, especially Brigham Young. Maeser was placed in charge of the Union Academy in February 1861.⁴⁷ This academy was a considerable improvement over the former ward school in that it was intended to educate students who had progressed beyond grammar school, and the facilities were better suited to Maeser’s educational philosophy.

He replaced Orson Pratt as principal and immediately set about developing a complete school system, with various grammar schools feeding students to the Union Academy just as under the German system.

45. “Private School,” *Deseret News*, 31 October 1860; see the 7 November 1860 issue for a more extensive advertisement.

46. Karl G. Maeser, *School and Fireside*, p. 355.

47. Reinhard Maeser, *Maeser*, pp. 38-39.

It was characteristic of Maeser to be concerned about the poor children who could not attend school. Maeser advised the trustees that "I also consider it my duty to take in the elementary classes all those children free of any charge that bring me a note from Bishop Davis testifying their inability to pay on account of poverty."⁴⁸ To this devoted German convert, the principles of education and the principles of the gospel complemented each other like the fingers of a hand. While at the Union Academy Maeser enjoyed a very pleasant association with Alexander Ott, Edward Schoenfield, James Cobb, and Orson Pratt. Nevertheless, the overall structure of the Union Academy did not suit Maeser's highest educational aspirations. By the end of the school term in 1861 he approached President Young with the possibility of making a change and, after receiving President Young's approval, Maeser accepted a new position at the Twentieth Ward Seminary, beginning in the fall of 1862.⁴⁹

The Twentieth Ward School

This school came to be one of the most successful in the community.⁵⁰ It was fully graded following the German pattern, with a day school and a night school,⁵¹ and Maeser had as assistants several fine young scholars and educators who were just acquiring their professional reputations. It was not long before "the professor" began to be a recognized leader in the community. Maeser had an instinctive interest in science as well as pedagogy, and during the years 1866 and 1867 the *Juvenile Instructor* printed twenty-six different articles which he wrote on nature subjects.

But Maeser continued to serve as a jack-of-all-trades: teacher, principal, fund-raiser, janitor, treasurer, and secretary.⁵²

During these years Maeser also had to come to grips with another very practical problem — his own financial security. Try as he would, he couldn't earn enough from the Twentieth Ward Seminary to live on. President Young offered to let him earn additional compensation by teaching in his own private school. This would permit Brigham's children to receive "such a course of instruction as only a thorough school teacher can give them."⁵³

Later, President Young made arrangements for Maeser to serve as an organist in the Tabernacle. He also obtained employment as an

48. Karl G. Maeser Papers, 11 October 1861, LDS Church Historical Department.

49. Reinhard Maeser, *Maeser*, pp. 39-40.

50. *Biographical Record of Salt Lake City and Vicinity* (Chicago: National Historical Record Co., 1902), p. 380.

51. Reinhard Maeser, *Maeser*, p. 40.

52. Theodore Schreiber, "Pioneer Education in Utah: The Story of Karl Gottfried Maeser," *American-German Review* 3 (April 1942):16.

53. Brigham Young to Karl G. Maeser, 20 May 1865, Brigham Young Correspondence, LDS Church Historical Department.

accountant with L. W. Hardy. Thus Maeser occupied four positions at once: principal of the Twentieth Ward School, teacher of Brigham Young's children, accountant, and Tabernacle organist. There is evidence he also taught adult evening classes at Brigham Young's private school.⁵⁴

Ironically, all of this frantic activity to teach school and earn a living suddenly came to an abrupt halt in 1867. Karl G. Maeser was sitting in the Tabernacle at a general conference of the Church when he was startled by an announcement from the stand that he was called as a missionary in the German-Swiss Mission.⁵⁵ Dutifully he prepared to go, and with a spirit of devout dedication he recorded in his journal that he and Elder Octave Ursenbach departed for Europe 10 May 1867, traveling without funds.⁵⁶

Maeser's Mission to Germany

It had been twelve years since Karl G. Maeser left Germany, and despite the adverse circumstances under which he left home he must have had a feeling of excitement as he returned to his native land. One of his important objectives was to convert his relatives, but though Maeser was a very energetic and successful missionary, his relatives did not respond to the message of the gospel.

After serving approximately two years in various missionary capacities, Brother Maeser was appointed president of the Swiss-German Mission in the summer of 1869.⁵⁷ In this new position he published the first edition of the official German LDS Church magazine, *Der Stern*. During this period he also developed "a wonderful system of teacher's report books, by which it was absolutely impossible for a visiting teacher to shirk his duty without being noticed."⁵⁸

By the time of Maeser's release on 27 February 1870, the entire Swiss-German Mission reflected his penchant for good organization. For nearly three years he had served honorably and efficiently, and except for his inability to convert his own relatives, his mission was extremely successful.

Maeser Becomes a University Professor

Upon his return to Salt Lake City, Maeser found that the University of Deseret, after lying dormant since 1852, had finally been revived under John R. Park, a former teacher in the Draper Academy.⁵⁹ Park welcomed Maeser's return and recorded on 8 July 1870 that he had

54. See *Deseret News*, 12 December 1860.

55. Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:709.

56. Reinhard Maeser, *Maeser*, p. 50; see also a memorandum dated 11 August 1969 in the BYU Centennial History Papers, BYU Archives.

57. Reinhard Maeser, *Maeser*, p. 68.

58. Edward Schoenfield, "Maeser," p. 83.

59. Ralph Chamberlin, *University of Utah*, pp. 68ff.

successfully recruited the German educator to the university staff. He "would fill the chair of Professor of German."⁶⁰ True to form, by January 1871 Maeser was also filling in on several classes which had been left vacant when another professor was discharged. Maeser was also temporarily commandeered to teach Latin and Greek history classes until Charles Leon Bellerive could be employed.⁶¹

Although Maeser obviously enjoyed teaching on the university level, too much was too much. Furthermore, his first love was the training of children and prospective teachers. He therefore obtained authorization from President Young to leave the university. He returned enthusiastically to the Twentieth Ward Seminary on 3 April 1871, where he immediately launched into a vigorous teaching program.

But it seemed that whenever he was settled comfortably the Church found something else for him to do: in 1875 President Brigham Young asked him to take over the new Brigham Young Academy in Provo.

Maeser Reports for Duty at Brigham Young Academy

On 5 April 1876, immediately after the arsenal exploded in Salt Lake City, Karl G. Maeser attended a meeting with President Young and the Brigham Young Academy Board of Trustees to arrange for his employment as principal. Maeser's salary was set at \$1,200. When one considers Maeser's teaching experience, his position of responsibility as principal, and the rate of pay given to professors at the University of Deseret, this salary was quite low, even for pioneer times. It was also stipulated that he would be compensated "in such pay as was taken in by the Treasurer." This meant a good part of his pay would be in produce.⁶² By comparison, John R. Park received \$2,000 in 1868 as principal of the University of Deseret, while F. M. Bishop, Joseph L. Rawlins, and M. M. Cook were paid \$1,600 as regular teachers.⁶³

When Maeser arrived at Provo on 21 April 1876, it was apparent that an enormous task awaited him:

There were no records, not much system, certainly no regularity, the former principal being so busily engaged with his court duties that school began at anytime between nine and 11 o'clock, and sometimes not at all.⁶⁴

The badly run-down Lewis Building was equally discouraging. The fence that had been started the year before had not been completed, the cellar leaked, and the principal's office lacked furniture.⁶⁵ The

60. Journal of John Rocky Park, 8 July 1870, LDS Church Historical Department.

61. Ibid., 5 January 1871.

62. BYA Board Minutes, 15 April 1876.

63. Minutes of the Board of Regents of the University of Deseret, 22 August 1872 and 22 June 1874.

64. Gates, "Maeser," p. 482.

65. BYA Board Minutes, 29 June 1878.

stairs between the first and second stories on the outside were left exposed to the weather and were in need of repair.⁶⁶ All of this led the new principal to remark that he “found premises inadequate, facilities limited, students few in number and poorly prepared, and financial conditions exceedingly discouraging.”⁶⁷ To add to the discouragement, Maeser had to begin the new term with only a tenth of the enrollment of the Timpanogos Branch the year before. Even Brigham Young Academy, starting three months earlier under Warren Dusenberry, had an enrollment of seventy. Now it was down to twenty-nine.⁶⁸

There are several conflicting lists of the famous twenty-nine pupils who comprised Maeser’s first class, but the most accurate probably is the list found by Alma Burton while he was collecting material for a biography of Karl G. Maeser. In the attic of the Maeser Memorial Building he discovered a piece of scratch paper which contained a list “written at a reunion held at the residence of J. B. Keeler 26 May 1920”:

Mary J. John Cluff, Alice Smoot Newell, Olive Smoot Bean, Electa Bullock Smoot, Louise Bean Thompson, Rose Moore Searle, Hannah Billings Booth, Martha John Williams, Hannah Stubbs Jones, Rose McEwan Haws, Sarah Eggertsen Cluff, Reed Smoot, Alma Greenwood, Fannie Rogers, Diantha Billings Worsley, Zina Smoot Whitney, John J. Walton, Mary Nielson Hansen, Caddie Daniels Mills, Mary Roberts Farrer, Minerva Jones Dailey, Emma Stubbs Taylor, Rachel Ferre McEwan, S. P. Eggertsen, Joseph B. Keeler, Jonathan L. Harvey, Andrew Watson, Thomas Stradling, Marietta Riggs Beesley.⁶⁹

In spite of the poor facilities and low enrollment the people of Provo continued to refer to the Academy as their “University.” This was no doubt a carry-over from its previous status as a branch of the University of Deseret. According to O. H. Riggs, the territorial superintendent of schools, it was time the people of Provo became realistic about the true status of education in their community. He said if they would

consent to throw away the name “University,” which is simply a fraud as applied to their high school, and establish the graded system, have the primary classes taught in the Ward school houses, and the intermediate, grammar, and academic departments taught in the University building, much good might be accomplished.⁷⁰

66. Ibid., 30 June 1877.

67. Karl G. Maeser, “A Retrospect,” *The Normal*, 4 January 1892.

68. Brigham Young Academy Principal’s Report, 24 April 1876, Current Printed Matter Section, BYU Archives; hereafter cited as Principal’s Report or President’s Report.

69. Alma Burton, *Karl G. Maeser: Mormon Educator*, p. 29.

70. *Deseret News*, 27 February 1875.

As far as Karl G. Maeser was concerned the first task was to get the students to school on time. They seemed satisfied to come dragging into school just about any time that suited them. To require them to all be there by 9 A.M. was considered an outrage. Nevertheless, by the end of the term Maeser was able to report that “punctuality, order, and conduct” had been generally established.⁷¹

Problems of the Academy

To George Q. Cannon, a member of the LDS Church First Presidency, who had lived through the rugged pioneer days of Utah Territory, the Lewis Hall appeared “commodious,” “centrally located,” and “well furnished with the appliances necessary to the comfort and encouragement of its students.”⁷² However, in a 1941 commencement address given to the graduating class of BYU, George Sutherland, one of Maeser’s former students and at the time a justice of the United States Supreme Court, described the old Lewis Hall:

It stood at a corner on Center Street, a grim non-descript structure without beauty or grace or any other aesthetic feature calculated to invite a second look. The lower floor was made up of two large rooms at the front, and two small ones at the back. The upper floor had been designed for use as a theater. It consisted of one large room and a stage — both so utterly bare and gloomy as to make inappropriate any form of entertainment except tragedy.⁷³

Karl G. Maeser recognized that the Lewis Hall was far from ideal, but its facilities represented the best Provo could offer at the time. He therefore determined to make the best of it. Occasionally, however, he felt compelled to complain to the Board of Trustees. One of his major problems was the policy of the Board and President Young to make the school economically self-sufficient.⁷⁴ In order to do this, the hall on the second floor of the building was often rented out for entertainment and public meetings — even while school was in session. These entertainments and other rental receipts probably brought the school little more than \$100 a year while creating tremendous difficulties for the administration of the Academy.⁷⁵ Some idea of Maeser’s problems may be derived from the following report he made to the Board:

71. Principal’s Report, 30 June 1876.

72. George Q. Cannon, “The Brigham Young Academy,” *Deseret News*, 25 April 1879.

73. George Sutherland, Message to the 1941 Graduating Class of Brigham Young University, BYU Library Special Collections.

74. Joseph E. Taylor, “Life and Labors of the Late President of the Board,” Abraham O. Smoot Papers, d1323, p. 42, LDS Church Historical Department.

75. Some businesses probably also used the building. For example, Martha Coray recorded in her journal, “Boliver Roberts and Co. paid hall \$2.00 for rent” (Journal of Martha Coray, 6 December 1875).

The moving of the recitation benches when Theatricals or other kinds of performances are going on upstairs causes not only a great disturbance in the arrangement of the schoolrooms, but the wear and tear begins to tell upon the benches already to a very noticable extent. Empty whiskey bottles are found after a great many of those parties around the premises and the building is shaken by round dances, so that the parties have already left the building in alarm while these dances are going on. These and other reasons of just as great import make it my duty to urge upon the Board of Directors the necessity of rectifying these complaints as soon as practicable.⁷⁶

These entertainments often required the students to “shift about the building” during performances, which was not only an imposition on the students but also very wearing on the desks and benches which had to be stacked or moved about.⁷⁷

In spite of such criticisms, however, the principal was anxious to avoid antagonizing the community. One of his major problems when he took over the Academy was to generate community support. In the Dusenberry era there had been great enthusiasm for the Academy, but the five years of disintegration before the Maeser administration almost completely destroyed community confidence in the school.

As far as finances were concerned, Karl G. Maeser was caught in a vicious cycle. The low enrollment deprived the school of the necessary funds required to maintain proper educational standards. This in turn discouraged many parents from supporting the school. In the words of the National Historical Record:

Dr. Maeser experienced many trials and discouragements in his efforts to establish a higher system of education, and while there was a division of opinion as to the advantages to be derived from a higher education, yet the more serious problem was the lack of funds to properly carry on the work, and this last condition forced many to withhold their support who otherwise would have been most loyal supporters.⁷⁸

Another problem that was present both in Provo and at Brigham Young Academy during the early years was the occasional outbreak of liquor drinking and tobacco smoking. A few of the rougher Provo youths enrolled at the Academy, and though they represented a small minority, their actions, together with those of nonstudents, reflected on the school and the community. Some idea of the problem may be gained from an article in the *Provo Daily Times*, which stated:

Who are those whom we see at the street corners, in saloons and on the sidewalks, loafing, smoking, swearing, drinking, leering at

76. Principal's Report, 15 January 1877, p. 39.

77. Ibid., p. 37.

78. *Biographical Record of Salt Lake City and Vicinity*, pp. 380-81.

passing females, and wasting their time and energies in those pursuits that tend to their destruction mentally, physically and morally. It is a sad sight to see men, fathers of families, so conducting themselves that the respectable part of our community shun their company.⁷⁹

Conditions became serious enough that the leading citizens of Provo restricted the sale of whiskey within the city limits.⁸⁰ H. H. Cluff, who was then the treasurer of the Academy, said that this action in "prohibiting sales of Whiskey in Provo insured a feeling of confidence on the part of the people in the County in sending their children to the Academy."⁸¹

A. O. Smoot appeared before the bishops meeting during the summer of 1876 and stated that "he was grieved over the outbreak of hoodlumism at the late Sunday School Jubilee on the 24th of July at Payson, as it revived the old feeling that Provo was the roughest and wildest place in the Territory." He stated that those who were guilty of misconduct should be dealt with by their priesthood quorums, and said that "unless we hold these ruffians in their position they will walk us under."⁸²

Trying for Spiritual and Academic Excellence

Maeser was determined to fulfill Brigham Young's commission to make the Academy a Church school. On the opening day of school under his administration he said that he would be governed by

The words of the Prophet Joseph Smith, that he taught his people "correct principles and they govern themselves accordingly" . . . as the leading principle of discipline, and the words of President Brigham Young, that "neither the alphabet nor the multiplication tables were to be taught without the Spirit of God."⁸³

To cultivate a religious spirit at the Academy, Maeser instituted daily assemblies or devotionals for instruction and worship. He also instituted a theological class — at about the same time that a similar project was being rejected at the University of Deseret.⁸⁴ The principal sup-

79. "Advice to Young Men," *Provo Daily Times*, 11 March 1874.

80. Utah Stake Historical Records, 4 January 1876.

81. Utah Stake Bishops Meeting Minutes, 1 August 1876.

82. Ibid.

83. Karl G. Maeser, "A Retrospect."

84. The Board of Regents meeting of the University of Deseret of 25 October 1875 shows that regent George Q. Cannon raised the question as to "what the expense would be for a theological chair, in as much as he thought that some of the attendants of the University were inclined to infidelity and that it was necessary to correct any wrong idea which might be conceived by some of the students." After a ventilation of the subject, "the Chancellor thought that a theological chair better not be established for the present."

porters of the Academy in Provo had hoped that the curriculum could someday function around a theological course. Martha Coray, a member of the Board of Trustees, had written to President Brigham Young even before Maeser's coming, suggesting

a class to be formed in Ancient History carrying with it all our doctrine, as a system of religion. This for the benefit of young men who are likely to be called to preach the Gospel. While at the same time all the smaller classes shall be as thoroughly imbued with the same principles as may be, according to their capacity for comprehension. . . .

My principle in educating has been God's laws of religion first, Man's laws of honor and morality second, Science of every attainable kind and as much as possible but lastly in forming a permanent base for character and hope of future salvation.⁸⁵

President Brigham Young apparently intended that under Maeser's guidance the Academy would become a great source of strength for the Church. At the beginning of his second term, Maeser said, "President Young said this was a Theological school and out of it will grow our missionaries, presidents of stakes of Zion, our councilors and other responsible officers."⁸⁶

On the academic level, Maeser found that the students who enrolled at the Academy were not prepared to take courses beyond the fifth reader level of grammar school.⁸⁷ This was a great disappointment, since he had come to Provo expecting to set up the Academy on a high school level. He had the further ambition to set up at the earliest possible date a normal school for the training of teachers.⁸⁸ For the moment, however, he had no alternative but to settle down to the arduous and tedious task of preparing his students for more advanced studies. He also undertook to attract the attendance of more qualified students from surrounding counties.

Under these circumstances the curriculum for the grammar department was rather simple. His report for the end of the first term states that the department was divided into two reading groups, three classes in arithmetic on different levels, two classes in geography, a class of twenty in elocution, a class of fifteen in rhetoric, two classes in grammar, a class of nine students in natural history, a class of five students in U.S. history, and a class in spelling that the entire student body was required to attend.⁸⁹ But in spite of all the difficulties Maeser

85. Martha Coray to Brigham Young, 10 April 1876, Brigham Young Papers.

86. Minutes of a priesthood meeting held at Brigham Young Academy, 27 November 1877, BYU Archives No. 228.

87. *Utah Enquirer*, 23 May 1890.

88. President's Report, 27 October 1876, p. 19.

89. *Ibid.*, 30 June 1876, p. 6.

encountered at the commencement of his administration, he had the satisfaction of seeing the enrollment of twenty-nine students gradually increase to sixty-seven when the first term ended in July.⁹⁰

Maeser Faces the Realities of the Future

However, the hard facts reflected an extremely dismal prospect for the future. For example, by the end of the term on 30 July 1876 the bank balance of the Academy amounted to \$101.36.⁹¹ The tuition for students had been pegged at \$4 per term,⁹² and unless the enrollment could be greatly increased, it was obvious that the income from this source would not even pay the principal's meager salary, let alone those of his assistants. Furthermore, several factors were against a substantial increase in enrollment. First was the requirement set up by the Board of Trustees that tuition be paid in advance. Another was the fact that in 1874 the Territorial Assembly had passed a law calling for the taxing of all residents to help pay for the operation of the county and district school.⁹³ The obligation of paying taxes for public schools undoubtedly discouraged some parents from assuming the additional responsibility of paying tuition for the educating of their children in a private school such as the Academy. This was particularly true where the private school had a recent history of opening and closing in jumps and jerks because of inadequate financing. Many of the parents took the position of "wait and see" before they cared to risk the possibility of having their children transferred once more to a public school should the Academy fail to continue its operation.

To solve the problem a two-pronged thrust was launched. The first began during the summer of 1876 while school was in recess. Karl G. Maeser and Wilson H. Dusenberry, who was then serving as superintendent of Utah County Schools and executive secretary of the BYA Board of Trustees, toured the principal towns of Utah County to solicit the support of parents and the attendance of more students at the Academy during the fall term.⁹⁴

The second thrust was by the Utah Stake presidency, who urged the stake membership to make contributions to the Academy in order to provide a more substantial financial undergirding for the fall term.

90. Ibid., 24 April 1876.

91. BYA Board Minutes, 14 August 1876.

92. BYA Board Minutes, 4 December 1875. Tuition at Brigham Young Academy was less than tuition at Maeser's earlier schools. As late as 1884 grammar school students at BYA were charged only six to seven dollars per term, academic students seven to nine dollars per term, and normal students ten dollars per term.

93. John C. Moffitt, *A Century of Public Education in Provo, Utah* (Provo, Utah: 1944), p. 130.

94. Principal's Report, 27 October 1876.

The effort paid well. On the first day of the fall term ninety-seven students trooped in for registration.⁹⁵

Throughout the academic year of 1876-77 enrollment continued to grow, but this proved to be as much a burden as a blessing. The increased enrollment demanded the employment of additional teachers, but "the finances of the institution . . . did not warrant the employment of more teachers."⁹⁶ Both Maeser and the Board of Trustees had anticipated this, and were striving to tap a source of revenue which they hoped would solve their problem.

The idea was to embark upon a large program of teacher training. The entire territory was in desperate need of additional teachers and the Territorial Assembly had authorized the counties to disburse funds for the operation of the local schools, including teacher training. As a result, prospective teachers had been sent from the various counties to the University of Deseret. Karl G. Maeser now urged that the Utah County funds be used to send prospective teachers to Brigham Young Academy instead of sending them forty-five miles away to Salt Lake City.⁹⁷ The local officials were entirely sympathetic with this proposal, particularly since it would allow future teachers to be trained in an academic atmosphere where Mormon principles were included. A. O. Smoot had previously complained that "most of our school teachers are educated in the world, and while some embrace the gospel and labor to build up the Kingdom of God, others break down the weak and tender faith of our children."⁹⁸

There was no question about Karl G. Maeser's ability to sponsor a teacher training program: "In conformity with the whole plan of the Academy the Principal organized at the beginning of the First Academic Year a Normal Class, inviting students of the Grammar Department to join it. Nine students have volunteered and have continued diligently in the studies pertaining to this branch. The Normal Class met four times a week and the exercises consisted of lectures and class drills."⁹⁹

Utah County officials visited the Academy's Normal Class for the purpose of comparing it with the program at the University of Deseret. They were highly complimentary to the Academy and the Normal Class received the warm approval of these officials. The first Normal Class included several prominent citizens and future educators of

95. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy, 1884-85*, p. 3. Copies of early Brigham Young Academy circulars are on file in the BYU Archives.

96. Enid R. Anderson, "History of the College of Education," unpublished typescript, 1 October 1972, p. 16, BYU Archives.

97. John Taylor to Wilson H. Dusenberry, 10 August 1878, John Taylor Letter Book, LDS Church Historical Department.

98. Utah Stake Historical Record, 12 December 1869, LDS Church Historical Department, p. 171.

99. Principal's Report, 27 October 1876, p. 19.

Utah, among them Teenie Smoot, Joseph Keeler, and James Myron Tanner, all of whom later taught at Brigham Young Academy, and George Sutherland, a non-Mormon who ultimately became a Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.¹⁰⁰

When Wilson Dusenberry petitioned the county officials to support Maeser's outstanding Normal Class, he was authorized to notify the public that the county would immediately provide the tuition for twenty-six pupils to attend the Academy Normal Class.¹⁰¹ This development so enthused Maeser that he and Superintendent Dusenberry immediately set out to train teachers already in the field by having Maeser conduct a series of lectures "every other Saturday" during the winter.¹⁰²

Toward the end of the school year the County Officials were invited to visit the Academy and observe for themselves the progress that had been made in teacher training. The officials not only were impressed with the caliber of the program but were so disturbed by the pitiful resources Maeser had to work with that they went back and appropriated several hundred dollars to assist the Academy program.¹⁰³ This modicum of encouragement inspired Maeser with high hopes for the future.

Brigham Young Donates More Land

These hopes were further increased by Brigham Young's announcement on 1 June 1877 that he was contributing to the Brigham Young Academy trustees three and one-tenth acres of land immediately adjoining the property the Academy received in the original deed of trust.¹⁰⁴ This new gift was one of the most valuable pieces of property in downtown Provo and is estimated to have been worth between twelve thousand and sixteen thousand dollars at that time. In fact, the delivery of this property to the Trustees more than doubled the Academy's net worth.

An additional advantage which this property gave the Academy was the fact that the Church-owned tithing storehouses were located on this block. This meant that hereafter the Church would be paying rent to the Academy for the use of these buildings. Unfortunately, the amount of the rent was arranged verbally between Brigham Young and A. O. Smoot, and the lack of records led to serious dispute later on.

Meanwhile, this latest conveyance made the Academy the sole occupant of the entire block on Center Street between Second and Third

100. Gates, "Maeser," p. 483.

101. Utah County Court Records, 10 November 1876.

102. Principal's Report, 15 January 1877, p. 38.

103. Utah County Court Records, 5 June 1877.

104. For a copy of the indenture, see BYA Board Minutes, 15 June 1877.

West except for the Provo Co-op store which occupied the southwest corner.¹⁰⁵

Beginnings of Official Church Support

In the academic year 1878-79 approximately 100 students were attending the Brigham Young Academy each term, but by the fall of 1880, 313 scholars were crowding into the old Lewis Building.¹⁰⁶ Much of this was the direct result of the efforts of Karl G. Maeser, with the support of A. O. Smoot and the members of the Board. It became almost traditional for Karl G. Maeser and Milton Hardy to make regular tours throughout the entire territory. In 1880 they were joined by James E. Talmage, who was then in his late teens, and Maeser's son Reinhard. After one of these tours precocious young James E. Talmage wrote this interesting comment in his diary:

One thing is sure, the Professor likes to talk and is as on hot bricks while anyone else is talking. He instructed Reinhard and me that in our meetings neither of us should speak more than 10-15 minutes and this evening herein asked that we should 'cut down' our remarks to give him more time.¹⁰⁷

To support Principal Maeser in his recruiting project, the Board of Trustees issued its first official circular on 20 June 1879. This circular called upon the entire membership of the Church to support the Academy. Among other things it pointed out that

When many denominations of Christendom are raising thousands of dollars annually for the purpose of establishing and maintaining schools in which to allure our children away from the faith of their fathers the Latter-day Saints can certainly make a similar effort for the purpose of an institution, that endeavors to teach the children of this people, in connection with the arts and sciences, how to keep their faith, and to train teachers for the same end.¹⁰⁸

Included in this letter was an appeal to the Saints to raise a total of \$10,000. President Smoot stated that this fund-raising project had the approval of President John Taylor and that a committee for subscriptions would be set up in "every Stake of Zion."

President John Taylor watched the rather disappointing response to these financial appeals with the greatest anxiety. To demonstrate his own support he sent his children to the Academy, as did John Nuttall, secretary to the First Presidency, and George Reynolds, who had

105. BYA Board Minutes, 15 June 1877.

106. Register of Brigham Young Academy, 1876 to 1882, UA 219, Vol. 1, BYU Archives.

107. James E. Talmage, journal, 14 July 1881, BYU Library Special Collections.

108. From *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 29 June 1879. This was the first official circular of the Academy.

become a territorial hero because of his challenge of the federal anti-polygamy law.¹⁰⁹ During this period the Mormon Church leadership was under monumental pressure because of the federal government's threat to launch a massive prosecution of Mormons with multiple families. Furthermore, as indicated in the BYA Circular, churches in the East had combined their financial resources to send large sums of money to Utah to establish schools for the purpose of recruiting Mormon youth away from the faith of their parents. Under these trying circumstances President Taylor encouraged the Academy with the frugal resources available to the Church. On 18 August 1882 Karl G. Maeser was advised that the Church would appropriate \$400 in produce tithing for the purpose of underwriting the enrollment of the Normal School students. It was further provided that one-half of those who were trained for teaching had to be males.¹¹⁰ Students who received these scholarships were required to serve one year in one of the "schools among the Saints."¹¹¹ This was the beginning of limited but highly encouraging Church assistance which gradually increased throughout the years.

Schools serving Mormon communities existed not only in Utah but also in Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, and Idaho. It was hoped that ultimately the Academy in Provo could furnish all the teachers needed in these schools. By 1883 the future of Brigham Young Academy looked promising at last, and much would be expected from it in the coming years.

109. Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:208-9.

110. L. John Nuttall Papers, 28 August 1882, BYU Library Special Collections.

111. Karl G. Maeser to L. John Nuttall, 9 April 1883, L. John Nuttall Papers.

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The Holocaust: Struggling for Survival

In January 1884, almost nine years after Maeser came to Provo, Brigham Young Academy seemed to be on the verge of financial stability. But such hopes were shattered when on the night of January 27, the eve of the opening of the third term that year, the Lewis Building was gutted by fire. President A. O. Smoot described the event:

Last night about ten-thirty a fire broke out in the Brigham Young Academy. As soon as possible men were sent through the street calling "Fire." The meeting house bell was rung and immediately men from all parts [of] town were at work tearing down the adjoining buildings and pouring water over the remains. Two rows of men were formed from the burning building to the mill race about a block away, one row handing the empty buckets, the other those filled with water. Most of the furniture was saved by the students and bystanders removing it after the alarm had been circulated. There being no wind, the fire did not spread, but the flames of the burning academy were seen from Provo Bench a distance of from five to ten miles. It is supposed to have been done purposely by an enemy as there had been no fire in the parts where flames were first seen since Friday last. Estimate loss fifteen thousand; a meeting has been appointed at ten this morning to decide on the course to pursue, a guard is now around [the] ruins.¹

Academy student Ferdinand E. Ericksen wrote a letter to his sweetheart, saying, "It seemed rather a hard sight to behold the Academy in ruins last Monday morning: the dear old place where so many happy days had been spent to such good advantage; and it appeared to me almost like I was left without a home."²

But Karl G. Maeser did not waste time mourning the old building. Reed Smoot, one of his first students, who later became United States

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1. Abraham O. Smoot Papers, 28 January 1884, LDS Church Historical Department.
 2. Ferdinand E. Ericksen to Clementina Morrison, 2 February 1884, Ferdinand Erickson Papers, in custody of Elizabeth Kiddle, Claresholm, Alberta, Canada.

Senator, met Brother Maeser on the street and said, "Oh, Brother Maeser, the Academy is burned!" Brother Maeser replied, "No such thing, it's only the building."

The burning of the Lewis Building suddenly put everything in a new perspective. Those closest to the Academy and its dreams suddenly realized that in spite of the problems which seemed so monumental in the recent past, the last few years had, in fact, been a period of steady growth and increasing success. Now a whole new vista of challenging uncertainty had burst upon them. The feelings of Karl G. Maeser and his family are captured in the recollections of his daughter Eva:

It was not a very exciting time. . . . I realize now how my mother must have felt because it was the first time since she had come to America when they really felt that they had some little security with Father teaching. And oh, Father was happy, very, very happy. . . . I remember in the morning, after the fire, the home was very quiet; everybody, of course, was concerned what it would mean, what it did mean to the family.³

Things were quiet all over Provo.

Heroic rescue teams had succeeded in saving the musical instruments and most of the physical apparatus,⁴ and a considerable amount of the library was preserved. Only items on the first floor were saved, however. The upper rooms were totally destroyed and everything in them except the organ and some small furniture items was lost. Unfortunately some very valuable records of the early history of the Timpanogos Branch and of the Academy itself were consumed in the flames.

Cause of the Fire Never Determined

It was thought that the fire probably began on the second floor, and while some speculated it was the work of arsonists, the powder, torch lighters, lanterns, and oils used in the stage plays and stored behind the stage near the curtains may have produced a spontaneous combustion which ignited the highly inflammable stage sets and then moved rapidly through the upper and lower stories.⁵

Although young James E. Talmage was in the East at the time, his journal furnishes some interesting details based on information he received from Provo:

Received letter hastily written by Bro. Tanner — the walls alone stand — and they not all. The Laboratory Instruments, etc., were

3. Transcribed interview with Eva Maeser Crandall conducted by Hollis Scott, 26 June 1964, BYU Archives, p. 37.
4. *Academic Review* 1(October 1884):3. Begun in October 1884, the *Academic Review* was a publication of the Brigham Young Academy Polysophical Society. The journal is on microfilm in the BYU Library.
5. Transcribed interview with Eva Maeser Crandall, pp. 35-36.

greatly damaged. Origin of fire is not known — the young men who occupy my *old position* — sleeping there as guardians were away from their post — and the fire started in an unknown way. He tells me though that the Academy resumed as usual next day — in the New Bank Building. Think of it — not a day lost.⁶

Unfortunately, the Lewis Building was not covered by any insurance, since the school probably lacked the funds to pay premiums. It is also likely that President Smoot's estimate of the loss being around \$15,000 was entirely too low in view of the many improvements and additions which had been made to the Lewis Building during the last few years. In any event, President Smoot immediately telegraphed the First Presidency of the Church in Salt Lake City:

B.Y. Academy destroyed by fire 10:30 p.m. last night, part of the furniture escaped, meeting of board, faculty and students this 10 a.m. in meeting house, have you any instructions to give?⁷

It is significant that throughout its history, while the Academy was not officially a Church institution, those in charge continually looked to the First Presidency for help and guidance.

Emergency Quarters Secured

By the quick action of the Board of Trustees, temporary provisions were set up to accommodate classes in the Provo Tabernacle, the bank building controlled by A. O. Smoot, and the upstairs rooms of the S. S. Jones Furniture Store. The Normal and Commercial classes and the Academic Department were moved to the second floor of Smoot's bank. The lower grades were temporarily housed in the basement of the old stake tabernacle opposite the bank on Center Street. Four days later, arrangements were completed by S. S. Jones to accommodate these classes in his store just north of the bank.⁸

The space in President Smoot's bank turned out to be too crowded for the three advanced departments, and arrangements were made to use the newly completed Smoot store on the same block.⁹ This meant that at times the school was divided into three parts, and there is some indication that occasionally the homes of A. O. Smoot and W. N. Dusenberry were used for recitations and personalized study.

Obviously the Academy could not continue for long on this emergency basis. Therefore the Board set out to find modest-priced accommodations for the ensuing year. They planned to find new quarters and furnish them in time for the fall term of 1885.¹⁰

6. James E. Talmage, journal, 4 February 1884, BYU Library Special Collections.

7. Abraham O. Smoot Papers, 28 January 1884.

8. BYA Board Minutes, 16 February 1884.

9. Ibid., 2 February 1884.

10. Brigham Young Academy Faculty Meeting Minutes, 29 February 1884,

BYA Moves into the ZCMI Warehouse

Buildings of any size were at a premium in Provo during this period, and finally the Board of Trustees approached the Zions Co-operative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) to see if the Academy could be temporarily located in their warehouse at 5th South and Main (now University Avenue).¹¹ The secretary of the Board, Warren H. Dusenberry, wrote a letter to the president and directors of ZCMI in March 1884 requesting permission to rent "a portion" of this warehouse.¹²

An official reply was not received for two months, apparently while the ZCMI officers discussed whether or not such a proposal was feasible. It appears that President John Taylor was instrumental in persuading ZCMI president Horace Eldredge to rent space to the BYA.¹³ The ZCMI reply stated that the "Directors are willing and anxious to aid your Academy to the best of their ability and have passed resolutions, to let you have the upper room of our building."¹⁴ To encourage the project President Taylor immediately dipped into the meager resources of the Church and subscribed \$1,000 to renovate the facilities and partition the upper floor for classrooms.¹⁵ This contribution provided about half of the \$2,000 remodeling expenses.

When the tenth academic year commenced in the fall of 1885, it was found that the ZCMI could also allow the school to use half of the first floor. Accordingly,

The first floor has been divided into two parts by a double-thick wooden partition, the first half being retained for ZCMI's business and the rear half for the Academy. The Academy part has its main entrance on the north side, from which there is a hall running clear through to the rear of the building. In this hall are two doors, one marked "Laboratory" and the other "Music Room." The first named room is larger, and better equipped than any room that the chief of this department has ever before occupied.¹⁶

From the main hall on the first floor "a broad flight of stairs had been erected and led to the second floor."¹⁷ The upper story was

cataloged as B. Y. Academy Faculty Minutes, BYU Archives; hereafter cited as BYA Faculty Minutes.

11. The ZCMI was a Church-sponsored cooperative with part of the stock sold to the public. It had warehouses and branches in major population centers throughout the Mormon commonwealth, and is today a large department store in Salt Lake City, Ogden, and Orem (just outside of Provo), Utah.
12. BYA Minutes, 21 March 1884, p. 42.
13. John Taylor to A. O. Smoot, H. H. Cluff, and W. H. Dusenberry, 14 December 1885, John Taylor Papers.
14. BYA Board Minutes, 11 July 1884.
15. BYA Faculty Minutes, 4 September 1884.
16. "The B. Y. Academy," *Territorial Enquirer*, 12 August 1884.
17. Ibid.

partitioned into seven rooms, comprising the principal's office, library and rooms for the normal, the collegiate and the academic departments, each with easy seating capacity for 60; the preparatory department seating 50, and the intermediate department, or general assembly hall, with desk room for 180; making ready accommodation for 410 students. In making a tour of the building one is more apt to regard the arrangements permanent than designed only to meet present demands.¹⁸

When the townspeople were able to visit the warehouse and surveyed what the workmen had accomplished, they apparently were very pleased. The Provo paper said "The Board, we think, are to be commended on the selection they have made, and congratulated on being able to secure such excellent quarters for the Academy."¹⁹ This was fortunate, since the ZCMI warehouse would have to be the home of the Academy from the fall of 1885 to January 1892, a period of over six years.

Struggle for a New Permanent Home

It was eight years after the fire before the Academy had a permanent home. Not only were they years of difficulty for the Academy, but also they were the agonizing years when the whole Mormon commonwealth was under fire. The federal government disfranchised the Church, confiscated much of its property, drove its leaders into hiding to escape prosecution for polygamy, and disrupted the whole structure and culture of the territory. However, at no time did the Mormons look on this period of pressure and legal harassment as a defeat. The Mormon people and their leaders absorbed each new blow and then determined to press forward. It was similar to the attitude that prevailed when the Lewis Building burned.

The *Deseret News* treated the fire more as an opportunity than a tragedy, and spread the following appeal across its pages:

The loss is estimated at between \$15,000 and \$20,000. And now what a grand opportunity is before this people to show their appreciation of this noble institution, and the faithful labors of Professor Maeser, with his teachers, by contributions from one and all. Let it indeed be said that Zion loves her children, and like the faithful mother she is, restore with more than former facilities the Brigham Young Academy. And as each one expresses his sorrow at this blow, let him question himself — as did the good Quaker, "I feel sorry five dollars worth, how much do you feel sorry?"²⁰

18. "The Brigham Young Academy," *Deseret Evening News*, 4 September 1884.

19. "The B. Y. Academy," *Territorial Enquirer*, 12 August 1884.

20. "The Fire at Provo," *Deseret News*, 29 January 1884.

In this same spirit a number of Apostles in the Church's Quorum of the Twelve expressed the thought that "it was a good thing that the old building was burned and that a beautiful structure would be reared on its ashes."²¹

Since the construction of a new building now became the immediate goal, President John Taylor assigned \$5,000 from Church funds as an opening contribution for a building fund. George Q. Cannon, First Counselor and nephew to President Taylor, who never wavered in his support of the Academy, headed the list of private donors with a contribution of \$500.

These encouraging developments led Karl G. Maeser to write an optimistic note to James E. Talmage, which Talmage mentioned in his journal:

Received letter from Bro. Maeser. He tells me the intention is to rebuild the B.Y. Academy at once — and thus the apparent calamity may turn out for good; for so much the sooner will a suitable building be at the disposal of the institution.²²

It was Abraham O. Smoot's opinion that several thousand dollars could be raised in Salt Lake City, and this expectation was largely realized. The Salt Lake paper set up a goal of \$30,000 for the fund-raising, though Smoot felt this was entirely too conservative in terms of what was being planned.

In Provo, President Smoot immediately distributed "subscription lists" throughout the wards of the Utah Stake and asked the members of the Church, both rich and poor, to contribute what they could to the building of a new B.Y. Academy. Considering the poverty of the people, this fund provided a quantity of pledged subscriptions which was extremely satisfactory; however, because 1885 was a bad year financially for the entire region, many of these subscriptions were impossible to collect.

A New Campus without a Building

Meanwhile the Board of Trustees had the task of determining where to build the new Academy structure. Had the Board agreed to build the new Academy upon the same lot where the old building stood, there would have been a saving in both time and money. However, a much larger school was being contemplated and therefore the Trustees began examining property which would lend itself to an ever-increasing enrollment. President Taylor came from Salt Lake City to look over possible sites. Two were finally chosen. One was a block on North Main Street (University Avenue) owned by Sister Jessie Lewis, and the other was a piece of land about two blocks further north,

21. Utah Stake Historical Record, 2 February 1884.

22. James E. Talmage, journal, 13 February 1884.

owned by President A. O. Smoot. President Smoot indicated that if the Church leaders decided they wanted to use his land, he would be glad to donate it.²³ For reasons that are not clear President Taylor decided to purchase the Lewis block rather than accept the donation from President Smoot.²⁴ It may be that the President felt that Smoot had already carried far too much of the burden of keeping the Academy alive, and therefore determined to share the costs by purchasing the property of Sister Lewis.

On 23 May 1884 the property was dedicated by the Stake and Academy officials and "excavation was begun the following day."²⁵ Much of the excavation work was to have been contributed by the men of Utah Stake. However, the entire community was busy putting in their crops, planting gardens, and irrigating their fields, and David John, first counselor to President Smoot, chastised the brethren: "We have commenced work on the excavation for that bldg. and have but three teams to work from all the stake."²⁶

The excavation was originally superintended by Benjamin Cluff, Jr., who would later succeed Karl G. Maeser as the principal of the Academy. Due to illness, however, it was necessary for his uncle, Harvey H. Cluff, to take over the contract.²⁷ Thereafter the work proceeded at a good pace and the basement was completed before the first snowfall.²⁸

A New Burden of Debt

Because the summertime daylight-to-dark operations of Provo's agriculturally oriented citizens did not provide time for much volunteer labor, it was necessary to hire workmen to do most of the job. This compelled A. O. Smoot to write to the President of the Church,

We find that it had cost about \$1,000 more than we anticipated, say about \$7,500.00.

We find it very difficult to collect means, under the present circumstances, to aid in the erection of that building hence we respectfully ask you to advance the remainder of your \$5,000.00 subscription which will assist laborers who have worked on the building to settle some labor Tithing and greatly relieve the hands of the Committee who find themselves in debt.²⁹

President Taylor immediately demonstrated his good faith by forwarding to the Academy the remainder of the \$5,000 which had been

23. Utah Stake Historical Record, 29 March 1884.

24. Ibid.

25. BYA Faculty Minutes, 23 May 1884.

26. Utah Stake Historical Record, 31 May 1884.

27. BYA Board Minutes, 28 July 1884.

28. Utah Stake Historical Record, 2 August 1884.

29. A. O. Smoot, *et al.*, to John Taylor, 27 December 1884, Abraham O. Smoot Papers.

pledged earlier. Nevertheless, the indebtedness of the committee swallowed up all this subscription and much more. The Board was then confronted with the harsh reality of depleted funds and little prospect that there would be any new resources in the foreseeable future. Already hard times were plaguing Provo and there had been such a sharp decline in enrollment after the Lewis Building burned that tuitions and fees had not been enough to meet even the meager salary expenses. Faced with virtual bankruptcy, the Academy announced that further construction on the project would be postponed indefinitely, and this despite "the earnest determination of the Board to bring the new buildings to an early completion."³⁰ During the following years this unimproved property yielded no income at all, and the Academy was compelled to pay \$1,200 rent annually for temporary accommodations, a terrible strain on the Academy's funds. By the fall of 1884 the situation was so serious that the janitor was discharged and the teachers took over his work in order to save money for the school.³¹

The Tithing Block Dispute

By the end of 1885 President A. O. Smoot and members of the Board were so hard pressed that they felt compelled to resurrect a most delicate matter which in recent years had been left dormant — the claim against the Church for \$9,600 of unpaid rent for the tithing office located on the Academy property donated by Brigham Young in 1877.³²

In 1879, two years after the death of Brigham Young, John Taylor had stated that he felt the property belonged to the Church rather than to Brigham Young, and therefore should not have been conveyed to the Academy as private property. However, it was later found that there did exist a written record proving that the land had been purchased and paid for by Brigham Young and therefore could be given to the Academy as a personal gift from him.³³ Although the confusion over title rights was settled by 1881, the rent for the tithing office had accumulated without the Board of Trustees making any particular issue of it. This seemed prudent, particularly in view of President Taylor's generous attitude toward the BYA and his willingness to make a number of substantial contributions from the general funds of the Church. However, by 1885 the dire financial circumstances of the Academy led A. O. Smoot to write a letter to President Taylor which, in part, stated,

We have deemed it, therefore, our duty under these circum-

30. Circular of the Brigham Young Academy, 1885-86, p. 5.

31. BYA Faculty Minutes, 11 April 1884.

32. A. O. Smoot *et al.*, to John Taylor and counselors, 19 November 1885, Abraham O. Smoot Papers.

33. John Taylor to A. O. Smoot *et al.*, 14 December 1885, John Taylor Papers, LDS Church Historical Department.

stances to address you and present you with a bill for rent for the Tithing Office Block in this city from June 1st, 1877 to June 1st, 1885, being \$1,200.00 per year according to the verbal contract made with your predecessor, President Brigham Young, making a total of \$9,600.00. We have placed to your credit Sundries from Provo Tithing Office amounting to \$2,606.68 leaving balance in favor of the Brigham Young Academy of \$6,993.32.³⁴

President Taylor responded on 14 December 1885, stating that he did not feel bound by any oral agreement which President Young had never verified to him. As Trustee-in-Trust for the Church, Taylor said he would be remiss in his duty if he paid this amount. He considered the claim unreasonable and, in any event, the Church was in no position to pay,³⁵ since the Church leaders were paying extremely heavy legal fees in Washington to fight anti-Mormon legislation designed to disincorporate the Church and confiscate its property and other assets.

President Taylor said that he was not opposed to paying a reasonable rental fee for the Tithing Office. In his letter of 14 December he wrote, "I propose to give \$400.00 a year for the time past, and so long as we occupy it and if this is not satisfactory we will refer the whole subject to arbitration when we have an opportunity. In the meantime, I will give you a credit for \$2,000.00 which you can draw against."³⁶

On receipt of this letter, A. O. Smoot, in his role as President of the Board of Trustees for the Academy, felt his integrity had been challenged. Furthermore, he considered President Taylor's offer of \$400 a year both unreasonable and unacceptable. He justified his position in the following letter:

The grounds occupied by tithing offices on the block in question may be consistently compared in value with the block directly west of it known as the "Bank Block." 263' south front of said block extending 99' back has been sold for \$7,890. The Church has occupied 264' front on the same street extending across the entire block. The value therefore of that part of the block would not be less than \$12,000. Again, if the block was vacant we could lease it for buildings for from \$1,200 to \$1,500 per annum.³⁷

With President Taylor, however, these arguments were not persuasive. He had been informed that he could have secured nearby property from Warren N. Dusenberry and Joseph F. Smith in Provo that was four times the size of the Tithing Block and would have cost him less than one-half of the rent payment being asked.³⁸

34. Ibid.

35. John Taylor to A. O. Smoot *et al.*, 14 December 1885, John Taylor Papers.

36. Ibid.

37. BYA Board Minutes, 5 January 1886.

38. John Taylor to A. O. Smoot *et al.*, 14 December 1885, John Taylor Papers.

He therefore proposed the matter be referred to arbitration, a most unusual way to settle a controversy between the President of the Church and the President of the Board of Trustees of the Academy. President Smoot accepted and both sides appointed arbitrators.

At this juncture, L. John Nuttall, executive secretary to the First Presidency, felt that it was unfortunate that President Smoot was forcing the whole question into an arbitration hearing when the matter should have been worked out amicably between himself and President Taylor. After all, John Taylor had always been a supporter of the Academy and even sent his children there. Nuttall suggested to Smoot that he should have given President Taylor a counter-offer rather than force him into an arbitration dispute.³⁹

President Smoot accepted this suggestion from his friend and on 26 June 1886 the Academy Trustees agreed to rescind their "acceptance of Arbitration . . . and waive the same and that the matter of the rent for the last nine years be left entirely to the judgment of Pres. John Taylor."⁴⁰ President Taylor promptly replied,

I have instructed Brother James Jack, the Chief Clerk of the Trustee-in-Trust, to credit the Board of Trustees with rent at the rate of \$450 per annum [this was \$50 more per annum than President Taylor had previously offered to pay] from June 1st, 1877 to June 30th, 1886, and to pay the Board whatever balance is due them after they have received this credit.⁴¹

Financial Pressure on the Faculty

Although the settlement of this dispute alleviated somewhat the Academy's more pressing economic needs, the financial situation remained intolerably bleak. The Academy, still foundering in \$6,000 indebtedness, was unable to pay the teachers their full salary.⁴² James E. Talmage lamented that he had not received two-thirds of his salary from the previous year:

Today we drew one month's salary from the Academy Treasury. The financial condition of the institution is such that the back salaries of teachers remain to a very great extent unpaid. I am owed nearly \$800 on last year's salary, and have a number of pressing debts which I am unable to pay. I have always tried to avoid debts but sometimes fail.⁴³

As principal of the Academy, Karl G. Maeser felt the deepest responsibility toward his faculty and staff, and wrote, "The teachers of this

39. L. John Nuttall to A. O. Smoot, 21 May 1886, L. John Nuttall Papers, BYU Library Special Collections.

40. BYA Board Minutes, 26 June 1886.

41. John Taylor to A. O. Smoot, 5 July 1886, John Taylor Papers.

42. Abraham O. Smoot Papers, 1 December 1886, LDS Church Historical Department.

43. James E. Talmage, journal, 14 August 1886.

Academy have carried the whole financial load of the institution for the last two years.”⁴⁴ The principal himself was being buried under a mountain of embarrassing personal debts, and the Church leaders were both sensitive and concerned about it. That Maeser’s endurance was reaching the breaking point is reflected in the following pathetic letter to L. John Nuttall, secretary to the First Presidency:

The affairs of this institution are in such an unsettled condition financially and executively, that I cannot see my way clear at any point. I have submitted to the chairman of the Executive Committee, Bro. H. H. Cluff, a suggestive list of the teachers for next year, which was favorably received by him, but no action has been taken since everybody seems to be occupied with other important affairs. I have (been) placed under bonds to appear before the Grand Jury next September term, which does not worry me, however, very much, as the Lord will direct these affairs. To the many anxious inquiries of many of our students in regard to their returning to this Academy in the fall, I have invariably given the answer, that this Academy will go on, although there may be some changes in the general management and organization. This one point is certain that it cannot go on much longer in the way in which it has vegetated during the last two years, in as much as the teachers have no security that the institution may not have to stop in the middle of the school year for lack of funds. None of the present Board members [are] assuming any responsibility, nor do they seem to be willing to let the teachers run it at their own risk. I am *worn out and sick in spirit*, dear Brother, about this dragging and planless condition of things, and with all my love for this Academy, I feel that I owe it to my very life, which is needlessly wearing itself out here in an apparently hopeless task, to accept any change that will promise me opportunities for permanent usefulness. I have felt the necessity of thus writing to you openly as you have been kept posted by me about our doings here all along, and as you are in a position to advise me in accordance with the views and desires of the President.⁴⁵

Although President Taylor was facing a similar financial situation for the whole Church, he was entirely sympathetic with the plight of the Academy principal and the hardships of his staff. The situation was so critical that on one occasion, according to a family tradition, Brother Maeser became so discouraged that he told his wife and daughter that because he couldn’t earn enough at BYA to provide food and raiment for them and pay his debts he was going to accept a position at the University of Deseret, where he could get a regular salary and adequately provide for his family. Accordingly his wife and daughter got things packed — and then sat on their trunks for a couple of days, until

44. Karl G. Maeser to L. John Nuttall, 22 January 1884, L. John Nuttall Papers.

45. Ibid., 4 May 1887.

his daughter finally mustered enough courage to ask her father when they were moving. His response in substance was, "I have changed my mind. I have had a dream — I have seen Temple Hill filled with buildings — great temples of learning, and I have decided to remain and do my part in contributing to the fulfillment of that dream."⁴⁶

From this vision of the Academy's future Maeser could draw some inspiration and hope. This was not always true with the other members of the faculty. Worried and frustrated by the problems in receiving their wages, many of them began to look elsewhere for employment. For the first time BYA faced the prospect of abandonment by a substantial number of faculty members.

Some Heirs of Brigham Young Cause Trouble

Among the heirs of Brigham Young were some of the Academy's most ardent supporters. On the other hand, there were others who had not only abandoned the dream of the Academy but had drifted away from the Church itself. The deeds of trust for both 1875 and 1877, which provided Brigham Young's endowments to the Academy, contained the provision that changes in basic laws and regulations, disposal of property, and appointment of Trustees had to have the unanimous consent of all living heirs or assigns of Brigham Young.

This problem became particularly serious in 1884 when an attempt was made to appoint three new Trustees to replace those who had recently died — Martha Jane Coray, William Bringham, and Leonard Harrington. A special circular was mailed to all the heirs containing a request for the appointment of their successors along with a plea for financial assistance, which was desperately needed because of the recent fire. It took nearly two years to get a majority of the heirs of Brigham Young to appoint John Q. Cannon, Don Carlos Young, and James E. Talmage to the Board. Maeser's feelings during this period are reflected in the following statement:

There are some things in the present affairs of the B.Y. Academy here which are very trying to me and could not be desired for another school year especially in the defence [read "dependence"] under which the whole institution is to the heirs of the B. Y. estate, who by their injudicious management of appointments last year have laid the foundation of endless and accumulative mischief for the Academy. The sooner an arrangement for the emancipation of the school in that direction is effected the brighter its prospects for the future will grow.⁴⁷

46. Interview with Mrs. Eva Maeser Crandall on 26 June 1964, by Hollis Scott; also, conference between President Wilkinson and Eva Maeser Crandall, daughter of Karl G. Maeser, in May 1960; interview of President Wilkinson with Gordon Crandall, President of the Oakland Mission and a grandson of Karl G. Maeser, in 1973.

47. *Ibid.*, 22 January 1887.

The lack of cooperation from some of the heirs was even more pronounced when it came to disposing of Academy property:

Wilson H. Dusenberry reported having met with a number of heirs of the late President Brigham Young at the request of Mrs. Zina Young Williams, and discussed the subject of the Deed of Assignment . . . at which meeting it was positively stated by some of the heirs, viz., Arta D. Young, and Myra Young Rossiter by her husband William Rossiter, that they would not sign away their authority and control over the Block known as the Tithing Block in this City, being Block 28, Plot B, Provo City.⁴⁸

It was felt all along that the heirs had “too much control of the property belonging to the B.Y. Academy and if the School stopped, the property would all revert back to the heirs, no matter how accumulated.”⁴⁹

The roadblocks thus created by these recalcitrant heirs seriously affected the fund-raising program of the Academy. In 1866 Utah Stake high councilor George M. Brown pointed out that “the school was not in the fittest condition to be the object of donations of funds of the LDS, it being to a great extent under the management of the heirs of the late President Brigham Young who are now very numerous and are constantly increasing, and some are not LDS.”⁵⁰ Maeser himself wrote to L. John Nuttall:

There is no prospect for prosperity of this institution as long as it remains under the heirs of the Estate. In fact it becomes absolutely necessary for the institution . . . that it be placed entirely under the control of the Presidency of the Church, who should appoint the members of the new Board, and if these heirs are willing to do some thing for the perpetuation of the Academy they may let those properties go along with the new organization. Then private persons will cheerfully donate, stakes and other corporations may make endowments for young people of their own.⁵¹

To make this possible, A. O. Smoot wrote to President Taylor requesting permission to set up the Academy as a corporation and then ask the heirs of Brigham Young to transfer all property belonging to the Academy over to the new corporation. This would have eliminated their control over both the appointment of new Trustees and the future disposition of any Academy property.⁵² President Taylor wrote back: “Certainly, if the heirs have no objection, it would appear that such a change as you mention would be desirable and attended with

48. BYA Board Minutes, 25 June 1883.

49. Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 21 November 1886.

50. Ibid.

51. Karl G. Maeser to L. John Nuttall, 17 June 1886, L. John Nuttall Papers.

52. A. O. Smoot, H. H. Cluff, and David John to John Taylor, 1 December 1886, Harvey H. Cluff autobiography, Huntington Library Mormon Collection, San Marino, California.

good effects.”⁵³ However, freedom from the heirs was not achieved until 1890.

No one observed the deteriorating circumstances of the Brigham Young Academy with greater alarm than A. O. Smoot. He and first counselor Harvey H. Cluff had served concurrently in the Stake Presidency and on the Academy’s Board of Trustees. They were therefore intimately acquainted with the value of the Academy to the Church and community and fully cognizant of the problems and privation that Maeser and his impoverished staff had endured in order to keep the Academy alive. This is reflected in a financial statement issued in April 1886 by Academy treasurer Harvey H. Cluff:

Unpaid teachers’ salaries	\$3,451.95
Sundries	550.55
Total	4,002.50
Funds to meet the above:	
On hand in ready means	300.00
Tuition fees for IV Term	800.00
Total	1,100.00
Balance of Indebtedness	2,902.50
Add Rent for Academy building	600.00
Total	<u>3,502.50</u>

This approximate account does not include the indebtedness of the building fund for the new Academy building.⁵⁴

At the conclusion of this report President Smoot expressed his sorrowful conviction that unless prospects changed substantially for the better in the immediate future the Academy would have to close its doors at the end of the spring term.⁵⁵

Through August the faculty was still hanging on, except for James E. Talmage and Benjamin Cluff, Jr., who had both resigned for the purpose of going East to complete their studies. Concerning the remainder, Karl G. Maeser wrote,

the deplorable financial condition of the Academy, which places the whole burden to carry the institution upon the shoulders of the teachers, some of whom, like myself, have already lost more than one half of their last year’s salary, and cannot afford another sacrifice of that kind. I have made our last desperate effort to save the Academy from breaking up next Christmas. I have requested Bro. John Q. Cannon, now a member of the Board to open a subscription for the purpose of raising \$1,000.00 for the payment of rent, fuel, light and incidentals, that all the tuition can be used for the payment of teacher’s salaries, Bro. J. Q. Cannon has prom-

53. John Taylor to A. O. Smoot, D. John, and H. H. Cluff, 17 December 1886, John Taylor Papers.

54. Karl G. Maeser Papers, 14 April 1886.

55. Ibid.

ised to conduct this matter. If this move succeeds, and we get a full house of students, the Academy can go on; otherwise, the teachers must seek other positions to save their good name and reputation among the tradespeople.⁵⁶

A few days later Maeser expressed the hope that “we shall endeavor to struggle on to save, with the help of God, the Academy from dissolution.”⁵⁷

Faced with the probability that the Academy was now about to go the way of the Timpanogos Branch, all kinds of last-resort proposals were submitted to save it. David John, first counselor to President Smoot, emphasized that while the community was being drained of funds to build the Salt Lake Temple and the Provo Tabernacle, it was just as important to save Brigham Young Academy.⁵⁸ The Board of Trustees tried to give some hope to the faculty by ruling that all future tuition fees would be divided *pro rata* among the teachers,⁵⁹ and A. O. Smoot launched a “Defense Fund” to canvass the city for donations which would cover the other expenses of the school.⁶⁰ President Smoot strongly felt that since Provo was the major beneficiary of the Academy the local businessmen and prominent citizens should rally to its support in this time of crisis.

On 21 November 1886 the Defense Fund was renamed the BYA Beneficiary Fund and all subscribers were invited to nominate pupils to attend BYA “to the amount of such donations.”⁶¹ With this as a format, the Stake officials called a public meeting one week later and a hundred leading Provo businessmen pledged \$1,117.50 to the BYA Beneficiary Fund.⁶²

Maeser and other school officials were grateful for these contributions, but pointed out that there was another practical way in which the people of Provo should support the Academy. Provo then had a population of approximately 5,000 people and was sending amazingly few students to the Academy. It was estimated that Provo garnered approximately \$40,000 per year in commercial trading because of the school, but sent only twenty-five students to attend the Academy out of a total enrollment of two hundred.⁶³ Provo parents were actually giving preferential support to the five public schools financed by local

56. Karl G. Maeser to L. John Nuttall, 21 August 1886, L. John Nuttall Papers.

57. Karl G. Maeser to John Taylor, 24 August 1886, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

58. Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 25 October 1886.

59. Harvey H. Cluff, autobiography, October 1886, 1:235.

60. Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 2 November 1886.

61. *Ibid.*, 21 November 1886. President David John heard of the beneficiary fund idea from the University of Michigan. He “felt that the B.Y. Academy should be patronized and sustained by the Latter-day Saints in the same manner”; Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 7 January 1888.

62. *Ibid.*, 29 November 1886.

63. Utah Stake Historical Records, 20 and 25 October 1886.

taxation. Although young people could not receive religious instruction at these district schools, most parents reasoned that since the teachers were nearly all graduates from the Brigham Young Academy their children were receiving the necessary moral training indirectly. Maeser's appeal altered the general attitude and the percentage of students from Provo began to increase substantially.

Prosecution of Polygamists and Its Effect on BYA

At this point the political climate in Utah Territory became extremely ominous, as the government announced its policy to vigorously enforce the Edmunds-Tucker Act, which outlawed polygamy and made any Mormon who had more than one family subject to fines and imprisonment. Two members of the stake presidency, Harvey H. Cluff and David John, were driven underground to escape imprisonment. Karl G. Maeser, also a polygamist, remained at his post and was arrested. Commenting on this development, James E. Talmage made the following notation in his journal for 24 March 1888, following his return to Utah:

Attended the afternoon session of the District Court. This had been the day set by the Judge for sentencing several brethren convicted under the infamous "Edmunds-Tucker Act" — convicted of acknowledging and supporting their families! This is to the United States Government, a *crime*! Among the *prisoners* was my friend and fellow laborer Bro. Maeser. He had pleaded guilty to the charge. His sentence was a fine of \$300.00 and the costs of prosecution. By special pressure brought to bear upon the judge through the gentile part of the community who entertained a respect for educational labor, he was spared imprisonment.

At a devotional assembly the next day the students of BYA raised enough money to pay his entire fine. Maeser was deeply grateful, and said that the "ties of affection" thus expressed were something which "death alone can sever."⁶⁴

The Church leaders knew that if they lost their Supreme Court appeal on the constitutionality of the anti-polygamy laws, Church property would be confiscated and the Church itself disincorporated. In order to protect the Church, President Taylor conveyed the funds and property of the Church to special associations set up in the various stakes. Suddenly the stakes had resources which were never available to them before. President Taylor, however, made it clear that these resources were to be frugally administered to the advantage of the whole Church and not just of the individual stakes given custody of these funds. He said,

It would be cause of regret to us, if in striving to save our property from the proposed spoliation of our enemies, by giving it to

64. BYA Faculty Minutes, 18 March 1888.

Church Association in the various Stakes, a feeling should grow up in those Stakes, that now that it is in their hands, it ought to be spent for various uses in the Stakes. We have noticed an inclination of this kind in some quarters, and if this were allowed to grow the results could not fail to be injurious to the work.⁶⁵

However, this injunction did not diminish the stake's obligation to provide adequate educational facilities at the local level. Therefore each of the Church Associations in the various stakes was given a broader authority for expenditures in the field of education.⁶⁶ Under this new policy the Utah Stake presidency was able to throw a lifeline to the sinking Academy. The stake not only began to pay off the Academy's most pressing debts, but also squeezed out enough money to resume work on the new Academy building on Main Street where the unfinished basement had stood like a silent derelict for so many years.

Competition from Other Church Schools

Under this new financial policy of the Church other stakes began to launch Church schools. This created an unexpected problem for the Academy as the other stakes began bidding for the talented teachers on the staff of the mother institution at Provo, such as Willard Done, who accepted a position in Salt Lake City in the latter part of 1886. The next thing the BYA Board of Trustees knew, their distinguished principal, Karl G. Maeser, was being sent up and down the territory to set up Church schools for various stakes. President A. O. Smoot became alarmed when he found that Maeser was not only helping to set up Church schools in Fillmore and Springville,⁶⁷ but was spending considerable time helping the leaders of the Salt Lake Stake organize their academy. He advised Brother Maeser that he was rapidly becoming the servant of two masters and he asked him to decide "at once to which of the two institutions [he] intended to belong in the future."⁶⁸ This so astounded Brother Maeser that he wrote L. John Nuttall, a secretary to the First Presidency:

It seems that the interest and the labors which I bestowed upon the development of the Salt Lake Stake Academy were giving cause to the apprehension that the B. Y. Academy was proportionately neglected by me. . . . This has not been the case. . . . A feeling of discontent seems to have taken hold of the Board to such an extent, that President Smoot declared to me that he could give me no further permission to go to Salt Lake during Schooltime.⁶⁹

65. Harvey H. Cluff, autobiography, 29 April 1887, 1:275.

66. Ibid., 17 April 1887, 1:272.

67. Karl G. Maeser to L. John Nuttall, 20 November 1886, L. John Nuttall Papers.

68. Ibid., 22 February 1887.

69. Ibid.

Maeser's Dream of a Coordinated Church School System

In spite of Brother Maeser's disclaimer that he had no desire to neglect the interests of the Brigham Young Academy, it is apparent from the record that his contact with the leaders in Salt Lake City pulled his personal and professional interests in that direction. After all he had endured, this is understandable. The prospect of moving up from poverty, sacrifice, constant pressure, and frequent disappointments to a new level of truly professional standards — which would be enthusiastically financed and endorsed by community leaders in Salt Lake City — was a great temptation. It was particularly so if this were to become the blueprint for a comprehensive Churchwide school system. To lay the foundation for just such a program, Maeser originated a plan in the early part of 1887 for "a General Conference of the Principals, Teachers, and Trustees of all Church schools . . . for the purpose [of] arranging a uniform plan, method, textbooks, and a common organization for the further development of the whole movement and to receive such instruction from the Presidency [and] the Twelve . . . as these brethren may deem proper."⁷⁰

The President of the Church instructed L. John Nuttall to write to Maeser heartily approving the program in principle, but warning against the possibility of destroying the discretionary powers of the principals on the local level. The letter stated that President Taylor felt there was "too much a tendency in the present age to reduce everything of this kind to machine-like precision, and to enact rules of a stereotyped character, which does not admit of that individual freedom which every teacher should have as to the method that will suit him best in imparting instruction to his pupils."⁷¹

In the passing months Maeser's suggestion for a coordinated Church school program matured, and at the April Conference of 1888 the First Presidency presented for the approval of the Saints a plan for a General Board of Education to coordinate and systematize all the Church schools. Commenting on this development, James E. Talmage wrote:

The declared intention of this Board is to establish institutions after the pattern of the Brigham Young Academy in the various Stakes of Zion; and also a general or central school in Salt Lake City. Undoubtedly, this is a grand movement, and if carried into full effect will place the educational affairs of our people on a much higher plane. It is the expectation that Prof. Maeser who by the way is a member of the "Board of Education," will be called to the position of General Superintendent of these schools; and the General Authorities have expressed their desire that I take a place in the Salt Lake City institution. A few days ago I was asked by a representative of this Board of Education whether I would accept the position referred to if so requested by the proper authorities. I

70. Ibid., 22 January 1887.

71. L. John Nuttall Papers, 29 January 1887.

replied that in these matters I considered myself subject to the call and direction of the Authorities of the Church and that I would respond at once.⁷²

Apparently Karl G. Maeser felt the same way about this “grand movement” and shortly afterwards agreed to serve as the new general superintendent of Church schools. His appointment stated that he would “continue to act as the Principal of the Provo Academy, until his services are required by the General Board.”⁷³ Maeser undertook his new duties with the greatest enthusiasm and shortly afterwards stated that “the general plan and organization of the BY Academy has thus far been taken as the common standard. . . . The future development of Zion’s educational system will go far beyond what the BY Academy is or ever can be.”⁷⁴

Resistance from Provo

It is clear that President A. O. Smoot felt that Maeser’s appointment would be very detrimental to BYA. After all, Church education had been institutionalized around the Brigham Young Academy in Provo and he saw no advantage in starting from scratch with a new educational center in Salt Lake City. The Union Academy and other Church schools in Salt Lake had failed in the past, and President Smoot felt that it was both uneconomical and imprudent to relegate the Academy to a minor position right at the moment when the new financial policy of the Church was allowing it to finish the Academy Building on Main Street and truly blossom as a major institution of learning. James E. Talmage wrote,

Our Board of Trustees did not view this movement with full favor, thinking that the interests of the Academy will in some degree suffer, it being relegated to the position of a stake academy — one among many — while the central institution is to be established in Salt Lake City. The Trustees urge my remaining at the BYA at least during the ensuing school year, and offer me the position of Principal. The President of the Board directed me to prepare the Circular for the next academic year.⁷⁵

However, within a few weeks James E. Talmage had been swept along by the current of the “grand movement” — the First Presidency approved his assignment as principal to preside over the newly proposed Salt Lake Academy. Provo was shocked. Talmage’s departure was

72. James E. Talmage, journal, 25 June 1888.

73. Minutes of the General Church Board of Education, 9 July 1888, LDS Church Historical Department; hereafter cited as General Board Minutes.

74. Karl G. Maeser to Wilford Woodruff, 8 September 1888, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

75. James E. Talmage, journal, 25 June 1888.

counted as a tragic and singular loss to the community and the Academy.

Nevertheless, it turned out that in spite of the continuing weakening of the Academy's faculty, the Provo school continued to occupy the center of the educational stage as far as the members of the Church were concerned. Stake presidents who were now busily engaged in setting up their various Stake Academies looked to BYA for both teachers and principals. Maeser's struggle through the years to build up a good teacher training Normal Department was paying off: "Its Normal Department [had] been like a great reservoir, as drafts for teachers have called forth many more have poured into it."⁷⁶ Students graduating from the teacher training program were often under twenty years of age, but they obtained principal and teacher positions throughout the Mormon commonwealth. In a meeting of the Church Board of Education Maeser read a list of about fifty graduates of BYA who were open to positions, and whom he recommended as principals and assistants under the Church Board.⁷⁷ One of these was Joseph J. Anderson, who finished his teacher training at BYA in 1888 and became the principal of Box Elder Stake Academy with the salary of sixty dollars per month.⁷⁸ By December 1889 it was said that

The General Board of Education recognized the Brigham Young Academy as the Latter-day Saints' Normal College, not only on account of the large number of students attending its normal departments, but also because by far the greatest majority of all its Church school principals and teachers, were graduates of this institution.⁷⁹

By this time the University of Deseret in Salt Lake City was also carrying on a comprehensive program of teacher training, and because it was a tax-supported institution it had the additional advantage of offering its courses free. To counter this it was announced that the BYA Normal School would be free to all students who were able to qualify. In connection with this program, "the amount of \$5,000.00 was appropriated to aid in meeting the expenses of this Normal College during the Academic year, 1892-3."⁸⁰ The General Board also made an additional appropriation of \$800 per year to assist the Academy.

In 1890 the Board of Education of the Utah Stake had "recognized the Brigham Young Academy as the Academy for this Stake of Zion."⁸¹

76. Harvey H. Cluff, scrapbook, 1885, a collection of undated newspaper articles, LDS Church Historical Department.

77. General Board Minutes, 9 July 1888.

78. Joseph Jabbe Anderson, journal, 31 July 1888; original in possession of Dr. Kenneth Davies, Provo, Utah; copy in BYU Archives.

79. BYA Faculty Minutes, 23 December 1889.

80. General Board Minutes, 30 December 1891.

81. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy, 1889-90*, p. 215.

There were many who felt this was a blow rather than a blessing. It was feared that reducing it to a stake academy would rob it of its Church-wide prestige.

It turned out that those fears were not without substance. Ever since Karl G. Maeser had stimulated the concept of a coordinated Church-wide program of education, several influential leaders had been leaning toward creating an educational center in Salt Lake built around a Church university for which the various stake academies would serve as "feeders."

In this connection the year 1890 was pivotal since it marked the beginning of a three-year struggle to determine whether Provo or Salt Lake City would become the center of Church education. Several major factors entered into the final decision, but one of the foremost influences which allowed the Academy to survive as the all-Church center of education was the strength built into it by Karl G. Maeser.

Large Methodist University Proposed for Provo

While Academy supporters were still seething over possible encroachments on their hard-won position as the center of Church education, there suddenly loomed on the horizon a new threat in the form of a proposed Methodist University to cost somewhere between three hundred thousand and a million dollars!⁸² This was right at the time that Protestant schools were being fostered in Utah for the specific purpose of drawing Mormon youth away from the faith of their parents. The new proposal was therefore viewed with great alarm. Especially was it shocking to the Academy Board that prominent Mormons such as Warren Dusenberry and two of A. O. Smoot's sons were encouraging the founding of this school.

Harvey H. Cluff, counselor to President Smoot, undertook to remove the mental "warp" of those who were giving "material aid in promoting a system" whose "fixed purpose is to obliterate the Church of Christ from the earth." Nevertheless, Cluff said he did not wish to be misunderstood by his fellow citizens who were Methodists. He wrote that he was concerned

that our Methodist neighbors will construe our objections to giving material aid to the projected University as an effort to curtail religious privileges. We hold that they have the same right to erect a University or Church in Provo to worship as they choose, as we have. No obstructions will be offered on the part of the Latter-day Saints. What we do wish inferred is that consistency should mark the lives of all Latter-day Saints, and it certainly is not consistent to build up an avowed enemy at the expense of our own interests.⁸³

82. Harvey H. Cluff, letter to the editor of the *Utah Enquirer*, 9 February 1889, found in the Harvey H. Cluff scrapbook.

83. Harvey H. Cluff, autobiography, 12 February 1889.

The issue became even more heated when it was reported that the Methodists were contemplating purchasing from the Breherton family the so-called "temple block." A. O. Smoot promised that "he would not cease his exertions until a deed" to that particular property was in friendly hands.⁸⁴

As the months went by the dimensions of the crisis subsided until finally the promoters of the project abandoned it altogether. The Academy trustees thereupon turned their attention to more timely problems.

Freedom from the Heirs

A historic victory for the Board of Trustees occurred on 11 November 1890 when the Brigham Young Academy finally won its independence from the heirs of Brigham Young. Through the efforts of Smoot and others the heirs consented to turn over to the Board full visitorial and appointive powers.⁸⁵ Although two of the heirs refused to go along with it, a deed was legally executed which transferred all of the property mentioned in Brigham Young's original deeds of 1875 and 1877 to the Board of Trustees and their successors. It seems that the validity of the transfer was never challenged.

Under the new arrangement the trustees were given power to make the by-laws of the school, to "build, buy or otherwise acquire" suitable accommodations for the school, to fill vacancies in the Board by majority vote, and to create a corporation under the laws of Utah. It was further stipulated that the name of the school was never to be changed and that there should always be at least three heirs of Brigham Young on the Board. Another interesting provision stated that if any "trustee should rebel against the Church," a two-thirds majority of the Board could remove him.⁸⁶ This transaction immediately strengthened the hands of the Trustees by giving them the exclusive power to buy, sell, and trade property, and it provided an upsurge of ambition to somehow resolve their immediate financial problems so they would be free to get on with the construction of the desperately needed Academy Building. With independence from the heirs came a chance to become indispensable to the Church.

84. L. John Nuttall, journal, 21 February 1889. According to Provo tradition, Brigham Young once prophesied that a temple would be built in Provo. The exact location was claimed by the Breherton family to be on their property in northeast Provo. Several others made similar claims.

85. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to A. O. Smoot, 7 December 1889, Abraham O. Smoot Papers.

86. 1890 Deed on file in the BYU Archives.

7

The Maeser School: A Tight Ship, 1876-1892

The storms which assailed the Academy during the Maeser administration confronted the sturdy little German educator with crisis after crisis. Nevertheless, he ran a tight ship which not only weathered the storms but allowed the academic programs of the school to be carried on with great enthusiasm. His administrative problems never interfered with the conduct of the classroom.

Maeser's Unique Contributions

First, the Maeser school was orderly. He maintained strict control in the classroom. He founded his regulatory program on the system used in the state schools of Prussia, which were rated among the finest in the world.

Second, Maeser was determined to combine academic excellence with Christian morality and spirituality in the lives of his students. He heartily supported Brigham Young's conviction that man's search for truth and the development of intellectual skills should have a religious orientation — that it was the role of the Academy to make its students better Christians as well as better scholars.

For example, the concept of honor was important to Maeser. "My young friends," he once said, "I have been asked what I mean by word of honor. I will tell you. Place me behind prison walls, walls of stone ever so high, ever so thick, reaching ever so far into the ground. There is a possibility that in some way or another that I might be able to escape. But stand me on the floor and draw a chalk line around me, and have me give my word of honor never to cross it. Can I get out of that circle? No, never. I'd die first."¹

A third ingredient which loomed large in these early years of the Academy's history was Maeser himself. His knowledge of modern and ancient languages, his travels and studies in Europe, and his accomplishments in the arts made him the central figure in the operation of

1. Ernest L. Wilkinson, BYU Forum Address, 15 October 1957, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

the school. Besides his other qualifications, Maeser had an adequate knowledge of science. He provided his students with a remarkably thorough education in spite of the Academy's limited resources. The journals of both students and faculty show that they rallied around him, loved him, and labored with him. They generated a school spirit that remained one of the Academy's most notable hallmarks from then until now.

Maeser had a good sense of humor. Once when the punctual Prof. Maeser uncharacteristically was late for class, the students decided to get even with him, since latecomers were always penalized. A group of youngsters roamed the immediate vicinity and returned to class with a jackass, which they tied to his desk. Meanwhile, some "scout" students kept a sharp eye for the principal's arrival, and soon the sentinels frantically signalled that their professor was coming. The class, with forced silence, anxiously awaited his reaction. On entering the room he quickly sized up the situation, turned to the class, and dryly remarked in his thick German accent: "I'm happy you chose the smartest student in the class as my replacement."

The formidable task of running a frontier school is illustrated by the fact that the average age of the BYA scholar was between fourteen and sixteen years, though many in the Primary were barely six while some in the Normal School were in their twenties.

A further challenge was the fact that early fall term attendance (August to October) was about one-half the late fall totals (October to December). And the final term from mid-April to June invariably showed an acute falling away. A typical year, the tenth academic year (1885-86), clearly showed this trend.

Enrollment — 1885-1886			
1st Term	2nd Term	3rd Term	4th Term
142	233	228	116

This problem was presumably a major reason in August 1886 for changing the four-term school year, with each term lasting ten weeks, to the two-term school year, with twenty-week terms.²

An interesting sidelight to this early enrollment picture was the geographical representation of the students. In 1876 Provo students comprised 81 percent of the student body, but this had dropped to 50 percent by 1890 after a growing number of students began filtering in from outlying communities and nearby states.

2. Originally the four terms were divided from late August to early November; mid-November to late January; early February to early April; and from early April to mid-June. The two-term schedule ran from early September to mid-January, and from mid-January to June.

Maeser's Students

Who were these students who meandered down to the ugly and aging Lewis Building, and later to the ZCMI warehouse, seeking a good education? George Sutherland, later a justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, in his commencement address of 1949 affords us this view of the students and of the hardships of the time:

It was a period when life was very simple, but, as I can bear testimony, very hard as measured by present-day standards. Small boys from mid-spring to mid-autumn usually went without shoes, their naked, stone-bruised feet exposed to the wear and tear of the sunscorched earth. . . .

Their weekday attire at the maximum consisted of a hat of ancient vintage, sometimes with a well-developed hole through the crown of which a lock of hair might be made to wave like the plume of an Indian on the warpath; a hickory shirt the worse for wear; a pair of pants handed down, perhaps, from a former tenant or series of tenants, held in place (the pants, not the tenants) by one suspender, or allowed to defy the force of gravity with the sole and precarious support afforded by the contours of an immature body. . . .

Nobody worried about child labor. The average boy of ten worked—and often worked very hard — along with the older members to support the family. He milled, cut and carried in the night's wood, carried swill to the pigs, curried the horses, hoed the corn, guided the plow, or, if not, followed it in the task of picking up potatoes which had been upturned, until his young vertebrae approached dislocation and he was ready to consider a bid to surrender his hopes of salvation in exchange for the comfort of a hinge in the small of his back.³

Despite the nondescript attire, which improved as the students progressed in school, the many journals, letters, histories, and biographies of the students during the Maeser years reflect the most ardent desire to acquire a good education. They also reflect a profound affection for the little German principal and his beloved Academy.

General Enrollment

A review of the 15½ years of student enrollment in the Maeser era (April 1876 to January 1892) shows 3,272 different students registered during this period, while the cumulative attendance at the BYA — counting each registrant per term as a separate student — amounted to approximately 5,389. The following chart shows the cumulative enrollment for BYA from 1876 through 1891, according to records in the BYU Archives:

3. George Sutherland, "A Message to the 1941 Graduating Class of Brigham Young University" (Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, commencement address delivered 4 June 1941), pp. 3-4.

Academic Year	Total		Men Percentage	Women Percentage	
	Students				
1 (1876-77)	272	164	60.4	108	39.6
2 (1877-78)	333	219	65.7	114	34.3
3 (1878-79)	372	240	64.5	132	35.5
4 (1879-80)	432	259	60.0	173	40.0
5 (1880-81)	401	232	57.8	169	42.2
6 (1881-82)	464	312	67.2	152	32.8
7 (1882-83)	193	103	53.3	90	46.7
8 (1883-84)	299	207	69.0	92	31.0
9 (1884-85)	311	210	67.5	101	32.5
10 (1885-86)	325	227	69.8	98	30.2
11 (1886-87)	336	231	68.7	105	31.3
12 (1887-88)	281	209	74.3	72	25.7
13 (1888-89)	446	305	68.3	141	31.7
14 (1889-90)	484	326	67.3	138	32.7
15 (1890-91)	440	318	62.2	122	37.8
TOTALS	5,389	3,562	66.1%	1,797	33.9%

There was a tendency to enroll more young men than young women (66.1 percent as opposed to 33.9 percent), although the Academy was co-educational from its inception. Brigham Young had said that if he had to choose between educating his daughters or his sons, he would educate his daughters — because they were the ones who would educate the next generation of children. Although men exceeded the number of women enrolled in the earlier years, women were always welcome on the same academic terms as the men.

The Academic Framework and Curriculum

An *academy* is ordinarily understood to be a school above the elementary level, comparable to the modern high school. The Brigham Young Academy did not exactly fit this definition. Originally its doors were open to the most elementary students, and following the German graded plan its students were divided into three major groups:

1. The Primary Department consisting of young children ages 6 to 8 or those who had never attended school before.
2. The Intermediate Department for ages 8 to 11 or those who had mastered their “three R’s.”
3. The Academic Department for ages 11 to 14 or older who were ready for “advanced studies.”

The Primary Department

The *Primary*, as it was commonly called, was created to meet the needs of the most elementary student. “It contained students of the Primer, First and Second Reader classes, with their corresponding

classes in Spelling, Writing, Elementary Arithmetic, Pronunciation, and Object Lessons.”⁴ Although it was designed for students from six to eight years old, students who had never attended school before were required to take it. Most of these Primary students were from Provo, whereas the out-of-Provo students had usually completed the fundamentals before they left home to go to school.

At the outset Maeser had hoped for a more advanced school. However, in order to meet operating costs as well as satisfy the needs of many Provo residents, Primary students were taken.

Although as early as 1882 plans had been formulated to supplement the Primary Department with a Kindergarten, these plans were not realized until the fifteenth academic year (1890-91). Like the Primary, the Kindergarten was primarily designed to give teacher-training students practical experience.

Teenie Smoot was in charge of the Primary for the first three years, assisted by various monitors from the Normal Department.⁵ At the commencement of the fourth academic year (1879-80), Miss Smoot was replaced by Mrs. Zina Young Williams (later Zina Williams Card). In her first faculty report, Mrs. Williams reported “that there has been a marked improvement noticeable in the general spirit and conduct of the little ones compared with the heterogeneous arrangement of previous terms.”⁶ Zina Williams was later joined by Caddie Daniels.

Great stress was placed on recitation. Either the entire class, a section of it, or a single designated student would recite the various passages being studied.⁷ Strict attendance records were kept and all incidents of tardiness were recorded.

In 1882 the Preparatory Department was set up, more or less replacing the Primary Department. The new Preparatory Department could be termed an advanced Primary Department, beginning with the fourth grade. This Preparatory Department continued from 1884 until 1892 — the entire period of Maeser’s administration. By this time the local district schools had so increased in number that they largely filled the need for a Primary Department.

Between 1876 and 1892 the Primary and Preparatory departments accounted for almost 20 percent of the total BYA attendance. Those having charge of this department were Isaiah M. Coombs (1884), Willard Done (1884 to 1886), A. L. Booth (1888 to 1889), Emil Isgreen (1889 to 1890), and Hyrum A. Anderson (1890 to 1891). During the years 1886 to 1888 the “Normals” — advanced teacher-training students — handled these classes.

4. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1 July 1876.

5. In the earliest years the Normal Department was an appendage to the Academic Department.

6. “Principal’s Report,” 31 October 1879, p. 28, BYU Archives.

7. BYA Faculty Minutes, 7 September 1876.

The Intermediate Department

Considerable importance was attached to the Intermediate Department because graduation from the Intermediate was a critical and often final stage in the schooling of the young scholars. By the time a youngster completed this course, comparable to the fourth or fifth grade today, it was understood he had mastered the basic fundamentals needed to meet the standards of the day. He could read acceptably, write well enough to express himself, and solve basic arithmetic problems. At this point many students dropped out of school and returned home to help on the farm, where both parents and students were pleased with the amount of general education that a member of the family had achieved.

Competent students who were interested in continuing their schooling were encouraged to move up into the Academic Department. Unfortunately, many capable students could not afford to continue.

It was on the Intermediate level that students were first allowed to take classes from a different teacher for each course. This provided an opportunity for greater specialization on the part of the teachers, and was one of the real attractions at the Academy. In fact, the Academy was said to have a number of advantages over the district schools:

Although professing to keep within the scope of the higher grade of the District schools, BYA presents, nevertheless, besides its religious training, features which the common schools do not enjoy, as for instance, the number of teachers, each one making his branch a specialty; the comparatively small classes enabling the teacher to watch much closer the development of the individual pupil; the half-hour changes of recitation preventing a weariness coming over the mind of the scholar, and the companionship of more select associations, all moving under the restraining influence of students of greater moral and intellectual advancement.⁸

In the beginning, Milton H. Hardy was responsible to Principal Maeser for the effective organization and direction of the Intermediate Department. He served in this capacity until he resigned on 7 July 1883.⁹ Although employed as a full-time teacher and serving in high ecclesiastical positions, he also acted during part of this time as Superintendent of Utah County Schools, replacing Wilson Dusenberry in that position in July of 1879. Always a proponent of good education, Hardy was a loyal teacher at the BYA.

During his tenure as department head, Hardy enlisted the support of many fine and capable assistants, some of whom later served as heads of this department. These included Teenie Smoot, Mary J. John, and Annie Larsen.

8. "The B.Y. Academy: A Noble Institution," *Utah Enquirer*, 3 January 1888.

9. BYA Board Minutes, 7 July 1883.

The Academic Department

The school's upper-division work was carried on by the Academic Department and the Normal School. From 1876 to 1878 a Grammar Department existed, but it was eventually absorbed into the Academic Department. Also, during the 1884-85 year a collegiate grade was set up which specialized in "higher math, language, and science" — but it lasted only one year.¹⁰

The Academic Department covered a range of topics somewhat comparable to instructions given in the first two or three years of a senior high school today. The Academic student had a choice of a wide range of subjects (math, science, languages, etc.) and usually specialized in a certain field. This was the most advanced program at the school. John E. Booth, Myron Tanner, and James E. Talmage were the three held responsible for the work, but they were closely supervised by Karl G. Maeser.

Maeser himself conducted an amazing variety of classes. For example, the study of languages — German, French, Spanish, Latin, and Greek — was conducted in the Academic Department by Maeser. He also taught classes in technical drawing and in philosophy. Throughout his adult life he retained an active interest in linguistics and the classics. Maeser's great versatility in the field of languages is revealed by an advertisement appearing in the *Deseret News* for 31 October 1860, before he came to Provo, which stated that Maeser taught English, German, French, Italian, Latin, and Greek.

Mathematics received early emphasis under John E. Booth, who had built a considerable reputation in this field. Algebra, trigonometry, and "high arithmetic" were offered, and, for a time, geometry. Booth also taught bookkeeping.

After the school's move to the ZCMI warehouse, Benjamin Cluff, Jr., helped boost student interest in mathematics by establishing a mathematical club on 24 October 1885 "for the purpose of furthering mathematical knowledge among the students."¹¹ From 1884 to 1892 the mathematics course under Cluff expanded to include some phases of accounting and engineering. He taught bookkeeping, commercial law, commercial arithmetic, and surveying, triangulation, and leveling.

The advanced work in mathematics resulted eventually in the establishment of the Commercial College in 1891, under the direction of Lars E. Eggertsen, an instructor in bookkeeping, business arithmetic, and commercial law.¹²

The increased space in the ZCMI building and later in the new

10. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 11 July 1884.

11. Records of the Polysophical Society, 24 October 1885, UA 226, BYU Archives.

12. *The Business Journal* 2(February 1893):2; Brigham Young Academy publication on file in BYU Archives.

Academy Building greatly facilitated the development of these more advanced areas of specialized study. Subjects such as U.S. history, English, grammar, literature, and other courses in the humanities and social sciences were taught by Nels L. Nelson and Joseph B. Keeler.

But the field of study that blossomed most abundantly in the Academic Department during the mid-1880s was science, with stress on physics, biology, physical geography, and geology. The man most responsible for this growth was James E. Talmage, a conscientious student and a gifted, hard-working, versatile lecturer and professor. He probably taught a greater number of different classes than any other man save Maeser. His experiments became the talk of Provo.

The Contributions of James E. Talmage

Having studied at Lehigh University in Pennsylvania and Johns Hopkins in Baltimore,¹³ young Talmage acquired an early reputation as a most promising scholar. When he returned from the East, he brought back not only a vastly increased fund of scientific knowledge, but also “many valuable relics and appliances.”¹⁴

In 1884, when the Academy had become established in the ZCMI building, “a tolerably convenient laboratory, with a private office and apparatus room attached,” was set up on the downstairs floor “to meet the demands of the unusually large and increasing scientific classes.”¹⁵ The *Deseret News* described the new laboratory as follows:

a very fine pair of scales which are so delicate they can almost weigh a sigh, together with a collection of chemical appliances occupy various corners of the laboratory. Shelves filled with specimens, and a large cabinet, draw the attention as you enter the room. A small wooden room is being put up just north of this laboratory, which will be the recitation room of the scientific classes, where, as the professor calmly remarked, the students can put out their eyes and blow themselves up in their chemical experiments, without any further trouble.¹⁶

The young instructor conducted a great many field trips in search of rich geological findings throughout the Wasatch Mountains. Joseph Anderson gives a student's version of one of these outings: “I had quite a pleasant time, for on our way up I obtained some delicious specimens

13. It is noteworthy that young LDS scholars like Talmage who wished to study in the East usually sought the advice and permission of the General Authorities of the Church. Once appraised, they were set apart — almost as missionaries — for their task. This was true of Talmage. See L. John Nuttall, journal, 26 August 1882, BYU Library Special Collections.

14. “The B.Y. Academy: Increased Accommodation and Facilities in Its New Quarters,” *Territorial Enquirer*, 12 August 1884.

15. “The Academy,” *The Academic Review*, 1(October 1884):3; Brigham Young Academy publication on file in BYU Archives.

16. “The Brigham Young Academy,” *Deseret News*, 14 August 1885.

of fruit, and I brought home fine geological specimens together with a pair of wasted soles. But the best of all, my partner was the nicest lady in the company. Miss E. — ”¹⁷ One time young Talmage led a summer excursion as far away as the Grand Canyon, bringing back rich mineral and geological finds. Very often the Utah Central and the Denver and Rio Grande railways granted reduced fares for these explorations.¹⁸

The future Mormon Apostle was a great believer in excursions, for he wished to “impress upon the students the great fact that natural objects, and not books alone, are to be regarded as the great source of truth.”¹⁹ The Talmage courses in physiology also became very popular. Talmage not only inspired and attracted students, but was also an avid and constant collector of needed apparatus, supplies, and specimens.

It is not surprising, then, that it was considered such a tremendous loss to the Academy when James E. Talmage accepted an invitation from the First Presidency in 1884 to become the head of the proposed Salt Lake Academy. Although this Academy never materialized, he went on to become head of the new LDS College and finally was appointed president of the University of Utah. Through the passing years he became an internationally lauded scientist and an ambassador for the Latter-day Saint cause. Talmage’s scientific affiliations included Fellow of the Royal Microscopical Society (London), the Royal Scottish Geographical Society (Edinburgh), the Geological Society (London), the Geological Society of America, the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and Associate of the Philosophical Society of Great Britain, or Victoria Institute. His career culminated in his appointment as a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, the second governing body of the LDS Church.

The Normal Department

The teacher training program at Brigham Young Academy was successful from the beginning. The principal himself was in charge, and molded and promoted this department to a level of prestige which attracted the attention of educators throughout the Mormon region.

A student coming out of the Intermediate course chose whether to enter the teacher-preparatory course or the college-preparatory (Academic) course. Though a complete Normal course was not elaborately developed until the second academic year, the rudimentary foundation was there from the outset. This was necessary because the school faculty needed the help of capable, competent students. By the academic year 1878-79 there was “a complete Normal course — theoretical and practical — which [extended] over a period of two

17. Joseph Jabbe Anderson, journal, 5 September 1885.

18. “Principal’s Report,” *Territorial Enquirer*, 11 November 1884.

19. “The Scientific Course,” *The Academic Review* 1(February 1885):34.

academical years . . . open to students . . . sufficiently advanced to enter the grammar department.”²⁰

By the beginning of the fourth academic year (1879-80), the Normal Department offered three courses, the first two compulsory:

1. A preparatory course for Qualified Fifth Readers.
2. An Advanced course for which Normal Diplomas were Awarded.
3. A Finishing course offered to regular teachers as a “polisher.”²¹

In the fifth academic year (1880-81), a “Practical Course” was added to the Normal training, initiating a regular system of sending Normal students to work in district schools or within the Academy itself to obtain on-the-job experience in teaching.²² Because of the demand for teachers, Normal graduates were employed as teachers and occasionally as principals almost immediately after completing their training.²³

There were at least three reasons for the pressing demand for teachers from the Academy. First, because of the rapid expansion of population in Utah, there was an incessant demand from every town and hamlet throughout the territory for more and more professionally trained schoolteachers. The second factor was the Church policy of discouraging communities from hiring non-Mormon teachers. During the 1870s and 1880s this persuasion was very strong. A third reason lay in the Church’s advice to LDS communities to replace polygamous teachers with monogamous teachers because of certain repressive provisions in the Edmunds-Tucker Act.²⁴

A constructive feature of the Normal Department was in its “monitorial system.” The role of the monitor — usually a promising student progressing towards a teaching certificate — was basically that of teacher assistant or, in the absence of the teacher, that of class instructor.

By 1890 the Normal Department enrollment was nearly 100 per term, and all indications pointed to even greater growth. The pressing demand for Academy-trained teachers to operate the various Church schools and to offset the influx of eastern-trained “secular” instructors in the parochial and private schools was almost more than the Academy

20. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1878-79.

21. *Ibid.*, 26 July 1879.

22. *Ibid.*, 1881-82. “Normal students of the advanced course will be appointed for class and repetition work whenever needed, and may be sent out to district schools, under certain regulations for a short period, in order to afford them every opportunity for practical training”; *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, March 1882.

23. “Principal’s Report,” 3 November 1882, BYU Archives, p. 93.

24. See John Taylor Papers, 20 March 1882, collection d1346, box 7, p. 762, for a resolution by the First Presidency authorizing “placing monogamists in positions that may now be occupied by polygamists, so that we may retain the appointing power and government in our hands, instead of permitting it to go into the hands of our enemies.”

could handle.²⁵ In order to attract as many students as possible to qualify as teachers in the Church educational system, tuition was made virtually free. In 1891 under Benjamin Cluff's direction — he was now assistant principal — plans were laid down for an "Academy Summer Normal School" to give the practicing teachers "an opportunity of advancement in the principles of their profession."²⁶

In the last four years of Maeser's administration, while his attention was divided between the school and the Church Board of Education, men like Hyrum Anderson, N. L. Nelson, and Benjamin Cluff, Jr., effectively ran the Normal program, though Maeser was still the guiding, generating force. His name alone was a popular attraction and his influence on the Church school system insured the Academy a level of prestige that attracted the attention of educators throughout the territory.

The Theological Department

Certainly one of the most distinguishing features of Brigham Young Academy was the attention it gave to teaching, as part of the daily curriculum, the doctrines, practices, and principles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The original 1875 deed of trust provided that "the Old and New Testaments, the Book of Mormon and the Book of Doctrine and Covenants shall be read and their doctrines inculcated in the Academy."²⁷ The deed and grant of property of 1 June 1877 also provided that "no book shall be used therein that misrepresents, or speaks lightly of the Divine Mission of our Savior, or of the Prophet Joseph Smith, or in any manner advances ideas antagonistic to the principles of the Gospel."²⁸ These instructions were strictly followed.

The Theological Department was listed in the curriculum circulars along with the other departments, but it was not a separate graded division such as those mentioned earlier. Rather, it reached every level of the Academy and offered to every student, LDS or non-LDS, the essential theological principles deemed necessary and appropriate for the student at his particular level of understanding and development. Theological instructions were therefore woven directly into the curriculum of the Primary, Intermediate, and Academic departments.

Indeed, participation in some phase of theological study was not only encouraged but required. For instance, George Sutherland, a non-Mormon, appealed to Karl G. Maeser to be excused from taking a theological course. After a friendly visit with Maeser he not only voluntarily signed up for Maeser's class in Book of Mormon but by the

25. "The Fourteenth Academic Year," *Territorial Enquirer*, 23 May 1890.

26. "BYA Normal Summer School," *Deseret News*, 5 June 1891.

27. 1875 Deed of Trust, BYA Board Minutes, 16 October 1875.

28. 1877 Deed of Trust, BYA Board Minutes, 15 June 1877.

end of the course he was the top scholar of that class. Brigham Young himself forbade anyone from being excused from theology classes after the end of the first term of the initial academic year (1876-77).²⁹

At first the Theology class was taught at the start of each school day and was conducted as a devotional exercise with all the students meeting in the same assembly room. Before long, however, Principal Maeser realized that the students should be divided so that the younger children in the Primary and Intermediate Departments could be given special attention.

As the years passed and enrollment increased, the Theological Department increased in its influence and activities. By 1881 six of the school's activities were assigned to the Theological Department:

1. Conducting daily opening and closing exercises with a song and prayer.
2. Conducting a devotional service on Wednesday afternoons similar to a testimony-bearing service.
3. Conducting a Priesthood meeting on Tuesdays at 3:30 P.M., where instructions were given to young men and young women on the doctrine and effective use of the Priesthood.
4. Providing daily religious instruction as part of the curriculum of each main department.
5. Reviewing and reciting Gospel doctrine on Mondays at 4:00 P.M. The students were divided into various quorums for this meeting.
6. Maintaining meticulous records of the proceedings of each class. This work was done by a student who was appointed clerk.

In 1883 missionary meetings were added to the Theological Department's roster of assignments. Returned missionaries were often invited to address the young men preparing for active voluntary service for the Church. From time to time such General Authorities as John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow, and Joseph F. Smith, who served as consecutive Presidents of the Church, attended these missionary assemblies to give counsel, instruction, and encouragement.³⁰ Consequently BYA became a rich and dependable source for missionary training early in its history.

A corollary to the theological program was the evolution of a semi-ecclesiastical unit at the Academy. Though the students were expected to attend the neighborhood Provo wards, out-of-town students felt the

29. "Principal's Report," 27 October 1876, p. 19. Though Brigham Young, while alive, did not actively participate in the practical daily problems and operations of the school, the above information indicates that on occasion he did personally exercise his interests and prerogatives in regard to the school.

30. "Brigham Young Academy: Principal's Report," *Utah Enquirer*, 29 May 1888.

need to attend Church services together. Meeting all week in theological classes developed close friendships which could not help but lead to a similar unity and camaraderie in Sunday worship. As a result, the students gradually approached a unique ecclesiastical status. There is evidence that in 1886 at the Academy's Thursday fast and testimony services the sacrament (communion) was passed.³¹

In February of 1887, during the school's second term, Maeser tried to further accentuate the religious spirit of his students by encouraging all the Mormon students to be "re-baptized."³² He also ordained students to Priesthood offices with the consent of the pupil's hometown bishop.³³ Carefully he noted what Sunday School each student attended and what Church position each student held.³⁴ Maeser felt a responsibility to care for each of his pupils in an almost patriarchal sense. Speaking to his scholars on one occasion, he stated,

I have made a public promise to your parents that I would look after their sons and daughters, and having made that promise I am in duty bound to see that it is kept. Parents have told me that chiefly owing to this promise they have sent their sons and daughters, knowing that they will be looked after and cared for. Some of them even saying they knew their sons will be better here than they would at home.³⁵

While the school was not administered or officially sponsored by the Church during this period, the religious zeal and dedication of the principal made it virtually a Church institution.³⁶ In legal language, it was a *de facto* although not a *de jure* arm of the Church. The school's fame for teaching Mormonism spread far and wide and actually laid

31. BYA Faculty Minutes, 13 September 1886. See also "B.Y. Academy Principal's Report," *Utah Enquirer*, 29 May 1888.

32. "Re-Baptism" was occasionally conducted in the Church from 1840 until about 1890. It marked a recommitment, or a renewal of the original baptismal covenants. The practice was begun when the pioneer Saints arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 to establish a new home after the ordeal of crossing the plains. In time, rebaptism was performed for various other reasons, including sickness and inactivity. Rebaptism was discontinued in the early 1890s. See James E. Talmage, journal, 29 November 1893.

33. Joseph Jabbe Anderson, journal, 21 September 1885.

34. BYA Faculty Minutes, 16 February 1877.

35. Brigham Young Academy Domestic Department Minutes, 15 January 1880, BYU Archives; hereafter cited as BYA Domestic Department Minutes.

36. "The B.Y. Academy was formed for a specific purpose, which was to give its scholars a thorough and a complete theological training; for President Young recognized that the present system of Education tended toward infidelity. Not that infidelity was in the least degree taught in our public schools; but the entire absence of all religious instruction and religious influence was calculated to lead our children away from God." Abraham O. Smoot Papers, 16 October 1895; excerpt from a talk, apparently given that day by Joseph E. Taylor.

the foundation for its rapidly escalating enrollments some seventy-five years later.

The Polysophical Society

Another educational auxiliary that met with considerable success during this period was the Polysophical³⁷ Society. This organization “was founded by Principal Karl G. Maeser during the second term of the second academic year (1877-1878), with an aim to supply to the students opportunities for public training, and the means of obtaining useful incidental instruction.”³⁸ James E. Talmage was appointed as president of the society, with Joseph B. Keeler and Willard Done as assistants.³⁹ Marion Tanner was also a president for three years. Not only was attendance voluntary and membership optional, but also lectures and activities which were held at the Academy during the evenings were open to Provo residents as well as students.

Discussions and presentations usually fell into one of five areas: literature, science, music, fine arts, and civil government. The Polysophical Society became a forum for students to display their talents, express opinions, report their research findings, and hear and see invited experts.⁴⁰ Concerts, dramas, operas, lectures, mock courts, and parliamentary procedure exercises were alternately featured from week to week, affording a fine recreational activity. In conjunction with these programs “a paper was edited by the Society every five weeks called the *Academic Review*”⁴¹ reporting on past sessions and announcing events of the immediate future. Zina Young Card wrote,

In our dramatic efforts I had the pleasure of being the prima donna with Senator William King as the leading man. Sister Susa [Young Gates] was our musical inspiration. And the eminent men and women of today who attended that school stand out as monuments of its wonderful spirits, matchless characters, and cultivation of the conscience and spirit of the gospel given out by our Professor Maeser. And fancy him attending one of our experimental courts with Senator George Sutherland on one side and John E. Booth and Brother Thurman, William King and Senator Smoot as our lawyers to try the trembling offenders. President George Brimhall, Apostle James Talmage, Dennis Harris, Willard Done, Benjamin Cluff, J. M. Tanner, Daniel Harrington, N. L. Nelson, Thomas N. Taylor, John Dixon, Sterling Williams, the

37. *Polysophical* means “multi-skilled, clever, and wise.”

38. “Doings of the Polysophical Society,” *The Academic Review* 1(October 1884):1.

39. Willard Done later became principal of the Latter-day Saints College in Salt Lake City.

40. Today the University’s Lyceum programs, Forum assemblies, and academic speakers represent the modern counterpart of this society, although not as large a percentage of the students attend today.

41. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, April 1883, p. 7.

Eggertson brothers, and scores of others, soon to become men of learning and renown, lived and played and danced and studied and worked within the walls of the dear old Brigham Young Academy.⁴²

It is significant to note that George Sutherland, William King, and Samuel R. Thurman later became law partners in Provo. This was undoubtedly the leading law firm in Provo and probably throughout the state. Sutherland later became U. S. Senator, president of the American Bar Association, and then justice of the United States Supreme Court. King also became a U. S. Senator by defeating Sutherland in an election. Thurman became one of the most distinguished judges in Utah history, and his grandson Samuel Thurman retired in 1974 as dean of the University of Utah School of Law.

Struggle for a Library

Maeser, in one of the *Academy Circulars*, wrote,

from the founding of this Academy, the forming of a Library has been one of the chief objects of The Board of Directors and the Faculty; but the want of means has prevented us, thus far, from acquiring this essential element of an educational institution; the rapid development of the Academy, however, in number of students as well as in studies, has made it an imperative necessity to secure to us in some way the privileges of a Library, the lack of which is proving seriously detrimental to our progress.⁴³

Strenuous efforts were made to glean needed additions and to attract subscriptions to religious periodicals.⁴⁴ Ironically, one of the most urgent requirements in the beginning was a single complete set of the four standard works — the Bible, Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price. From practically an empty shelf in 1876, by the summer of 1883 library officials (alternating members of the faculty) had accumulated 496 volumes and 2,082 periodicals.⁴⁵ Included in this collection were valuable donations such as H. H. Cluff's gift of a complete set of *Chamber's Encyclopedia*.⁴⁶ George Q. Cannon, who was busy defending the Church in Washington, became instrumental in obtaining a valuable collection of maps, charts, and books from the Department of Interior dealing with the western United States. Near the end of 1881, the library subscribed to the *Territorial Enquirer*, *Deseret Evening News*, and *Salt Lake Herald* for regular reading by both students and faculty.

42. Zina Young Card, "Sketch of School Life in the Brigham Young Academy, 1878-1884," BYU Archives, p. 5.

43. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1877, p. 1.

44. *Ibid.*

45. "Principal's Report," *Territorial Enquirer*, 15 June 1883.

46. "Principal's Report," 15 January 1877, BYU Archives.

Unfortunately, the 1884 fire destroyed two-thirds of the library collection. Nevertheless, by the end of 1890 the library, under Emil B. Isgreen, had accumulated 751 bound volumes, 532 pamphlets, and 335 periodicals. A separate Normal library under Wilford McKendrick had 99 volumes.⁴⁷

Blending Voices

From the very beginning music was one of the more notable features of the Academy. Early in its history a choir was organized to provide appropriate music for religious gatherings. Probably the organizing of this choir stimulated other activities which later led to the development of the Music Department as a voluntary extracurricular activity for interested scholars. Before long all three graded departments included in their curricula a certain amount of regular singing in the classroom.

After obtaining a good organ from the old Timpanogos Branch for \$150, and later a piano, music lessons were offered during class hours. The courses given were vocal, choral, and instrumental. Nettie Southworth conducted most of the activities until she left for Ogden, where she could obtain higher pay. Willard Done, Mabel McAllister, Lillie Roberts, and finally H. E. Giles took turns in supervising or teaching the music students. Giles organized a Glee Club that presented popular music festivals as far north as Logan:

In an official report by the school to the Utah stake, we learn that the Music Department has put on concerts at Spanish Fork and at Lehi. A coming concert is scheduled for Logan at the BYC. A Glee Club has been organized which helped the choir in the concerts. H. E. Giles is in charge of vocal music and Mill Ottillie Maeser in charge of the instrumental music.⁴⁸

With regard to the trip to Logan, it was "Reported that the Musical festival to Logan took place Friday and Saturday, February 20th and 21st inst. About 75 people including the Faculty, choir, students and visitors, making the trip."⁴⁹ A wide variety of musical talent was called upon at almost every concert and religious gathering and at each of the graduation exercises sponsored by the Brigham Young Academy. These opportunities for self-expression and talent development soon made music a major contribution to the cultural development of the school.

Attempts to Stress the Practical

In conformity with the "practical" emphasis called for by Brigham Young in the 1875 deed, a Ladies' Work Department was instituted for

47. *Deseret News*, 17 December 1890.

48. *Ibid.*

49. BYA Faculty Minutes, 25 February 1891.

a brief period from 1881 to 1883. Strikingly similar to a modern work meeting of an LDS Relief Society, emphasis was placed on sewing, embroidering, and other domestic handicrafts which were publicly displayed at graduation time.⁵⁰

Each year a similar department was considered for male students, which would emphasize the study of mechanics, but nothing substantial ever came of these plans despite the founder's stipulations.⁵¹ During the 1880s courses in engineering, technical drawing, and book-keeping were introduced, but there were no shops or equipment to give these courses practical significance. Perhaps there was not enough money or space to accommodate the program envisioned by Brigham Young, or perhaps Maeser, not being technically inclined or mechanically gifted, did not pay great attention to it.⁵² Regardless of the reasons, except for some mechanical teaching in the evening classes held in the 1883-84 school year, all technical courses were bypassed until the mid-1880s, and even then were instituted without much enthusiasm⁵³ and were taught mainly to non-BYA students.⁵⁴ While over the years many classes of a vocational nature were taught, it was not until the administration of President Ernest L. Wilkinson that a separate College of Industrial and Technical Education was founded — the first in Utah.

Custodial Department

In concluding this review of the Academy's activities one cannot overlook the daily, cumbersome, and often thankless chores performed by the Janitorial Department. Campus punsters said the janitorial staff had a "sweeping" influence. Surprisingly, in the beginning there were no paid employees or even volunteers to provide this humble and often tedious service. Therefore the cleaning and repairing needs of the Academy were performed by Maeser and Milton Hardy themselves. Paid employees—at minuscule wages—came later.

50. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1880-81.

51. A polytechnical department was actually scheduled and contemplated for the first term of the first Academic year (1876-77), but for still unexplained reasons it never materialized; *Circular of Brigham Young Academy*, 1 July 1876.

52. Maeser's almost complete lack of experience in this field is illustrated by the fact that although he was put in charge of an emigration company to come west, he didn't know how to harness the oxen and had to have someone do it for him. Also, when he obtained a cow in Salt Lake City he thought that the cow, because of the cavity in her flanks, had not received enough food; so he fed her until she was bloated. Of course the significance of this will be lost on many city-bred readers of today who are as ignorant of animal care as was Brother Maeser.

53. Evening classes were initiated in the second academic year (1877-78). See "Principal's Report" for 1876-77.

54. "Principal's Report," 1883-84.

Janitorial service involved more than sweeping, however. For example, each room had a stove which needed a very substantial supply of daily fuel. Apparently there was no central heating, for Zina Young Card stated, "The building we occupied had been built for an amusement hall. It was cold in winter and hot in the summer."⁵⁵ Repairs were always needed. Benjamin Cluff was a part-time janitor during his student days, and his brother George became head janitor. Whenever the faculty assembled, the Janitorial Department was always represented by both the chief janitor and a Janitorial Department monitor who was in charge of keeping order in the buildings and on the school grounds. These two gave reports on what was immediately required to keep the school operating, and the list of necessities could run all the way from fire shovels to plaster.

Athletics

Athletic activity has not been mentioned so far because there was none — officially, at least. The absence of Academy athletics represented a prevailing policy not only of the Board and faculty but also of the Church itself. Their views were that education occurred in the classroom, not on the playing field. Maeser frankly confessed that he was adamantly opposed to athletics, and this was very much in keeping with educational ideas of the day.⁵⁶ Later attempts during the Cluff Administration to start intercollegiate football and other athletic competitions were strenuously opposed not only by Maeser but also by George Q. Cannon and other leading Church authorities. Sports therefore played no part in the school's first few years, for it was felt that the rigors of pioneer life, including domestic chores and other physical work, left little need for additional special exercise for the students.

The Domestic Department

From the very beginning, student housing was a problem because the Academy became much more than a Provo school. For example, in the second academic year (1877-78) 79 percent were from Provo, whereas in the eighth academic year (1883-84) only 52 percent were

55. Zina Young Card, "Sketches of School Life," BYU Archives.

56. Other contemporary educators shared Maeser's view of athletics. Dr. Andrew Dickson White, Cornell's first president, "boasted to alumni gatherings that he had never seen a game of football, baseball, or basketball. Football he regarded as a vestige of barbarity. Since the matches were played beneath his windows until 1893, he was frequently obliged to draw the blinds." In 1893, when President White was asked to authorize a game with the University of Michigan in Cleveland, he decreed, "I refuse to let forty of our boys travel four hundred miles merely to agitate a bag of wind"; Morris Bishop, *A History of Cornell* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962), p. 48.

from Provo. As a result, the housing of the out-of-towners became an early problem of pressing proportions. The Domestic Organization or Department was the administrative machinery for the solution to this problem. A circular published by the Academy in 1876 reported that

In order to give to students from a distance the opportunity of cheap and suitable board and lodging, and to their parents the assurance that their children are under proper domestic regulations the organization of a Dormitory or Boarding House, for students of the Academy exclusively, in charge of the Principal, is in contemplation.⁵⁷

The actual organization of the department occurred around 1 February 1878.⁵⁸ This department was given responsibility for students from outside of Provo or housed in the homes of Latter-day Saints in Provo, who were subject to domestic rules and regulations in and out of the school.

From September 1884 until May 1886, the school operated a boarding house at the corner of First West and Center Street. Donated by David John and Samuel Liddiard in July 1884,⁵⁹ it was large enough for sixty students. The three-story Academy Boarding House had 23 bedrooms to house both gentlemen and lady boarders, with Mrs. Jennie Tanner as matron and J. B. Keeler as steward under the supervision of Willard Done.⁶⁰ Board and room cost a reasonable \$2.50 per week or \$10 per month.⁶¹ In keeping with the policy of the entire domestic program, the Boarding House had an elaborate set of rules, running on a schedule not at all unlike that of a railroad timetable.⁶² Unfortunately, because of the overall financial plight of the school the boarding house was discontinued in 1886.⁶³

As he had done before, Maeser turned to responsible Provo citizens

57. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 15 July 1876.

58. BYA Faculty Minutes, 15 February 1884.

59. BYA Board Minutes, 11 July 1884.

60. BYA Faculty Minutes, 6 June 1885.

61. "Principal's Report," *Territorial Enquirer*, 20 October 1885. See also John C. Swensen, Founder's Day address, 16 October 1951.

62. "Time Table – Rising: During 1st and 4th terms, at 6 A.M.; during second and third terms, at 6:30 A.M. *Second Bell* — Roll call, prayer and breakfast; during first and fourth terms at 7 A.M.; during second and third at 7:30 A.M. *Third Bell* — study; during first and fourth terms at 7:30 P.M.; during second and third terms at 7 P.M.; study to close at 9 P.M. with evening prayer. *Sixth Bell* — Roll call, and retiring at 10 P.M."; "The Brigham Young Academy," *Deseret News*, 14 August 1885.

63. Utah Stake Bishops Meeting Minutes, 24 August 1886. The system is similar to Maeser's experiences in the Kreuzschule. "The pupils live in families, but under control and oversight of the school, and their conduct and manner of life are carefully looked after"; Seely, *Common-School System of Germany*, p. 140.

for their assistance and again asked the Provo bishops to give a list of good LDS families “who would offer their services and homes to the students at a moderate but remunerative price.”⁶⁴

Rules and Regulations

Each boarding area where two or more students resided had a supervisor or “Senior” appointed from their own number to more or less superintend activities. The Seniors were “held responsible for the observance of the rules of the school” and had to “describe the condition of the boarding houses.”⁶⁵ Some of these rules would shock many students today. No one was to be out after 8:30 p.m. on weekdays,⁶⁶ while the weekend curfew was extended to 10:00 p.m.⁶⁷ Neither could anyone change his boarding place without permission from the principal.⁶⁸

Students were advised “to pay their board bills promptly and not to play the gentleman, and make the Land Lady wait on them, but to lend a helping hand, so that the people would not think them a nuisance, and thus destroy the reputation of the Academy.” They were urged not “to run in debt at the stores, or to put on style,” for Maeser “wanted them to all feel that they were on the same level.”⁶⁹

Undoubtedly the school authorities also used their influence to keep the cost of boarding BYA students as low as possible, since boarding was a much greater expense to the student than tuition. The usual boarding charges for each student “ran \$3.00 to \$5.00 per week”⁷⁰ throughout these years. This was a very “reasonable rate,” according to Maeser.⁷¹ Eva Maeser Crandall reminisced that her mother, Anna Maeser, “only got \$2.50 a week for board, and that was what we practically lived on a good many years.” Others “couldn’t do it but my mother was frugal and we did it.”⁷²

64. “Proceedings of the Academic Council of the Brigham Young Academy,” August 1886, UA 227, BYU Archives, #5, p. 6.

65. BYA Domestic Department Minutes, 24 April 1882. *See also* transcribed interview with Eva Maeser Crandall, p. 94.

66. BYA Domestic Department Minutes, 12 April 1883.

67. *Ibid.*, 15 January 1880.

68. *Ibid.*, 13 September 1883.

69. BYA Domestic Department Minutes, 10 November 1881. In those days the concept of *parens patriae* was adhered to by nearly all high schools and by most institutions of higher learning. Today only private high schools make any attempt to carry this out and almost no institutions of higher learning. One of the few modern universities that does this, although not with the detail of Maeser’s days, is Brigham Young University.

70. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy*, 1878-79.

71. “Principal’s Report,” 18 June 1880. BYU Archives.

72. Transcribed interview with Eva Maeser Crandall.

Daily Operation of the Academy

The everyday operation of the Academy was subject to a strict system of rules and regulations. To begin with, there were a great many classroom guidelines, including rules on participation, keeping silent, and moving quietly from class to class. On one occasion Maeser said, "Some may think it none of my business where they are or what they do when out of school, but that is the law of the Academy, and if they wish to be none of my business, all they have to do is leave."⁷³

Maeser desired the Brigham Young Academy to be a shining example of proper student conduct, exemplary behavior, and intellectual excellence. To accomplish these aims he considered rigid moral discipline absolutely essential. Maeser always challenged his students to be good examples: "We cannot have our presence polluted by bad spirits. See that the reputation of the Academy is not darkened by anything you do."⁷⁴

But despite the rigidity of his philosophy, all of Maeser's directions were permeated with a sincere, honest conviction that to obey the rules of the school and Church and to live up to the high moral expectations implicit in the Mormon faith were more important to educating the soul than the mere accumulation of facts.

President George Q. Cannon described the procedure in dealing with a wayward student:

He is reasoned with, and told by his teacher that he has lost confidence in him. To become "bankrupt" in the confidence of a teacher is a disgrace to be feared more than corporal punishment, and the pupil as a general thing, earnestly strives to regain his standing in the opinion of his teacher. Should he prove entirely intractable he is dismissed from the school.⁷⁵

Brigham Young Academy thereby became a training ground in obedience and soul-building as well as in traditional academics. Despite the rigidity of Maeser's discipline, or perhaps because of it, most students respected and had true affection for him.

Maeser the Master Teacher

Maeser's competence as an educator is shown in part by some of his matchless aphorisms, which demonstrate his solicitude for his students and his confidence in their inherent abilities. In these axioms one sees the keen insight of an educational philosopher, a master teacher, and a man totally committed to the service of God:

There is a Mt. Sinai for every child of God, if he only knows how to climb it.

73. BYA Domestic Department Minutes, 11 March 1880.

74. *Ibid.*, 30 September 1880.

75. *Deseret Evening News*, 25 April 1879.

The good angels never lose an opportunity of calling attention to something good in everybody.

Let your first good morning be to your Heavenly Father.

There is no truth that has not its source in the Author of all truth.

A true Latter-day Saint is one who has dedicated himself soul and body to God, in all things spiritual and temporal.

If we knew the design of our Father in Heaven, with respect to us, we would thank Him for all the experiences that visit us.

You can pray best when you feel most like praying, but you should pray most when you feel least like it.

Concerning the teaching profession, which he considered a sacred trust, Maeser said, "I would rather trust my child to a serpent than to a teacher who does not believe in God." He constantly worked to inspire his students to realize their God-given potential:

Our patriarchal blessings are paragraphs from the book of our own possibilities.

The Lord has unconditionally declared the triumph of His Church, but His promises to me are all conditional. My concern therefore is about myself.

School is a drill in the battle of life; if you fail in the drill you fail in the battle.

Whatever you do, don't do nothing; whatever you be, don't be a scrub.

If you want excuses go to the Devil — he can give you any number.

To inspire a student to righteous Christian living and to be an example to others, Maeser gave the following advice:

What we did before we came to earth conditioned us here. What we do here will condition us in the world to come.

Everyone of you, sooner or later, must stand at the forks of the road, and choose between personal interests and some principles of right.

No righteous rules, however rigid, are too stringent for me; I will live above them.

No man shall be more exacting of me or my conduct than I am of myself.

Be yourself, but always your better self.

Say to your soul, "Let no unclean thing ever enter here."

He who deceives others is a knave, but he who deceives himself is a fool.

Everyone's life is an object lesson to others.

Two months before he died, Karl Maeser visited the school he had founded and was asked to leave a short message with the students. On the board he wrote four short thoughts:

1. The fear of God is the beginning of all wisdom.

2. This life is one great assignment, and that is to become absorbed with the principles of immortality and eternal life.
3. Man grows only with his higher goals.
4. Never let anything impure enter here.

New Academy Building — End of Maeser Era

For eight years the citizens of Provo had painfully watched the grass and debris accumulate in the unfinished basement intended for the new Academy building, and wondered if it had become nothing more than a mournful monument to an impossible dream. During this discouraging period an interesting incident occurred, which is reported by Karl G. Maeser's son:

While the foundation of the new building had been in course of construction, it had been a custom of Brother Maeser, when at home on a Sabbath morning, to walk up to the grounds and stand and gaze upon the work so far done.

Once when he took his daughter Eva with him they stood upon the unfinished foundation, and the child noticing some portions of the wall crumbling, remarked, "Papa, do you think they will ever finish this building?"

"My child," answered the father, "not only this building but others will stand upon this ground, and not only here but also upon that hill yonder," pointing to Temple Hill. "Yes, my child, I have seen it all."⁷⁶

The Board of Trustees had suffered excruciating anxieties over this uncompleted project, and by the end of 1890 they galvanized themselves into action. The week before Christmas they authorized the sale of some of the Academy's valuable lots in downtown Provo and Don Carlos Young was employed to resume his labors as architect. He was instructed to follow the specifications and ideas of Karl G. Maeser, who in turn attributed the design of the building to a dream he had had shortly after the death of Brigham Young:

I found myself entering a spacious hallway with open doors leading into many rooms, and saw President Brigham Young and a stranger, while ascending the stairs, beckoning me to follow them. Thus they led me into the upper story containing similar rooms and a large assembly hall, where I lost sight of my guides, and awoke. Deeply impressed with this dream, I drew up the plan of the location shown to me and stowed it away without any apparent purpose for its keeping nor any definite interpretation of its meaning, and it lay there almost forgotten for more than six years, when in January, 1884, the old Academy building was destroyed by fire. The want of new localities caused by that calamity brought into remembrance that paper, which on being submitted sugges-

76. Reinhard Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser*, 1:117.

tively to the board, was at once approved of, and our architect, a son of President Young, instructed to put into proper architectonic shape. . . . When in future days people will ask for the name of the wise designer of the interior of this edifice, let the answer be: Brigham Young.⁷⁷

When bids were let for the building they were shockingly high, so the Board decided to appoint Harvey H. Cluff as superintendent of construction and proceed on their own. President Smoot, Hyrum S. Young, and Harvey H. Cluff negotiated a loan of \$50,000, and another loan of \$25,000 was obtained by Cluff alone. It was necessary to mortgage the east half of the tithing block, and by the time the building was completed the loans, underwritten largely by President Smoot and the members of the Board, totaled approximately \$100,000.⁷⁸ The Church also assisted in the construction of the building in spite of its own desperate financial plight by contributing \$5,000.⁷⁹

Harvey H. Cluff devoted his full energies to the construction of this building and understandably wrote in his private journal that while he had no "desire to laudate or appear extra important in this great and important enterprise," nevertheless it was a fact that he had been "the indomitable force that kept the work from collapsing."⁸⁰ During this period there was the very real possibility of the main Church university being established in Salt Lake City if the Academy Building were not soon completed, and Cluff exhibited the needed leadership so they would not lose the "grip on the educational precedent which we now possess."⁸¹ He spent a life of loyalty to Brigham Young Academy.

In a flurry of final effort the building was completed in the fall of 1891. It marked another milestone in the development of the Academy as the LDS Church University and center of Church education. The building itself represented far more than merely a school facility, for it showed that Utah Stake and the Academy Board of Trustees could build the finest educational structure in the territory.⁸²

Occupancy of the splendid new building marked the end of the direct administration of Karl G. Maeser over the Brigham Young Academy. It seemed ironic that the long, tedious years between the fire in 1884 and the completion of the permanent home of the Academy should have ended just as Maeser was being assigned the task of

77. Maeser's farewell address at the dedicatory exercises of the new Academy Building, 4 January 1892, UA 104, folder B1, item 3, BYU Archives. Maeser complimented Don Carlos Young for the quality of his architectural work; see Karl G. Maeser Papers, 30 August 1888.

78. David John, journal, 28 December 1891.

79. Utah Stake presidency to Wilford Woodruff, 29 October 1891, Karl G. Maeser Papers, Utah Stake Historical Record, 3 May 1889.

80. Harvey H. Cluff, autobiography, 1-3 July 1891.

81. Ibid.

82. For a detailed description, see *Utah Enquirer*, 4 January 1892.

moving to Salt Lake City in connection with his earlier appointment as superintendent of the LDS Church schools.⁸³

Just before noon on 4 January 1892 all the students met with Karl G. Maeser for the last time in the assembly room of the ZCMI warehouse. His son, Reinhard Maeser, later wrote,

They were now about to enter the new school building, and as a benediction he lifted his voice in prayer, and oh, what a prayer was that which his soul poured forth in gratitude to God for the past. He asked the Father to be a strength and a fortress in the years to come, even as He had theretofore been. Then he led his students into the new home.⁸⁴

Down the main street of Provo the procession of students and faculty joyfully wended its way. At the entrance to the new building the students stood with bared heads as the faculty walked between them into the beautiful new home of the Brigham Young Academy. Among the visiting dignitaries were Church President Wilford Woodruff, counselors George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, and Governor Arthur L. Thomas. President George Q. Cannon gave the dedicatory prayer.

Karl G. Maeser's Farewell

It was on this occasion that Karl G. Maeser gave his farewell address. After a moving recitation of the trials and triumphs of the past, Maeser said,

To President Smoot and the members of the Board of Trustees, I try to say it in expressing to them my gratitude for having staid by me in days of good and evil report; to my dear fellow teachers I leave my blessing and take with me the consciousness of their love and friendship; and to the students I repeat the words of Holy Writ, saying: "Remember your teachers who have taught you the word of God, whose end you should look upon, and follow their faith."

To you all I recommend my successor, Prof. Benjamin Cluff, bestow upon him the same confidence, trust and affection, which you have so lavishly shown me, and the seed of such love will bring you a rich harvest.

And now a last word to thee, my dear beloved Academy, I leave the chair to which the Prophet Brigham called me, and in which the Prophets John and Wilford have sustained me, and resign it to my successor, and maybe others after him, all of whom will be likely more efficient than I was, but forgive me this one pride of my heart that I may flatter myself in saying, "None can ever be more faithful."

God bless the Brigham Young Academy.⁸⁵

83. James E. Talmage, journal, 4 January 1892.

84. Reinhard Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser*, p. 108.

85. Karl G. Maeser, "Final Address," *The Normal* 1(15 January 1892):83.

After hearing this speech Talmage wrote in his journal that he “could not repress the wish that I fain would have seen him retain the Principalship for at least a term in the new building.”

On the day of Maeser’s departure from the Academy, *The Normal* editorialized that “the students love Brother Maeser even as a father, and they look upon him as the father almost of this institution, and though he resign his place at the head of the Academy, yet he will always have a place of honor in her halls. As we have only one Moses, one Socrates, one Luther, one Pestalozzi, one Brigham Young, so we have only one Dr. K. G. Maeser.”⁸⁶

With the departure of Maeser from the Brigham Young Academy a highly significant historical era had ended, although he continued with his loved work of education for another nine highly active years as superintendent of Church schools.

Maeser the Man

On 15 February 1901 Maeser quietly passed away at his home in Salt Lake City at the age of 73. The funeral was held in the Mormon Tabernacle and, in spite of extremely inclement weather, thousands attended. Memorial services were held in many cities and towns throughout the state. High officials of the Church were speakers at the funeral, and the cortege to the city cemetery was several blocks long. Tributes poured in from far and wide as his former students learned of his passing. Dr. Joseph M. Tanner wrote,

I would say that the power to awaken inspiration in the lives of his students was one of the grandest qualities of his professional life; and it seems to me that he comprehended the future more perfectly than other men with whom I have had contact. . . . He had, too, the faculty of inviting the confidence of his students and of entering into the secrets and motives of their lives. He was so unselfish, so free from guile, so like an open book, that there was no reason for shutting out anyone from the secrets of his life.⁸⁷

George H. Brimhall said of Maeser, “He loved light, liberty, and little children; a mighty leader he was, that loved to be led. A peacemaker was he; and as a child of God. His first good morning and his last good night were to the Lord. He was a warrior who never planned for a retreat. He had no time to make money; every moment was used in making manhood.”⁸⁸

The tribute which Maeser prized most came before his death — from President Wilford Woodruff. A week after the dedication of the Academy Building, Karl Maeser told James E. Talmage that Wilford Woodruff had

86. *The Normal* 1(13 January 1892).

87. Reinhard Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser*, pp. 166-67.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

told him from the Lord, that his [Bro. Maeser's] labors had been accepted of the Lord, and that the Brigham Young Academy during the fifteen years of his Principalship had been conducted by inspiration. "And this," said Bro. Maeser to me, "I regard above all possible riches of earth." What greater satisfaction could be given to man, than the assurance of divine approval on his work! And where is man to be found more worthy of such blessing than my teacher and friend, Bro. Maeser?⁸⁹

Memory of him was so indelible that nine years later, on 6 October 1908, students and faculty assembled at his grave and unveiled a beautiful monument erected with funds donated by Dr. Maeser's former students. Bryant S. Hinckley acted as master of ceremonies and A. C. Lund conducted the music. James E. Talmage gave a response on behalf of the family, and Senator Reed Smoot pronounced the benediction. The highlight of the event was a tribute by George H. Brimhall, one of Maeser's former students, who by that time had himself become President of Brigham Young University. He began with these words:

We meet today upon this hallowed spot, made sacred in being the resting place of the toil-worn body of our beloved Brother Maeser. Beneath us here, held in the embrace of the earth, is the form of one whose eyes have beamed on us in love, whose voice has thrilled our souls, whose hand-clasp and caress have called comfort to our hearts, and whose life is still lifting ours to higher levels.⁹⁰

Forty years later, U. S. Supreme Court Justice George Sutherland said,

Dr. Maeser was not only a scholar of great and varied learning, with an exceptional ability to impart what he knew to others, but he was a man of such transparent and natural goodness that his students gained not only knowledge, but character, which is better than knowledge. I have never known a man whose learning covered so wide a range of subjects, and was at the same time so thorough in all. His ability to teach ran from the Kindergarten to the highest branches of pedagogy. In all my acquaintance with him I never knew a question to be submitted upon any topic that he did not readily and fully answer. In addition to all this he had a wonderful grasp of human nature and seemed to understand almost intuitively the moral and intellectual qualities of his students. He saw the shortcomings as well as the excellences of his pupils, and while he never hesitated to point them out — sometimes in a genial, humorous way — it was always with such an undercurrent of kindly interest that no criticism ever left a sting. He was, of course, an ardent believer in the doctrines of his Church, but with great tolerance for the views of those who differed with him in religious faith. I came to the old Academy with

89. James E. Talmage, journal, 11 January 1892.

90. Reinhard Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser*, p. 172.

religious opinions frankly at variance with those he entertained, but I was never made to feel that it made the slightest difference in his regard or attention. The same, I may say in passing, was true of all my relations with all my classmates at the Academy.⁹¹

Maeser's successor, Benjamin Cluff, Jr., who had had vigorous disagreements with him as assistant principal, principal, and President of the Academy, was so impressed by him that in 1946, some forty-five years after Maeser's death, he declared, "Of all the teachers whom I now recall, none is more prominent and none is recalled with more respect and affection than is Dr. Karl G. Maeser."⁹² No wonder Maeser once wrote of himself, "If it shall please my Heavenly Father I will be a teacher in Heaven."⁹³

Evaluation of Brigham Young Academy under Karl G. Maeser

Under Karl G. Maeser Brigham Young Academy established itself as one of the leading schools in Utah Territory. The curriculum continually expanded to meet the ever-changing and ever-increasing needs of local and regional education. But the uniqueness of the school lay not in its academic emphasis but in its religious foundation. Maeser placed the development of character above the development of intellect. He taught his students that lessons themselves were not the most important part of learning, but that if a student accepted an assignment it became "a matter of honor to be prepared . . . if you have to sit up all night." He did not teach the subject as much as he taught the student. In matters of morals and religious conduct, he saw things as black and white. He devised for Brigham Young Academy an intricate system of rules, regulations, and academic routine all designed to form habits of proper conduct.

Nels L. Nelson, who came to the Academy as a student in 1879 and who later served for twelve years as Maeser's personal secretary, wrote that

Brother Maeser placed every young man on his word of honor "to keep the Word of Wisdom, to live a clean life, to protect every woman's virtue, even against herself." These traits seemed to him to be the most natural, the most obvious thing to do. Indeed, compromise on anything involving principle became evidence of a weakling.⁹⁴

Nelson also noted that Maeser's goal was to instill in the lives of his

91. George Sutherland, "A Message to the 1941 Graduating Class of Brigham Young University," pp. 9-10.

92. Eugene L. Roberts and Mrs. Eldon Reed Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," typescript history in BYU Archives, p. 16.

93. Alma Burton, *Karl G. Maeser: Mormon Educator*, p. 73.

94. Nels L. Nelson to David O. McKay, 10 August 1919, David O. McKay Papers.

pupils a desire to gain a testimony of the gospel. To him, "Theology was always the big study — the study of consequence."

Under Maeser, faculty, students, and alumni became devoted disciples of Brigham Young Academy. Maeser himself will always be known as the spiritual architect of both Brigham Young Academy and Brigham Young University. His loyalty, above all, was to the Church. He surrendered the aristocracy of his birth for the poverty of Provo, but he acquired an abiding testimony of the divinity of Jesus Christ.

He served the Lord and his fellowman equally well. He spent his last years in the promotion of a Church school system. That he went beyond Brigham Young Academy in his plans was not only unavoidable, but also commendable. Had it not been for serious economic developments, his dream for a unified Church school system would probably have been realized, and while those plans never came to fruition, Brigham Young University will stand as a living testimony to what he accomplished. The entire Church school system will forever be indebted to him for the spiritual foundation he laid.

8

Benjamin Cluff, Jr.: Academic Innovator

Because of Maeser's duties as general superintendent of Church schools during his last few years as principal of BYA, the day-to-day operations of the Academy fell increasingly on the shoulders of his staff. When Benjamin Cluff, Jr., returned in June 1890 from his studies at the University of Michigan it was only natural that Maeser would rely on him. In September of that same year Cluff was appointed assistant principal to handle the administration of the Academy during Maeser's frequent absences from Provo.

Cluff's academic prestige was such that by 1891 Church President Wilford Woodruff considered him qualified for a top position at the proposed Salt Lake Academy.¹ Only the most vehement protest by members of the Board of Trustees through letters and personal appearances in Salt Lake City managed to keep Cluff in Provo.² And when Maeser resigned from the Brigham Young Academy, it was Benjamin Cluff, Jr., who on 4 January 1892 succeeded him as principal.

Background of Benjamin Cluff, Jr.

For a frontier scholar Benjamin Cluff possessed some rather substantial credentials. He had been under the training and influence of several leading educators in the East, including James Burrill Angell, president of the University of Michigan; Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard University; John Dewey of Columbia University; Aaron Burke Hinsdale, professor of education at the University of Michigan; and Colonel Francis W. Parker of the Cook County Normal School in Chicago.

The son of a New England convert who had made his home in Provo, Benjamin Cluff, Jr., was born there 7 February 1858. Only four years later, however, the family moved to Logan. When Benjamin was seven, he, his mother, his sister Mary Jane, and his brother George journeyed

1. BYA Board Minutes, 25 March 1892.

2. Ibid.

to Hawaii to join Benjamin, Sr., who was serving there as a missionary for the LDS Church. The Cluffs lived and worked at the Church plantation at Laie where Benjamin, Jr., helped pick cotton and harvest sugar cane. While at Laie the Cluffs lived at a subsistence level, bartering with the natives for what food they couldn't raise themselves. In 1870, after five years in Hawaii, the Cluffs returned to Utah.

Up to the time of his return from the Hawaiian Islands, young Benjamin was under the tutelage of his mother. Five years later, at the age of seventeen, he went to Coalville to live with his uncle William W. Cluff, president of Summit Stake. There Benjamin became city librarian and energetically explored the books available there. When Benjamin was nineteen his uncle Samuel Cluff visited Coalville and gave Benjamin a glowing picture of Brigham Young Academy and its inspiring leader, Karl G. Maeser. After receiving permission from his father to attend the Academy, Benjamin set out to walk the 65 miles to Provo. On the way he stopped overnight with his uncle Harvey H. Cluff at the Cluff ranch between Park City and Kamas. Harvey Cluff, a prominent member of the Academy's Board of Trustees, took Benjamin with him to Provo the next day.

The morning after their arrival in Provo, Harvey introduced young Benjamin to Maeser, telling the principal that the boy was seeking an education and was willing to endure any amount of hardship or privation in order to achieve his purpose. Embarrassed by his uncle's introduction and overawed by the personality of the German teacher, the country boy found himself completely tongue-tied for a few moments. However, Dr. Maeser stepped forward, took Benjamin by the hand, and said, "It is an honor and a pleasure to meet and welcome into our school a young man with an ambition to fit himself for service in God's kingdom. You will be happy here."³

Cluff worked hard and at the end of his first year was awarded an instructorship in the Primary Department. In October 1878, at age twenty, he was called to be a missionary for the Church in the Hawaiian Islands. After three and one-half years in Hawaii he returned to Utah on 9 May 1882. Back in Coalville he was urged by his father to take up farming, but within two months he received a letter from Karl G. Maeser dated 8 July 1882 offering him a chance to teach at Brigham Young Academy. He accepted enthusiastically and began as an instructor at BYA on 25 September 1882.

The 1883-84 Academy catalog lists Benjamin Cluff, Jr., as a teacher of mathematics and bookkeeping. His annual salary was set at \$540 guaranteed, with a promise of \$600 in case the school had a prosperous year. On 16 August 1883 he married Mary John, daughter of David

3. Eugene L. Roberts and Mrs. Eldon Reed Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," typescript biography in BYU Archives, p. 14.

John, counselor in the Utah Stake presidency, and continued teaching at the Academy until 19 December 1886, when Apostle John W. Taylor set him apart to continue his education at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. This experience was to be one of the highlights of his life.

At the University of Michigan

Cluff proved to be both a faithful Latter-day Saint and a diligent student. After arriving in Ann Arbor on December 28 Cluff and his family, along with William H. King (later U.S. Senator from Utah) and others, participated in what was “probably the first religious service ever conducted by the Latter-day Saints in the city of Ann Arbor.”⁴ While at Ann Arbor the Cluffs held regular church services at their lodgings, and Benjamin defended the Church in private and public debates on the campus and through local newspapers. He worked at any modest job he could obtain, from tutoring students in French for 25 cents an hour to working as a steward in an Ann Arbor boarding-house at eight cents per week per boarder. His most precious commodity was time, and every moment not required to earn a living for his family was spent in diligent study. When he returned to the faculty of Brigham Young Academy in 1890, he told his pupils that he would “require no more study from his students than he required of himself, which is about twelve hours daily.”⁵

During the nearly four years Cluff spent at Ann Arbor, he distinguished himself as a scholar. He was voted a member of the Adelphi Society, the oldest and most prestigious student organization on campus. He was so successful at debating that Professor Thomas Trueblood urged him to specialize in elocution. He studied in the astronomical observatory and worked for his engineering professor, who was city engineer of Ann Arbor. Cluff organized a mathematics club which enrolled 28 members. During his second year he was treasurer of the Adelphi Society and treasurer of the Mathematics Club. That same year he was offered a teaching position in Arizona Territory, which he declined. He passed his courses in mathematics, elocution, and rhetoric without examination and had an easy time in his French examination. He graduated with a group representing only 15 percent of those who started the course with him.

Cluff had a great gift for making friends. He became a personal friend of President James B. Angell. They had a particular affinity for each other because of the president’s interest in “moral and religious education.” Angell frequently impressed on his faculty and students that “we make Universities out of men and not out of bricks and mortar.”⁶

4. Ibid., p. 42.

5. *The Normal* 1(14 September 1891):1.

6. *University of Michigan: An Encyclopedic Survey*, 1:71.

Homecoming and a New Assignment for Cluff

When Cluff returned to the Academy in June 1890 after three and one-half years in the East, he sensed a feeling of suspicion among his colleagues, especially Maeser, who was extremely skeptical of eastern education. Maeser told James L. Brown, who was thinking of going east to school, that “experience in only too many instances has demonstrated the fact, that some of our brightest intellects from among our youth that have gone East have suffered themselves to be swamped by the influences of worldly education and flinging away their divine inheritance have endangered the faith of their fathers. I hold that all the knowledge and learning the world can give us is too dearly paid for the loss of one of these precious souls.”⁷ Maeser told President David John that he objected to having men educated in the East teaching at the Academy unless they unlearned “some erroneous notions, before they take charge here.”⁸

Professor Maeser probably feared that Cluff might introduce certain unsound and therefore unacceptable changes in the school. Cluff, on the other hand, felt the school was too lethargic and that the faculty was in a rut of mediocrity. He also felt the school lacked adequate direction because “Maeser, being also Superintendent of Church Schools, could not pay sufficient attention to class work.”⁹ By September 1890 Maeser sensed a feeling of “estrangement springing up between Brother Benjamin Cluff and some teachers in the Brigham Young Academy, which if not remedied, forbodes no good for the prosperity of this institution and requires my constant attention to prevent any collision that would bring matters to a premature issue.”¹⁰

In an effort to improve faculty relations, Abraham O. Smoot clarified Cluff's position on the faculty by proposing to make Cluff assistant principal and eventually principal of the Academy. Maeser thereafter told the faculty of the Board's decision to give Cluff the title of assistant principal with full authority to operate and make decisions for the school while the principal was away. He pleaded for unanimous support for this proposition, asking for Cluff “the same kind of courteous assistance that the teachers had always shown toward” Maeser himself.¹¹ The faculty voted unanimously to sustain Cluff as assistant principal. Attempting to dignify both the new office and Cluff himself, Maeser informed the faculty of the Church Board of Education's decision to fully honor Cluff's degree from the University of Michigan and to bestow upon him the degree of bachelor of

7. Karl G. Maeser to James E. Brown, 30 May 1892, Karl G. Maeser Papers, LDS Church Historical Department.

8. General Board Minutes, 7 April 1890.

9. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., diary, 26 June 1890, as quoted in Roberts and Cluff, “Benjamin Cluff, Jr.”

10. Karl G. Maeser to George Reynolds, 20 September 1890, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

11. BYA Faculty Minutes, 25 September 1890.

mathematics and didactics. Maeser was pleased with the results of the meeting. However, he did not feel that "peace and union" would be restored until Cluff was able to "check his impetuosity."¹²

As Cluff assumed a more active role in school administration, he experimented with new educational concepts he had encountered in the East. He thought this was in keeping with the ideas of President John Taylor, who opposed the educational philosophy that tended to "reduce everything . . . to machine-line precision."¹³ Early in 1891 Cluff began working vigorously to improve the Academy. He upgraded existing programs and worked to prepare the various departments to move into the new Academy Building. Cluff was "pushing things with much energy," but Maeser felt he had to "watch matters closely that the Brigham Young Academy may not lose its anchorage."¹⁴

Later that year Maeser returned to the school from an extended trip and found financial affairs in what he thought was a "terrific muddle." In Maeser's opinion, Benjamin Cluff did not "improve matters either in other respects by his self-will."¹⁵ In this unfriendly atmosphere, Cluff declined to act as assistant principal and spent most of his time in the Normal Department. At the August Board meeting, President Smoot announced that Cluff had resigned as assistant principal because of "a lack of unity between the Principal and himself." After a long discussion, the Board refused to accept Cluff's resignation. Maeser agreed to stay on as principal "till the opening of the second semester in January 1892 in the new building, when he would retire anyway, his duties as Superintendent of Church Schools requiring all his energies."¹⁶ At that time Cluff would become principal.

Knowing that he would soon be principal, Cluff worked with renewed enthusiasm. Before his installation as head of the school, he was responsible for the establishment of a student loan association and a military science class at the Academy. Along with Smoot and others he advocated the establishment of the Church normal school at Provo. Following the pattern of the University of Michigan, he changed the length of classes from thirty minutes to an hour.

Maeser and Cluff Compared

As Benjamin Cluff prepared to take over the helm from Maeser, the contrast between the two educators was apparent. Both were dedicated to the same religion and to the objective of providing the best possible

12. Karl G. Maeser to George Reynolds, 10 October 1890, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

13. L. John Nuttall to Karl G. Maeser, 29 January 1887, L. John Nuttall Papers, BYU Library Special Collections.

14. Karl G. Maeser to George Reynolds, 23 February 1891, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

15. *Ibid.*, 1 July 1891.

16. BYA Board Minutes, 31 August 1891.

Christian education for the youth of the Church, but Maeser was 63 years old, staid in appearance, an adherent of Prussian methodology in education, and conservative as well as sober in his demeanor; while Cluff, on the other hand, was only 34, vibrant, impetuous, and imbued with new educational ideas he had brought from Ann Arbor.

Maeser advocated a closed educational society for the Church, while Cluff gloried in his stay at the University of Michigan and his association with the gentile faculty there. Maeser thought the Church educational system, especially Brigham Young Academy, could produce sufficient teachers to supply the needs of the entire Church. Cluff felt there was much in educational training from the gentile world which the Church could use.

Maeser began his educational training at 16 and received extensive instruction in a rich classical background. Cluff, a product of pioneer Utah, did not enter the University of Michigan until he was 29 and looked upon education as an exhilarating adventure rather than a system of methodology and discipline. Maeser had become accustomed to the deliberate and often slow speed of Church machinery. Cluff was action-oriented and impatient with delay. It was as if Maeser were harnessed and broken in, while Cluff seemed almost like an unbroken colt.

But despite these differences the first concern of both was for the good of the Academy. Eva Maeser Crandall once told her father that some people during Cluff's administration didn't "think the school was as good as it was when you were there." She recalled, "I'll never forget how he stopped still on that corner with that cane and said, 'Oh, my child, it should never have been said. That is a school of destiny, and no man can thwart its purpose.'"¹⁷

Changing the Guard

On 4 January 1892 when the new Academy Building was dedicated, the principalship of the Academy formally passed from Karl G. Maeser to Benjamin Cluff, Jr. It was a memorable occasion and 1,000 people were estimated to have gathered for the ceremonies. But when the dedicatory services for the Academy Building were over and while the tributes to "Brother Maeser" were still ringing in the new principal's ears, Benjamin Cluff, Jr., turned his attention to the stern realities of his new position.

There were three main concerns which immediately occupied his attention. The first was the proposed establishment of a university in Salt Lake City which was to be the center of the Church educational system. Cluff felt this move was a serious threat to the support or even the survival of Brigham Young Academy. The second problem was the deterioration of the financial condition of the school during the last

17. Transcribed oral interview with Eva Maeser Crandall, p. 14, BYU Archives.

years of Maeser's administration. And third, Cluff knew that if he were to improve the scholastic standing and educational program of the Academy he would need to obtain greater support from the General Authorities and the General Church Board of Education.

The Proposed Church University in Salt Lake City

The planned Church University in Salt Lake City was intended to become the center of LDS Church education, to compensate for the increased secularization of the University of Utah and the constant attrition of young LDS scholars going to the East to study.

The first step was taken in May 1889 when the name of the Salt Lake Stake Academy, of which James E. Talmage had been appointed principal, was changed to Latter-day Saints College, with the intent of making it the new Church University. However, by December 1891 the Church leaders had decided to create a completely new institution of higher learning. The Board of Education instructed Captain Willard Young, son of Brigham Young, and James E. Talmage "to take the necessary steps to plan a new institution of higher learning, to be called 'Young University' or the 'Church University.'"¹⁸

In January 1892 Willard Young was appointed president of the new institution with James E. Talmage, after being released as president of the Latter-day Saints College, as his assistant. Willard Young, a graduate of West Point, had already resigned his position in the U.S. Army and at his installation as president of the new Church University he spoke of Talmage's removal from LDS College "as a promotion, and of Young University as a school toward which all the other [Church] institutions tend."¹⁹ He said the intent was to build "a high class university, second to none in the west."²⁰ Thus as Benjamin Cluff, Jr., took the helm of Brigham Young Academy in January 1892 the school's place as the foremost institution in the Church school system was seriously threatened.

This anxiety was further heightened in February 1892 when the Church General Board of Education issued its famous *Circular Eight* making the new Church University the "head to our system of Church Schools." It went on to say that "there will be but one Church University among us, though as the people increase and their domain of residence extends, departments or branches may be established in many places." It authorized "three of the existing Church-schools . . . to carry on Normal work, the Brigham Young Academy of Provo, the Brigham Young College of Logan, and the Latter-day Saints College of Salt Lake City."²¹

18. General Board Minutes, 30 December 1891.

19. "Interesting Exercises," *Deseret News*, 11 January 1892.

20. Ibid.

21. *Circular No. 8 of the General Board of Education of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Cannon Publishing House, 1892).

Since all three academies had hoped to become the head of the Church school system, *Circular Eight* greatly disturbed the administrators of the three major Church schools. They were not pacified by being given permission to continue training teachers.²² Despite their opposition, however, James E. Talmage was authorized to read a slightly revised version of *Circular Eight* to the General Conference of the Church in April 1892. The designation of the new "Church University as the head to our system of Church Schools" was unanimously approved. But after the Conference²³ it took eight months to organize a board of trustees for the school, and the first board meeting was not held until 4 January 1893. By that time the possibility of financing a new Church University was seriously jeopardized by an economic depression of such proportions that it soon developed into a national panic.

On 5 May 1893, two months after Grover Cleveland took office as President of the United States, "the value of stocks on the New York Stock Exchange suddenly plunged downward. . . . Thousands of businesses failed. . . . The prices of farm produce dropped so low that farmers could not afford to pay the freight to market. By the end of the year, the nation was in the grip of one of the worst depressions in its history."²⁴

This panic not only jeopardized the prospects of developing the Church University in Salt Lake City; it also imperiled the continued operation of the University of Utah. Acting president Joseph Kingsbury approached the First Presidency proposing that the Church forego the establishment of the Church University and allow James E. Talmage to become president of the University of Utah. He felt that

22. Editor's Note: Cluff undoubtedly felt that Maeser's participation in the plan to found the Church University in Salt Lake City was an act of disloyalty to the Academy. There may be some devotees of BYU who, as they read this, will feel the same. The editor does not agree with this viewpoint. As one who has had the experience of being both President of BYU and, contemporaneously, either administrator or chancellor of the Church school system, he can understand why Maeser, as the overseer of the whole educational program of the Church, had a different point of view than when he was representing Brigham Young Academy alone. Indeed, the editor of this history stated in a meeting of the Board of Trustees in the 1950s that he lamented the fact that there was not enough part-time employment in Provo for students of fast-growing BYU and expressed the view that it would have been a good thing if BYU had been founded in Salt Lake City in the first place. However, in view of the rapid and successful growth of BYU since that time, in students, housing, and stakes, he now thinks that he was wrong and that it was providential that BYU was founded and continued in Provo. But he does not think there should be any criticism of Maeser and Talmage for having fostered the Church University.

23. General Board Minutes, 4 April 1892.

24. Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti, *Rise of the American Nation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966), p.428.

under Talmage the University would become more sympathetic to Church ideas.

On 27 January 1894 President Wilford Woodruff announced that in the face of the extreme economic crisis he had decided it would be best to suspend the Church University and transfer Church support and influence to the University of Utah. The President expressed the hope that "This would enable the Church to devote more energy to the support of the Stake Academies."²⁵

On 10 April 1894 James E. Talmage was unanimously elected president of the University of Utah, and on 18 August 1894, at the request of Talmage, the First Presidency gave official notice that the Church University was to be permanently discontinued.²⁶

However, the various stake academies found little solace in this new arrangement, particularly when Superintendent Maeser announced that "the First Presidency and the General Board of Education desire our Church schools to become feeders to the State University and to harmonize their courses of study in conformity with that intention."²⁷

Indeed, Maeser's announcement created consternation in the mind of Benjamin Cluff, Jr. Up to this time both he and Maeser had been dedicated to Church schooling as opposed to state secular training. Now Maeser seemed to be opting for secular training. Cluff immediately expressed his displeasure and refused to accept the assurances of A. O. Smoot that this new Church policy was not intended as a "blow to the BYA" but as a measure to strengthen Church education.²⁸ Cluff feared that if Brigham Young Academy were made a "feeder" to the University of Utah it would lose its place at the head of the Church school system, diminishing its prospects as a potential university in its own right. Why should the Academy, dedicated as it was to spiritual truth, become a "feeder" to a secular institution?

The Academy Faces Financial Collapse

In the midst of this debate over Church educational policies, Cluff was confronted with probably the worst financial crisis in the history of the Academy — even worse than the crises during the Maeser administration. In the past, the burden of keeping the Academy solvent had fallen on A. O. Smoot. He was now in ill health, and the panic had so depleted his own resources that he was unable to come to the rescue. Furthermore, the Utah Stake assessments for the Salt Lake Temple and the Provo Tabernacle had a higher priority than BYA's financial appeals.

Early in 1892 the stake presidency attempted to have the Church incorporate Brigham Young Academy and assume its financial obliga-

25. James E. Talmage, journal, 29 January 1894.

26. General Board Minutes, 18 August 1894.

27. Ibid.

28. Utah Stake Historical Record, 1 September 1894.

tions, but the idea was not approved. Some Board members hoped that real estate to which the Academy held title could be sold to help defray operating costs. Unfortunately, falling real estate prices made this solution untenable.

By 23 June 1892 the school had a net indebtedness of \$61,107, most of which had been incurred in connection with the recently completed Academy Building. The Board members hoped that if the people of Utah Stake would pay off the school's debt, the Church would supply the \$20,000 to \$30,000 annually needed to sustain the school.²⁹ Instead, in September the Board was shocked to learn that the General Board of Education had allocated only \$3,600 to Brigham Young Academy for the 1892-93 school year.³⁰ A separate appropriation of \$5,000 was made to the Normal Department, but these combined funds of \$8,600 were scarcely adequate to operate the Normal Department alone, and provided no funds to pay the school's debts.

Appropriately, the closing song at the Founder's Day Celebration of 1892 was "The Sinking Ship."³¹

By the close of 1892 it was apparent that the financial panic was about to force many Church academies to close. Their future depended on Church support, and their fate seemed sealed when the principals of the Church academies were told there would be no appropriations whatever for the coming year. As BYA faced financial collapse, some feared that the Catholic Church was going to buy the Academy's property and take over the school's operation. However, general economic conditions made it impossible for the Catholics or anyone else to buy the school.³²

In August 1893, David John, vice-chairman of the Board, informed Provo Church leaders that the Trustees had exhausted every resource³³ and that the General Board also would be unable to help the school. James E. Talmage wrote that "Owing to the present financial distress, which is said to be unparalleled in the history of the country, appropriations for the support of the Church Schools had to be stopped, and in consequence about twenty of such schools were announced as compelled to close for the ensuing year."³⁴

Death of Abraham O. Smoot

Throughout this period Abraham O. Smoot was also struggling to keep his bank from going under. Many personal loans had been made

29. Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 2 September 1892.

30. General Board Minutes, 9 September 1892. Though meager, this allocation was the highest made to any Church school that year. Brigham Young College in Logan was given only \$2,500. The Salt Lake Stake Board of Education was given only \$5,000 to run its entire program.

31. "Locals," *The Business Journal* 2 (1 November 1892):2.

32. General Board Minutes, 11 August 1893.

33. Utah Stake Historical Record, 5 August 1893.

34. James E. Talmage, journal, 11 August 1893.

by the bank to prominent citizens to finance the Academy, and now these loans were overdue. To safeguard its stockholders and depositors, A. O. Smoot found it necessary to institute formal law suits against some of these individuals, including his former counselor, Harvey H. Cluff, who was then on a Church assignment presiding over the Hawaiian Colony in Rush Valley. Cluff implored Smoot to drop his suit and Smoot referred the matter to a bishop's court, but his two counselors declined to sit in judgment on the matter. For a period of several months these desperate circumstances almost destroyed relations between some of the Academy's staunchest supporters.

By 1895 most supporters of the Academy had given up hope for its survival. Nevertheless, A. O. Smoot persisted in his attempts to gain Church financial support for the institution. Although in very poor health, he went to Salt Lake City in February to ask the General Authorities to rescue the school. He received "considerable assurance that something would be done soon to relieve the financial embarrassments that were weighing heavily in the interests of the B.Y. Academy."³⁵ Two and one-half weeks later, on March 6, Smoot passed away. His trip to Salt Lake had been made during his terminal illness. There can be little doubt that the trying circumstances of the Academy's fight for survival during the past five years had contributed to his decline in health and ultimate death.

To many faithful supporters of Brigham Young Academy the death of A. O. Smoot signified the end of an era. George H. Brimhall said that his death "was about the darkest hour in our history."³⁶ No other man could adequately take his place. Smoot had defended Academy procedures, his iron will had saved the institution a number of times, and Superintendent Maeser had relied on Smoot to perpetuate what he and others had started almost 20 years before. Benjamin Cluff also knew he could depend on Smoot's unwavering support when he argued the interests of the Academy in Salt Lake City. At his death Smoot was heavily in debt for endorsing loans which had been made to support the school. His life had demonstrated a total commitment to the welfare of the Academy. Succeeding stake presidents and civil leaders were never able to match Abraham O. Smoot's remarkable record in community and educational service.

Brigham Young, Jr., Succeeds A. O. Smoot

With conditions so precarious the Board undertook to select a strong successor to A. O. Smoot, and at the May 22 meeting Apostle Brigham Young, Jr., was selected as the new President of the Board of Trustees.³⁷ One of the deciding factors was undoubtedly the fact that

35. Edward Partridge, journal, 20 February 1895, LDS Church Historical Department.

36. See Alice Louise Reynolds Papers, BYU Archives.

37. BYA Board Minutes, 20 July 1895.

he was the most influential person among Brigham Young's heirs on the Board of Trustees.

However, coming to this position quite advanced in age and feeble in health, Brigham Young, Jr., never did become fully involved in Brigham Young Academy affairs. His own children attended Brigham Young College in Logan. His solution for Brigham Young Academy's problems was further financial retrenchment until times improved. This policy at once alienated Cluff. In spite of the critical financial situation, Cluff was setting in motion plans to offer students more advanced classes, which of course would increase the cost of operating the school. In line with this, Cluff's title was changed from *principal* to *president*.

Brigham Young, Jr., grew increasingly concerned about Cluff's vigorous policies, fearing that the Academy was "departing from the spirit of the founder."³⁸ Small matters, such as the institution of "Academy yells," became the occasion for heated, strong-willed debates that tended to demoralize both faculty and administration. Damaging confrontations among the Trustees were prevented only through the efforts of President Wilford Woodruff and George Q. Cannon.

Notwithstanding these difficult times, Cluff's abilities as an administrator were clearly demonstrated. Enrollment increased, vigorous academic programs were established, and the school's reputation grew even stronger. In his report for 1895-96, Cluff said that the year had "been one of the most successful in the history of our school. The future, too, as we now view it is full of bright promises and encouraging signs, which with the blessings of God, blessings such as the Academy has always enjoyed, and with the united efforts of the Board, the Faculty and the students the aims [a]nd desires of the great founder, Prest. Brigham Young, will be fully realized."³⁹ Considering the all but hopeless circumstances, these sentiments showed a vision and a will that would not be defeated.

Incorporation of Brigham Young Academy by the Church

Benjamin Cluff, Jr., finally came to the conclusion that the only real solution to the Academy's financial problems was incorporation by the Church. He wrote that "one evening while returning from a walk down town and while studying deeply over the future of the Academy, the thought came to me like an inspiration: 'give the school to the Church.' Immediately my mind was at rest. I knew that it was the right thing to do."⁴⁰ Although this same suggestion had been made and rejected a number of times in the past, on 18 July 1896 the Board of Trustees succeeded in incorporating the school. After reaffirming the 1875

38. Brigham Young, Jr., journal, 5 November 1896, LDS Church Historical Department.

39. "President's Report," 21 May 1896, BYU Archives.

40. Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," pp. 84-85.

charter, the articles of incorporation noted that the Academy was “financially embarrassed” and “since the First Presidency are willing to assume such indebtedness,” the Trustees “do now proceed to take the necessary steps for the incorporation [of] Brigham Young Academy.”⁴¹

While operation of the school was to continue as before, the articles of incorporation provided that the Church would now have primary financial responsibility for Brigham Young Academy. Karl G. Maeser congratulated President Cluff that his “proposition to the First Presidency has been accepted and that the BYA will pass entirely into the hands of the Church.”⁴²

One provision of the articles allowed non-Mormon children to attend the school. This was an extension of the original Deed of Trust drawn up in 1875, and formalized the existing situation, since for some years non-Mormon children had been allowed to attend the school, and by 1895 two non-Mormon faculty members had been employed.

The articles provided that at least three of the twelve directors must be descendants of Brigham Young. Heirs of Brigham Young on the first Board after incorporation were Brigham Young, Jr., who was also elected president, Susa Young Gates, and Joseph D. C. Young.⁴³ Although Cluff thought Brigham Young, Jr., was inimical to nearly all interests of the Academy, it was during Young’s term as President of the Board and with his support that incorporation was accomplished.

Shortly after the incorporation of the Academy a new Board of Trustees was sustained in the General Conference of the Church in April 1897, and in August at the first meeting of the Board George Q. Cannon was elected president with David John as vice-president. The executive committee was composed of Reed Smoot, Thomas Cutler, and Wilson Dusenberry.⁴⁴ President Cluff now had a Board of his own choosing: George Q. Cannon had been very friendly to him and David John was his father-in-law.

Founding of the Beaver Branch

With its official incorporation by the LDS Church, Brigham Young Academy began to expand its sphere of influence. In 1898 the Beaver Stake Academy merged into BYA and in September of that year it opened as the Beaver Branch of Brigham Young Academy.⁴⁵ The site

41. Ibid.

42. For a complete copy of the articles of incorporation, see Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 4 Vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 1:535-43.

43. Benjamin Cluff Presidential Papers, 1896, BYU Archives; hereafter cited as Cluff Presidential Papers.

44. BYA Board Minutes, 2 August 1897.

45. For further discussion of the Beaver Branch, see Roberta Ann Barber, “Beaver Stake Academy and the Beaver Branch of the Brigham Young Academy,” history research paper, April 1973, BYU Archives.

of the school was old Fort Cameron, worth between \$25,000 and \$30,000, and acquired mainly as a gift from John R. Murdock and P. T. Farnsworth.

Dedication of the facilities at Fort Cameron took place 26 September 1898. At the dedication "Apostle [F.M.] Lyman and [George] Teasdale officiated, the former acting as mouth in the ritual, and the latter offering a prayer. . . . More than one thousand people were present."⁴⁶ Dr. Maeser and President Cluff helped register pupils the following day, and "twenty-eight students were enrolled for the opening session of the new school"⁴⁷ — just one less than Maeser had had at the opening of his first class at BYA.

The faculty included teachers already in Beaver and teachers from the parent Academy in Provo. Ernest DeAlton Partridge, grandson of the first bishop of the Church, Edward Partridge, was made principal of the Beaver Branch.⁴⁸ Partridge was a graduate of Michigan State University with a bachelor of science degree. While there he became a favorite athlete and won seven gold medals for running. He was also chosen to give the commencement oration.

Reinhard Maeser taught English and the theory of teaching. Cluff's second wife, Harriet Cullimore Cluff, was the school's matron.⁴⁹ Edward P. Kimball taught music, and Mary J. Ollerton taught "English and preparatory subjects."⁵⁰ Freda Barnum supervised the library with the assistance of two townswomen, and Duckworth Grimshawl, an English-born pioneer in Beaver, taught a theology class.⁵¹

In the fall of 1898 Principal Partridge wrote, "Students generally are very good. A little too much running to town."⁵² The next spring he reported, "The school year is going on all right. We have the occasional stir but they are becoming less frequent."⁵³ By that time enrollment had climbed to 160.⁵⁴

As was true in Provo when the Academy began, the Beaver Branch had problems with the rougher students and townspeople, but Principal Partridge knew how to handle them. On 25 November 1899 he wrote Cluff, "We had our regular ball last night. It was successful. There was a plot arranged in town yesterday among the toughs and the

46. Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," p. 81.

47. Ibid., pp. 81-82.

48. Dedicatory program, William H. Snell Industrial Education Building, 13 April 1960, on file in the BYU Archives, p. 10.

49. Cluff married his second wife on 17 December 1886.

50. *Circular of the Beaver Branch of the Brigham Young Academy, 1899-1900.*

51. Ernest D. Partridge to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 6 October 1898, Cluff Presidential Papers.

52. Ibid.

53. Ernest D. Partridge to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 6 March 1899, Cluff Presidential Papers.

54. Ernest D. Partridge to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 20 November 1899, Cluff Presidential Papers.

suspended students to come out and ride me around the campus on a rail. It became so public that the marshal came up to notify me and to see that all was well. The fellows were there but I did not get my ride. I refused admittance to two of them and publicly asked all who had been drinking or smoking to leave and two more left.”⁵⁵

By the turn of the century Brigham Young Academy had assumed such a prominent role in Church education that other schools desired to become branches of the Academy. The Beaver school, however, remained its only branch. It continued as such until 1908, when it was separated from the parent school and became the Murdock Academy, one of many LDS Church schools.

Meanwhile, in Provo the pressing financial problems and administrative conflicts of the 1890s gradually diminished. The Brigham Young Academy, incorporated as an official school of the LDS Church, entered the new century anticipating growth, development, and academic success.

55. Ernest D. Partridge to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 25 November 1899, Cluff Presidential Papers.

9

New Programs; In Search of Zarahemla: 1900-1902

The periods of continual crisis which plagued the Academy during its first 30 years did not divert either Maeser or Cluff from tenaciously pursuing the long-range objectives of the institution. President Cluff, like Principal Maeser, had an abiding interest in faculty performance, and he established a high standard of faculty excellence. Writing from Ann Arbor in November 1893, he advised acting principal George Brimhall that Academy teachers should “turn their attention gradually to more thoroughness.”¹ The *White and Blue* of 15 April 1898 eulogized Cluff’s ability to relate to faculty members and inspire teaching excellence:

Though an excellent class teacher, President Cluff excels in the ability to select and draw around him great teachers, and to place these where they can do the best work. While requiring the strictest conformity in matters affecting the unity and autonomy of the institution, he gives the utmost freedom to the teachers in the detail work of their departments. He is thereby able to unify the different methods and still preserve the teacher’s individuality. As a result perfect harmony exists in the Faculty, and the Academy has become one of the leading, if not the leading, institutions of learning in Zion.

The Struggle to Build a Superior Faculty

Cluff had difficulty finding the money to pay well-qualified teachers. In 1894 John A. Widtsoe applied to teach at Provo, telling President Cluff that Brigham Young Academy was his first choice. Widtsoe later informed Cluff that while he had been offered the same amount by both the Academy and the Brigham Young College in Logan — \$1,200 — he had to accept the latter because the Academy would pay \$900

1. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., in Ann Arbor, Michigan, to George H. Brimhall, 5 November 1893, Cluff Presidential Papers. Cluff had received permission from Church leaders to return to Ann Arbor and finish his master’s degree in the fall of 1893.

cash and \$300 in scrip, whereas the BYC would pay him all in cash. He needed the cash to pay his school debts.²

The fear of delayed or curtailed salaries was another constant problem. While Cluff hoped he would not be plagued with this problem while at Ann Arbor to get his master's degree, he found he couldn't avoid it. Again he wrote to Brimhall: "We cannot run a school and have to sacrifice the scholastic to the financial question. The further development of the school demands that this financial question so far as the teachers are concerned be settled."³

Although a few faculty members left the school because of financial distress, an even greater number were lost to the Academy because of mission calls or other Church assignments in Utah, Idaho, Arizona, and elsewhere. Susa Young Gates, for instance, who was both a Trustee and a faculty member, wrote from Idaho in 1897 to inform Cluff that she would not be able to return to perform her teaching duties because of a Church assignment.⁴ With a faculty already limited by critical economic pressures, these vacancies were not easy to fill.

Employment of Non-Mormon Teachers

In 1894, after returning from his second stay in Ann Arbor, Cluff tried to bring an eastern professor to the school. This caused Maeser no small degree of consternation, and he took the matter to George Reynolds, secretary to the First Presidency of the Church, and to the General Board, arguing that employment of non-Mormon teachers was contrary to the spirit of the Academy. Cluff, however, wrote directly to President Woodruff that "the engagement of the eastern teacher is but temporary and preparatory to the thorough qualification of our own students as training teachers."⁵ Cluff prevailed.

In 1897, over the vehement protest of Maeser and Brigham Young, Jr., Cluff obtained special permission to employ three more non-Mormon teachers to serve in departments where there were no competent LDS teachers.⁶ The non-Mormon teachers seemed to react favorably to the Academy. Abby Calista Hale, a niece of Edward Everett Hale (author of "A Man Without a Country" and chaplain to the U.S. Senate), was employed in the Primary Department during the mid-1890s. When Abby Hale left the school in 1897 she wrote President Cluff that "the Academy and Utah seem too much like home to

2. John A. Widtsoe to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 15 April 1894, Cluff Presidential Papers.

3. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to George H. Brimhall, 7 January 1894, Cluff Presidential Papers.

4. Susa Young Gates to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 31 August 1897, Cluff Presidential Papers.

5. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to Wilford Woodruff, 8 August 1894, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

6. General Board Minutes, 12 October 1896.

me to be given up unregretfully. I have enjoyed my work there very much and it will always be a pleasure to me to remember the cordiality and kindness given to the stranger within your gates.”⁷

Despite opposition and financial problems, Cluff managed to strengthen the faculty. When he became assistant principal in 1890 there were fourteen faculty members. When he left in 1903 the number had increased to sixty.⁸

More important than size was the quality of the faculty, and Cluff insisted on a high standard of teaching. BYA rallied “all its forces around one central purpose, that of becoming a normal college unsurpassed by any institution.” In 1894 six graduates of Michigan and Harvard were added to the faculty. The *Deseret News* estimated that “of the fifteen hundred teachers in the Territory, it is perhaps safe to say a majority have received their education at the Brigham Young Academy, and hundreds will pass into active life in this and other fields each year.”⁹ After a visit to the Academy in 1902, Joseph M. Tanner, Church commissioner of education, reported that Brigham Young Academy had more advanced studies than any other school in the Church school system.¹⁰

Curriculum under Cluff

By 1899 the Academy was organized into the following departments:

1. A Kindergarten, including a Kindergarten Training School.
2. A Primary School consisting of the eight grades of the common schools.
3. A High School, covering four years' work and offering two courses, one a preparatory normal course, the other a preparatory collegiate course.
4. A Collegiate Department, covering four years' work, beginning with the twelfth grade (the last year of high school and the first year of college were parallel) and including the normal training school of three years' work.
5. A Commercial College, beginning at the close of the primary school and covering three years' work.¹¹

While the basic academic structure did not change much during Cluff's administration, Cluff strengthened the entire curriculum. He liked to refer to his administrative period as the “New Epoch,” which stressed academic excellence above all else. Though he paid appropriate homage to Professor Maeser's “peculiar power of arousing in-

7. Abbey C. Hale to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 6 April 1897, Cluff Presidential Papers.

8. Roberts and Cluff, “Benjamin Cluff, Jr.,” p. 88.

9. “A School with a Mission,” *Deseret News*, 20 September 1894.

10. General Board Minutes, 30 April 1902.

11. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy, 1899-1900*, pp. 9-10.

dependent investigation,” Cluff felt “compelled to recognize the deplorable fact that from very many district schools, the fruits of those hurried in Normal courses come back to us today in the shape of students poorly equipped in elementary studies.”¹²

Changes in the pedagogical courses clearly reflected the influence of his university training. Each year’s work was “systematically laid out in six special divisions.”¹³ Recitations were lengthened from half an hour to a full hour in order to limit “the state of mental congestion which results from taking too many studies at once.”¹⁴ He instituted courses in educational psychology and supplemented them with logic classes.

Cluff emphasized the importance of freedom in education. Under his direction, students established *The Normal*, a student newspaper. Student editors did most of the writing, though faculty members assisted with articles and stories.

Normal Training School

One of Cluff’s most urgent programs was the establishment of a permanent normal school. Cluff maintained that the advantage would be “better qualified teachers,” eliminating the “need to hire outsiders in Mormon schools.”

With the support of President Smoot and Superintendent Maeser, and with the new Academy Building to house the Normal Department, Cluff persuaded the General Board to establish the Normal Training School. In November 1891 the General Board authorized a special budget of \$5,000 to cover the cost of free tuition for normal students.¹⁵

The Normal Department was so successful that in 1892 the Church’s Deseret Sunday School Union used the facilities and staff of the Academy to sponsor training courses for the teachers of the Church.¹⁶ Participants included teachers from the LDS Mutual Improvement Association and the Sunday Schools. The 20-week course for Church teachers proved highly popular and continued to operate until 1896.

High School and Collegiate Courses

High school studies were rigidly outlined for every semester of every year. Substitution of courses could be made only with permission of the faculty. High school and college courses were listed together in the

12. Ibid., 1896-97, p. 8.

13. “Editorials,” *The Normal* 1(18 December 1891):1.

14. Ibid., 1 (13 November 1891):1.

15. Utah Stake presidency to Wilford Woodruff, 29 October 1891, Karl G. Maeser Papers. See also George Reynolds to A. O. Smoot and W. H. Dusenberry, 11 November 1891, Abraham O. Smoot Papers, BYU Library Special Collections.

16. These courses also included instructions for administrators in the auxiliary organizations. See *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy, 1894-95*, p. 43.

Academy's circular. There were about as many college courses as high school classes, but more students enrolled in the high school classes. Classes among the upper grades were likely to contain both high school and collegiate students.¹⁷

The Collegiate Department was officially established during the fall of 1896 in connection with the Founder's Day celebration. Cluff had conducted college-level courses since 1892 when he became principal, so the Collegiate Department represented the extension of established procedure rather than the inauguration of an entirely new program. Collegiate Department graduates were granted the bachelor's degree in pedagogy (teaching methods) with emphasis in teacher training, science, language and literature, or philosophy. Students who specialized in pedagogy had to earn 108 hours of credit, while students in the other areas needed 136 hours. Cluff encouraged those entering the teaching profession to excel in whatever subject they planned to teach rather than worry too much about the theories of pedagogy. The school's curriculum, however, emphasized pedagogy.

College Hall

With Cluff's increasing interest in higher education, facilities for upper division students became cramped. Cluff wanted a college building. When the Church was unable to respond, he made a direct appeal to the Board of Trustees. Reed Smoot pledged \$1,000 and offered to secure a contribution of \$1,000 from each of ten individuals.¹⁸ The new building, named College Hall, was outfitted by the alumni association and the faculty, who were asked to use part of their vacation time to assist in raising funds. College Hall was dedicated in May 1898. With the lower division students in the Central Building and a few nonacademic classes in the Probert Building west of campus, the high school and college students were housed in the Academy building and College Hall. The commercial courses occupied much of the space on the main floor of the Academy Building, while scientific courses were conducted in the basement. Even with the addition of College Hall, Academy facilities became cramped as high school enrollment increased.

Proposed Law School

In 1897 Benjamin Cluff received a letter from J. Whitely, a teacher of civics and public law at the University of Utah who had been successful in preparing a number of students for law schools in the

17. For further discussion of class schedules and the overall mechanics of each class, see *The Young Woman's Journal* 3(1892); and Brigham Young Academy circulars issued during Cluff's Administration.

18. Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, Joseph Fielding Smith, Reed Smoot, Jesse Knight, Charles E. Loose, Alfred William McCune,

East. He desired to establish a school of law in Utah. Blocked in his attempts to establish a law school at the University of Utah, he proposed a law course at Provo as "a branch of the Academy."¹⁹

Two years later, a Mr. Saxen of Provo approached Cluff, requesting an opportunity to inaugurate a law school, promising that "at a nominal salary of \$600, per year, I would agree to take it for three years, and donate a law library of 200 volumes."²⁰

Finally, in 1901 President Brimhall proposed the organization of not only a law school but also a medical school. At a Board meeting on 16 October 1901, "Acting President Brimhall reported that Law and possibly Medical Schools can be instituted at once in the Academy free of charge by the Lawyers and Doctors of Provo who have volunteered their services. On motion of Reed Smoot, the President was authorized to institute the said schools in accordance with the above." Ten days later Acting President Brimhall wrote President Cluff, who was in Central America in search of Zarahemla:

During our last Board meeting I laid before the members the advisability of establishing a school of law and a school of medicine in the Academy, as we had been offered the services of some of the best attorneys in the state to compose the faculty of the school of law gratis, and I was of the opinion that I could get the same support from our Doctors here. I explained to the Board that it would cause the school to "bristle like a university," whereupon President Jos. F. Smith immediately said, "Well, why not?" so in the near future I expect we shall be able to announce these two schools as a part of the Academy.

The fact that schools of law and medicine were not established then probably indicates that on closer examination it was determined that neither a law school nor a medical school could be operated "free of charge," even with the relatively low quality of medical and law schools then as compared with those of the present.

The Summer School Brings Educators from the East

President Cluff inaugurated the annual Brigham Young Academy Summer School to provide inservice training for local teachers. In 1892 Cluff obtained the services of Colonel Francis W. Parker, principal of Cook County Normal School in Chicago and one of America's leading authorities on normal school instruction. The success of the summer school session surpassed expectations. It also did much to

Amanda Inez Knight, Stephen L. Chipman, and J. William Knight were the donors; Ephraim Hatch and Karl Miller, "History of the BYU Campus and the Department of Physical Plant," 8 Vols., typescript history in the Physical Plant files, 2:16.

19. J. Whitely to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 12 April 1897, Cluff Presidential Papers.

20. Saxen to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 1899, Cluff Presidential Papers.

enhance BYA's academic standing, since Cluff was able to attract one of the nation's leading educators to Provo.

The following summer Dr. James Baldwin, prominent educational psychologist from the University of Texas, participated in an even more successful session. At the close of the 1893 summer session, Cluff announced his intention "to bring to Utah the best educators of the East and place them side by side with the best of our home talent."²¹

Initiating Higher Education Seminars

Brigham Young Academy became the pioneer of higher education seminars in Utah, introducing territorial school leaders to new educational ideas. In 1891 only 55 attended the summer session. The attendance increased to 400 in 1892,²² and in 1893 between 400 and 600 educators participated in the seminars.²³

In March 1892 President Charles William Eliot of Harvard University stopped in Utah to observe Mormon communities and LDS educational institutions. When President Eliot spoke to the students of Brigham Young Academy, he "drew a very pleasing comparison between the establishment and development of the LDS Church School system of the Latter-day Saints and the founding and growth of Harvard University."²⁴ President Eliot also spoke to a group of 7,000 people at the Salt Lake Tabernacle. Escorted by James E. Talmage and Willard Young, he visited President Wilford Woodruff and examined operations at the University of Deseret, Brigham Young College, Utah State Agricultural College, Weber Stake Academy, and other Utah schools. President Eliot's favorable reports on Utah education were cynically received by some at Harvard, but resulted in widespread interest in LDS community life and the unique features of Utah schools. At the same time, his energetic speeches to Utah audiences increased interest in education within the territory.

The Missionary Program

Although missionary courses at the Academy were well attended as early as 1894, they received their real impetus in 1899. To help prepare missionaries Cluff offered to "arrange, free of extra expense to the Church, for a class of prospective missionaries, say not to exceed one hundred, and will give them such instruction as will best prepare them for their labors." In his proposal, Cluff suggested courses in Church history, the Bible and Book of Mormon, gospel principles, and history of "the Romish Church." In addition to a review of grammar school

21. "The Teacher's Institute," *Deseret News*, 19 August 1893. The practice of bringing prominent educators to Provo for summer school has continued to the present.

22. "The Summer School," *The Normal* 3(15 February 1894):1.

23. "B.Y. Summer School," *Deseret News*, 8 August 1893.

24. James E. Talmage, journal, 16 March 1892.

courses, Cluff also proposed “a course of lectures by eminent men, such as the Apostles, returned missionaries, the seven Presidents of Seventies, etc., on the needs of missionaries in the fields.” The course, to last one school year or less, would be offered annually.²⁵

In September 1899 the Church General Board of Education “passed a resolution authorizing a Missionary Training Program for one year to be conducted not only at Brigham Young Academy, but at BYC and LDSC.”²⁶ The results were gratifying. The General Authorities felt the program was inspired, and the reaction of various mission presidents was highly favorable.

The First Council of the Seventy was eventually given the responsibility of developing the curriculum for missionary training at Brigham Young Academy and the entire program was fully operative before Cluff left the Academy on his expedition to South America in 1900. Each missionary call from President Lorenzo Snow was accompanied by a request for the new missionary to take a preparatory course at Brigham Young Academy.

Impressions of a Young Student

Rose Vickery, a young student from Levan, Utah, kept an extensive diary of her activities as a high school student at Brigham Young Academy during the years 1897 to 1901. Since Rose was probably representative of younger students at the school, her diary provides excellent insight into student life at Brigham Young Academy during the Cluff years.

She made the three-day trip to Provo with her parents. They traveled by wagon and team, camping out every night along the way and cooking breakfast and dinner over an open campfire. On her first day at the Academy, Rose recorded that she

was up and had breakfast before sun up. . . . At an early hour we presented ourselves at the Academy and wandered around over the building until 9:45 when the signal was given for all to Enter Room D. It was a grand sight when they had all assembled. On a platform sat the Faculty and below sat the students.

President Benjamin Cluff, after prayer was offered, delivered a short but impressive speech. Several other gentlemen gave some good counsel. One said, “The parents sent their children to school thinking they are pure gold, and the faculty had to return their brass buttons to them,” but another one said that the “parents sent brass buttons to school but the academy tried to send them back pure gold.” Which was right?²⁷

25. General Board Minutes, 1 May 1899.

26. James R. Clark, comp., *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5 Vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-71), 3:323-26.

27. Rose Vickery, diary, 1 September 1897, BYU Archives.

Like other students who had to make each penny count (hunger was not infrequent among Academy students), Rose spent part of September bottling fruit to sustain her through the winter. On 31 October 1897 “after arriving home after meeting,” Rose and her roommates “felt quite despondant from the fact that we had no supper and what was worser there was nothing to eat. A shout of joy went up however when our Nellie emerged from the bottommost realm of the flour bin with a hard and blackened crust which we ate in grateful silence and soon afterward retired. Half a loaf is better than no bread and ditto with that crust. Good night.”²⁸

In spite of her hardships, however, Rose was inspired by President Cluff and Brother Brimhall to strive for excellence. She especially enjoyed her weekly class with Susa Young Gates. The lecture was “a God send. I am happier now than I’ve ever dared hoped to be but I hope yet to be freer and happier. Oh if I could control my passions and become a truly noble woman; that I may add honor to the honorable name of my father; but most of all that I may in very deed be a daughter of God.”²⁹

Besides school work there were dances, parties, and traditional Academy events. Teachers and students were introduced to each other at the handshake party. Rose’s first handshake party was “one of the gloriously happy” days of her life:

Hurried with my lessons and at half past seven was on my way to our Temple of Learning for our grand Hand Shake, and I never expect to be nearer heaven in mortality than I was for about two hours after that. I shall never forget that long line of teachers nor the procession of students as they marched past, each one shaking hands with the teachers, and then the students had such hand shaking among themselves. Well they finally got settled down and a beautiful program was rendered consisting of music, songs, speeches, toasts, etc.³⁰

Such were the reflections of an adolescent girl at Brigham Young Academy during the Cluff era.

The Domestic System and Student Discipline

Students were supervised by the domestic system that Karl G. Maeser had initiated many years before. Rules were strictly enforced. Gradually, however, administration of the domestic system was transferred to the students themselves. Cluff explained that “the aim here as well as in the school proper is to teach the students the great principles of self-government, realizing that the highest point to be reached in

28. Ibid., 31 October 1897.

29. Ibid., 19 February 1898.

30. Ibid., 9 September 1897.

discipline by young men or young ladies is the ability to govern and control themselves. The greatest liberty possible is, therefore, allowed the students until by some overt act they demonstrate that they are not able to use that liberty with wisdom and discretion.”³¹

President Cluff attempted to place pupils from the same area together in domestic wards. Students occupied responsible positions under the guidance of a selected faculty member. Student ward leaders were often ordained to the Melchizedek Priesthood to be able to carry out their callings. Emphasis was placed on self-discipline and leadership training. Students were assigned as visiting teachers to other students in their boardinghouses.³²

There were some violations of the domestic code, ranging from simple pranks, smoking, and drinking to a few serious cases of immorality, but most students supported the school’s code of conduct. President Cluff warned the girls of Brigham Young Academy that they should not become too fond of dances and unduly familiar with their gentlemen friends.³³ Students were especially admonished to refrain from the “hold-me-tight” style of round dances.³⁴ They were constantly reminded of the serious purpose of their stay at Brigham Young Academy. *The Normal* editorialized, “No young man has a right to rob the ladies of their study hours. They may be pleased to have you come, may treat you with the highest respect; still, this would be no excuse for your coming. Now is the time to study and the lady students have no more time to waste than the young men.”³⁵

Although President Cluff always encouraged students to seek the guidance of their Church leaders to resolve personal problems, he nevertheless spent many hours counseling with them.

Club Organizations

During Cluff’s administration student organizations increased in number and popularity. The Polysophical Society remained the most prestigious and best attended of the campus clubs. Some of “the brightest minds of the state and many other states and territories lectured to the society on subjects having a range as wide as science, art, literature, and national questions.”³⁶ The Literary Club also continued to be popular. N. L. Nelson, scientist, philosopher, and prolific writer, still presided over this club and made the meetings appeal to those of a

31. “President’s Report,” 21 May 1896, p. 3.

32. See Wilford Warnick, journal; Rose Vickery, diary; and a description of the domestic system in the *Deseret News*, 16 January 1897.

33. Brigham Young Academy Young Ladies Class Minutes, 22 April 1898, BYU Archives.

34. “Locals,” *White and Blue*, 20 November 1902.

35. “Editorials,” *The Normal*, 1(24 September 1891):1-2.

36. *Deseret News*, 16 January 1897.

more intellectual bent. Plays, readings from the classics, and original compositions were presented at Literary Club meetings.³⁷ Other clubs also created great interest.

Athletics

Competitive athletics developed at the Academy during Cluff's administration. Karl G. Maeser and some other administrators in the Church school system doubted the value of school sports, but Cluff, who had seen the extensive athletic program at Michigan, viewed sports as a complement to academic life. Baseball and football became the main attractions of the Academy athletics program. Baseball began in 1891, football in 1896, and track and field in 1899.³⁸ Most athletic events were held on Temple Hill, the present site of upper campus. Students, both as participants and spectators, enjoyed sports with increasing interest each year. *The Normal* on 24 March 1893 praised the formation of an athletic club as "a step in the right direction. At this season of the year there is an almost irresistible impulse to live in the open air and to give the physical man an amount of exercise at least equal to the amount of intellectual nourishment that has been imbibed during the winter. Judicially directed, this impulse will result in good in every line of effort and will create a beautiful and patriotic spirit."

However, this sentiment was not shared by all educational leaders. George Goddard, general superintendent of the Church Sunday School Union, urged Wilford Woodruff to oppose school athletics, saying that "college yells and football games are damaging to the respectability of such institutions and very destructive in their tendency of life, limb, and the religious tone that should always characterize every Latter-day Saint school of learning."³⁹ President Brigham Young, Jr., called college yells "an abomination to my spirit." To him the yells sounded like "a lot of hoodlums going through the streets."⁴⁰

About the same time the athletic question was being argued, college debating also became a source of contention. Many thought debating was destructive of character because students often took positions in debates which were against their sincere beliefs. Accordingly, the General Board, led by Maeser, banned athletics and debating, and it was not until Brimhall's presidency that clubs and athletics again became a major aspect of student life. Like Rose Vickery, most Academy students during Cluff's administration dedicated themselves to study first and to extracurricular activities afterward.

37. Karl G. Maeser, *School and Fireside* (Washington: Skelton and Co., 1898), p. 176.

38. Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," pp. 60-76.

39. George Goddard to Wilford Woodruff, 27 December 1897, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

40. Brigham Young, Jr., journal, 10 October 1895.

The South American Expedition

Early in 1900 Benjamin Cluff, after a year or two of discussing the matter with trusted friends, disclosed the idea of an expedition to South America. He hoped to discover the ancient Nephite capital of Zarahemla, which at that time many believed was located on the Magdalena River in Colombia.⁴¹ In this way he hoped to establish the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. He knew that a major archaeological discovery by a group from the BYA would greatly enhance the stature of Church scholarship and propel the Academy into the scientific limelight.

In December 1899 Cluff outlined his proposal to Joseph F. Smith and George Q. Cannon, counselors to President Lorenzo Snow. Cluff told President Snow that he planned not only to search out ancient Book of Mormon ruins, but also to make geological, biological, and linguistic studies in Central and South America. He proposed that the party should consist of faculty members, exceptional students from the Academy, and other qualified men. Aside from the scientific success which he hoped such a venture would bring, Cluff felt that the expedition might open the way for taking the gospel to the peoples of Latin America. After the plan was reviewed by the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve, President Cluff was given authorization to begin preparing for the expedition as a Brigham Young Academy project.⁴²

As he organized the expedition, Cluff's biggest challenge was selecting the proper men. He interviewed prospective expedition members and sent their names to the First Presidency, who called them to serve.⁴³ In order to lend moral support to the expedition, the First

41. George Reynolds wrote a seven-volume commentary on the Book of Mormon and oriented all geographical locations in terms of this theory that Zarahemla was on the Magdalena River.

42. Source materials and corroborative data for this chapter were taken from correspondence of General Authorities; from Roberts and Cluff, "Biography of Benjamin Cluff, Jr."; and from the expedition diaries of Chester Van Buren, Asa Kienke, Walter Tolton, Heber Magleby, and Walter Wolfe. President Cluff's records of the expedition are unavailable.

43. Those selected to join the group were Joseph Adams from Parowan, W. R. Adams from Parowan, John Q. Cannon (grandson of President George Q. Cannon), John Fairbanks, and Henry Giles from Salt Lake City, Soren Hansen and B. T. Higgs from Castledale; William Hughes from Spanish Fork; Asa Kienke from Nephi; Heber Magleby from Monroe; Jesse May from Nephi; George Munford from Beaver; Mosher Pack from Kamas; Lafayette Rees from Wales; Utah, Eugene Roberts from Provo; John L. Seevy (who left the expedition just after it started) from Panguitch; Warren Shephard and Walter Tolton from Beaver; Chester Van Buren from Huntington; and Royal Woolley from Kanab. Cluff chose Gordon Beckstead and Brigham Young Academy professor Walter M. Wolfe as his two counselors.

Presidency wrote each prospective member of the group that "This expedition has been organized with our consent and approval, and we trust that those who compose the party will feel the importance of the work and will so order their lives that the spirit and blessings of our Heavenly Father may always be with them."⁴⁴ On 7 April 1900 they were set apart by Apostles John W. Taylor and Francis R. Lyman.⁴⁵

Though Church authorities sanctioned the expedition, it was sponsored entirely by the Academy or, more specifically, by Benjamin Cluff. The Polysophical Society furnished \$200 and the Founder's Day ball proceeds, amounting to \$50, were donated to the expedition.⁴⁶ Major expenses, however, were absorbed by members of the group themselves. Each man was expected to contribute \$100 and equip himself with two hardy horses, clothing for fifteen months, cooking utensils, sleeping gear, guns and ammunition, one month's provisions, and personal items.⁴⁷ Equipment was expensive, and parents of expedition members paid for much of it out of their own pockets. Walter Wolfe had to borrow \$150 from the Academy's student loan association to fit himself out.⁴⁸

The Expedition Begins

The boldness of the Zarahemla project is better appreciated when it is recalled that this exploration was to cover several thousand miles with horse and teams. Ten different countries with climatic conditions varying from the frigid winter weather of Utah to the heat of Colombia would have to be traversed, and much of the journey would be in territory convulsed in revolution.

As the April 17 departure date approached excitement at the Academy ran at a fever pitch. Students who had been selected to go on the expedition were instant celebrities. On 15 April 1900 a special fast meeting was held for the expedition boys. At this time last-minute instructions were given. A grand farewell party was given at the Academy Building on Monday evening, April 16. Hundreds of people "packed room D to its utmost capacity. The expedition boys were invited to attend in their duck cloths and were heartily applauded when they entered the room."⁴⁹ A grand march followed, and there was dancing, and feasting until two o'clock in the morning.

At seven o'clock on the morning of April 17 the sleepy boys were roused by a bugle after only five hours in bed. President Cannon and

44. Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," p. 106.

45. See Chester Van Buren Papers and Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," p. 105.

46. BYA Faculty Minutes, 10 January 1900.

47. See a suggested list of provisions in the Chester Van Buren Papers, UA 352, BYU Archives.

48. *Smoot Proceedings before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections*, 4:46.

49. Chester Van Buren, diary, 16 April 1900, BYU Archives.

other Church leaders spoke to the party at ten o'clock, and lunch was served to five hundred people. After many toasts and accolades the expedition members retired to President Cluff's home to saddle up. As the procession rode down Academy Avenue, the street was lined with well-wishers, many of them snapping pictures of the beginning of a heroic journey to the land of the Nephites. Acting president George Brimhall carried "the Academy colors," and "students bearing the different class banners and all mounted on white horses fell in line" with the procession. Expedition member Chester Van Buren wrote that "a large number of carriages and wheels came with us out of Provo to start us on the way."⁵⁰

At Springville the company was met by 400 school children. After a program the expedition received a \$16 donation and then moved on to Spanish Fork for another celebration. A brass band escorted them into town and camp was set up at the tithing yard. Members of the party were given a banquet and honored at a grand ball which "many of the boys enjoyed to a late hour or early hour in the morning."⁵¹

Somewhat similar celebrations greeted them at Santaquin, Payson, Mona, Manti, Gunnison, Richfield, Beaver, Paragonah, Parowan, Panguitch, and Kanab, Utah, giving them 16 straight days of feasting and celebrating. Since it was a poor man's expedition, this constant stopping off for banquets and dancing is understandable, for these stops not only provided food and lodging but were also used to raise a little money on the way. Nevertheless, the excursion members arrived on the border of Arizona groggy with over-eating and exhausted from all-day rides and half-the-night entertainments.

They also found before long that many members of the party were seriously lacking in routine camp life skills. They were also lacking in ability when it came to wrangling and shoeing horses and coping with the hardships of roughing it through mountains, rivers, and deserts.

On May 5 the expedition left Utah and entered the Painted Desert of Arizona. They stopped at Jacobs Pool and Lee's Ferry where, in crossing the Colorado River, Joseph Adams narrowly escaped drowning. The wagons, equipment, and horses were ferried across the river. The water along the way was so brackish that even the famished horses refused to drink it. Nevertheless, they trudged on to Tuba City and St. Joseph where they were joined by Paul Henning, a recent German convert who spoke excellent Spanish. They then moved on to Snowflake. By this time there was considerable grumbling among the young men. Cluff gave them a severe reprimand and added a stinging rebuke for having made an unauthorized raid on the provisions wagon. According to him it was "better to starve awhile."⁵²

50. Ibid., 17 April 1900.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid., 3 June 1900.

On arriving at Thatcher, Arizona, Cluff went ahead to arrange with customs officials for the expedition to enter Mexico. For one month the party was held in temperatures climbing up to 117 degrees while he attempted to arrange for their passage. This delay was disastrous to the morale of the company, especially the younger men, who became restless and began involving themselves in activities which did not always reflect favorably on the image of the expedition. It provoked a rash of resentment and backbiting among the members, which added to the disagreeable atmosphere. As Cluff left them they were instructed to labor in pairs doing missionary work in Thatcher, but most of the group were inadequately prepared for such an assignment. The exception was Walter Tolton, who visited 156 families, held 168 gospel conversations, and conducted 13 meetings.

Visit of Heber J. Grant

As July drew near the explorers had been more than two and one-half months away from home. The heat, idleness, and frustration finally brought the griping and grumbling in the camps to a boil, and there was a series of rather serious infractions of camp rules. This was the mood of the men when Heber J. Grant, then a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, unexpectedly arrived to visit them.

It did not take Elder Grant long to sense the seriousness of the situation. This expedition had run into deep trouble before it had negotiated its first crossing into a foreign country. In Thatcher they were among friends and the relative security of established government. What would happen when these would-be explorers moved into the treacherous terrain to the south where hostile governments and extortion-oriented petty officials awaited them? Elder Grant did not disclose his feelings to the men but encouraged them the best he could. He then hastened back to Church headquarters to report his deepest anxieties concerning the entire project.

Meanwhile, Benjamin Cluff was still in Mexico trying to raise an exorbitant \$2,500 cash bond which the Mexican government had demanded. At one point he felt sufficiently encouraged to send word that the group should move from Thatcher to Nogales. This they did under the leadership of Walter Wolfe, but the move did not improve things. There was further demoralizing delay as the summer wore on.

Official Church Support Withdrawn

While the group was still stalled near Nogales, Heber J. Grant reported to the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve. In his opinion the young men selected for the expedition did not have enough experience. They were inclined to be disobedient and were very careless with their animals. They had so few capable men among them that Elder Grant felt that if they entered Latin America they would be in danger of losing their equipment and even their lives.

From what “he had seen and heard he freely and frankly stated that the expedition ought to be disbanded.”⁵³

On July 27 the First Presidency addressed a letter stating Grant’s complaints to President Joseph F. Smith, who was on his way to Mexico. In a subsequent letter of August 9, President Smith was instructed to meet with President Cluff and advise him “that it was the mind of the Twelve — and it certainly was his mind — that the expedition should return.”⁵⁴ Later the same day the Brethren decided that if President Cluff and the others desired, the expedition could continue, but without official Church sanction. These letters were occasioned not only by the report of Elder Grant giving his evaluation of the expedition party itself, but also by reports that had reached the Presidency that during these times with polygamy still a sensitive issue, President Cluff was spending part of his time in Juarez visiting Florence Reynolds, who had been a student of Cluff’s at Provo.⁵⁵

When President Smith met with Cluff the latter was vigorously opposed to abandoning the expedition; he would rather die in the attempt than to give up. He wrote to President Cannon that there was “a good chance to succeed but to turn back everything is lost.”⁵⁶ President Smith then met with the expedition at Nogales and told them of the decision. The members were told that they would be granted honorable releases and there would be nothing dishonorable in returning to their homes. But he also told the expedition that they “would *not* be *disobeying* the authorities” if they proceeded. However, they would have “to assume all responsibilities” and “understand that it was purely scientific, *not* a Church mission.”⁵⁷

After his meeting with the expedition, President Smith wrote Lorenzo Snow and George Q. Cannon that “Cluff and Wolfe felt very much grieved and said they felt sure the Expedition had been greatly misrepresented by someone.”⁵⁸ The next morning President Cluff wrote

53. Journal History, 19 July 1900. Elder Grant said that he felt “the expedition was a grave and serious mistake, and that lives would be lost unless something were done to either reduce or disband the expedition.”

54. Ibid., 9 August 1900.

55. Ibid. The disclosure of Cluff’s relations with Florence Reynolds seemed to resolve the matter against the continuation of the expedition as a University project. Though no record of the marriage has been found, most people, including Cluff’s other two wives, acknowledged Florence Reynolds as his wife. At the time of the expedition there was doubt in the minds of some, including certain Church leaders, as to whether the Manifesto of 1890 applied to marriages in such countries as Mexico where polygamy was permitted. All doubt was removed by a second Manifesto issued by President Joseph F. Smith in 1904.

56. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to George Q. Cannon, 10 August 1900, George Q. Cannon Papers, LDS Church Historical Department.

57. Asa Kienke, diary, 12 August 1900.

58. Joseph F. Smith to Lorenzo Snow and George Q. Cannon, 12 August 1900, Joseph F. Smith Papers.

George Brimhall that he felt “a great injustice has been done me, and through me the Academy, but I thank God that I am permitted to go on. . . . The Academy has had many dark days, and so now is the expedition. About the darkest day in my life, but as the School has succeeded, so will we now.”⁵⁹

President Cluff decided to continue with Joseph Adams, John Fairbanks, Paul Henning, Asa Kienke, Heber Magleby, Chester Van Buren, and Walter Wolfe. The expeditioners ate their last meal as a group after President Smith left. Asa Kienke recorded that “Eyes were wet and sobs were heard: then we lined up those who were going on South on one side and those who were going home on the other; then we passed them by and shook hands, bidding them goodbye. I wept like a child and so did most of the others.”⁶⁰

On to Zarahemla

After the departure of most of the company for Provo, the remaining expedition members prepared to enter Mexico and continue their explorations. With fewer men and less equipment, Cluff had a much easier time posting bond for customs. The party intended to follow the Mormon settlements as far south as they could. They first reached Oaxaca, where they were welcomed as they had been in Mormon settlements in the United States, and by September 12 the expedition reached Garcia, the last of the Mormon colonies.

The expedition moved easily through northern Mexico. Lush vegetation covered the verdant hillsides. Feed for the animals was plentiful, and campsites could be made at almost any place on the trail. Wild fowl and deer were in such abundance that fresh meat was brought into camp every day. The party camped near large haciendas where they were often guests. Unfortunately, the pleasant journey was interrupted on September 26 when Paul Henning woke up at four o'clock in the morning in excruciating pain from an almost lethal reptile or scorpion bite. After Walter Wolfe injected him with morphine to alleviate the pain, the men “anointed and administered to him. He seemed to rest easier and we retired again.”⁶¹ By morning Henning was much better, though he felt very weak.

In October the party traversed the Sierra Madre Mountains. As the country became more rugged, travel became more difficult. Food supplies steadily diminished,⁶² game was scarce, and mail bringing funds from home was slow in arriving. Popular support for the expedition was diminishing, making it difficult to secure financial help from

59. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to George H. Brimhall, 13 August 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

60. Asa Kienke, diary, 12 August 1900.

61. Chester Van Buren, diary, 27 September 1900.

62. Van Buren sometimes spent as many as four hours a day picking weevils out of the flour so the party could cook.

outside sources. George Brimhall wrote from Provo, "So far as the church is concerned, the expedition has been disbanded and . . . whatever is being done is now a private enterprise. The people are not content with looking upon it as a school enterprise even." He assured Cluff, however, that the "feeling will all wear off."⁶³ Aware of the expedition's financial difficulty, Cluff authorized acting president Brimhall to sell his valuable library. Brimhall was unable to get much money for the books, and the expeditioners traveled on shortened rations.⁶⁴

As the expedition moved toward Mexico City, President Cluff decided to split the party into two groups, one to visit the White Indians on the Mayo River, the other to head southwest to the ocean. This would allow more opportunities for exploration and exposure to the culture of the area. The division proved beneficial to both groups. Van Buren and others collected plants and animal skins whenever possible and shipped them to the Academy, even though the groups moved too fast to collect everything they encountered. Kienke wrote, "On we went, passing 25 different kinds of trees, but no time to get them."⁶⁵

As the parties headed toward the rendezvous area northwest of Mexico City, food and money again became scarce. The men were forced to live off the land and purchase what little they could afford from the Mexicans. Many nights they had only cornmeal or beans mixed with water for a supper. Hunger became a daily companion. Even so, the men remained optimistic. Van Buren wrote, "What we have endured, what trials of mind, and weariness of body, what anxiety what joy and pleasure are now given to the past. The present is ours and all is well. What we will yet endure, what scenes, what experiences we will pass through are yet hidden in the future."⁶⁶

The party reunited at Mazatlan on 26 November 1900. An extended stay in the port town did much to rejuvenate sagging spirits and the men could have stayed longer, but Cluff gave orders to move out and make an attempt to reach Mexico City by early January. The expeditioners moved on, traveling rapidly through disease-infested areas.

One night Cluff was bitten by a scorpion, Walter Tolton became

63. George H. Brimhall to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 4 October 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

64. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to George H. Brimhall, 23 November 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers. On 30 November Cluff wrote Brimhall, "we eat bread but once a day and we do not afford baking powder, but rather use sour dough or flour and water. In every way possible we cut down expense. We will have enough to take us to the City of Guatemala or perhaps beyond. If, however, you can send us some [money] to the City of Mexico so much the better, if not, well and good"; Cluff Presidential Papers.

65. Asa Kienke, diary, 11 October 1900.

66. Chester Van Buren, diary, 25 November 1900.

seriously ill, and Wolfe fell in a ditch and severely wrenched his knee. When well enough to move on, they christened the place "Camp Accident."

South from Mexico City

The party arrived in Mexico City on January 11 and Cluff allowed a week's stay for rest, study, and sightseeing. In addition to visiting museums, art galleries, and historical points of interest, many of the expeditioners received their first mail for many months. President Cluff gathered all the specimens that had been collected and sent them to the Academy. On January 18 the party reluctantly packed up and headed southward, encountering heat, humidity, and other tropical conditions that wore down the men and their animals.

Nevertheless, the farther south the party traveled, the more enthused Cluff and others felt about the supposed proximity of ancient Nephite civilizations. On February 24 Cluff wrote George Brimhall:

Geographically we entered Central America and Tehuantepec, and, we think, entered the land of the Book of Mormon at the same place. Many of our brethren . . . think that Hagoth had his ship yards on the gulf of Tehuantepec. . . . One thing is certain . . . there are remains of many cities . . . that must be very ancient. . . . Over the country we now travel lived many a happy Nephite family. . . . I am impressed more and more with the importance of this work, and I feel that our brethren at home will soon come to see it. . . . I only ask that you and Bro. Keeler do not waver, do not lose courage. There is a revolution in Colombia. It may or may not be over by the time we get there, but I ask that you see to it that no great scare is raised that will call us home. Along the Magdalena [River in Colombia] we shall do our most important work.⁶⁷

On the difficult trip to Guatemala City, Henning, Kienke, and Adams became ill. Deficient supplies made the situation worse. Unable to forage off the land, Cluff's party soon learned that even the natives were near starvation. After walking all day, Tolton once "bought three tortillas from an Indian for 12 cents. When he was giving them to me, half-starved children stood around gazing on."⁶⁸

Henning, who was too ill to travel, was left behind with instructions to catch up with the main party in two days. When he did not rejoin them in four days the others decided to move on without him, hoping he would join them later. Kienke and Adams were still seriously ill but they refused to be left behind.

When they reached Santa Cruz de la Quiche, the expeditioners met soldiers who surrounded them, confiscated their arms and herded them off to jail where they remained until they could present their

67. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to George H. Brimhall, 24 February 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

68. Walter Tolton, diary, 5 April 1901.

credentials. In the middle of April the voyagers finally reached Guatemala City, where they found letters and money from home. The men stayed at Guatemala City for a few days, buying provisions and recuperating. While there, Cluff called a series of planning meetings. Walter Wolfe had originally planned to stay with the expedition until it reached Panama, but he decided to leave the party in Guatemala City. Joseph Adams was too ill to travel. He decided to stay in Guatemala City and help Van Buren collect biological specimens. When fully recovered, Adams was to return home from Guatemala City. Paul Henning, who had been left in Mexico, never rejoined the expedition, though he continued to correspond with George Brimhall. He later became a prominent teacher and explorer in Mexico.⁶⁹ The original nine who left Nogales some eight months before were now reduced to six, with Chester Van Buren remaining in Guatemala to collect artifacts and animal specimens.⁷⁰ Before the main party continued the trek to Colombia, the entire group met together for the last time and reluctantly said goodbye.

En route to Colombia, Cluff and Tolton went east to visit the ruins of Quirigua while the others went directly to Colombia. After completing their excursion through the ruins they were arrested on suspicion of murder. A Catholic priest who had previously been to Utah and enjoyed a stay among the Mormons secured their release.

The farther south they went, the harder their journey became. During the thirty-seven day trip to Colombia, they were beset by heavy rains, mud, and sickness. Disease killed most of the mules, and fever plagued the men. Magleby, totally incapacitated with fever, stayed behind with Tolton while Cluff and Kienke pushed on to Panama. In a few weeks, Magleby regained sufficient strength to continue. As he and Tolton prepared to take a ship to overtake Cluff and Kienke, a yellow fever quarantine prevented them from boarding ship. They hired two negroes to paddle them past the harbor patrol at night. They reached the boat safely, though they were fired upon.

Arriving in Panama City, Tolton and Magleby met Chester Van Buren, who had been instructed by Cluff to meet the expedition there. The three spent the night discussing their experiences since the group had split up. Two weeks later, on September 14, Cluff and Kienke finally entered Panama City.⁷¹

Colombia at Last

Relieved to be together again, the men eagerly set out for the Magdalena River. Notwithstanding more muddy roads, difficulties with the

69. Adams remained in Guatemala for some time, working at a wharf to earn enough money to pay for his passage home.

70. Van Buren's collections and observations proved to be the most valuable contributions of the entire expedition.

71. For an account of their experience during this part of the journey, *see* Asa

police, and trouble from the natives, the party moved on, deciding again to split into two groups. One group was to continue exploring the countryside. The second group, composed of Tolton and Van Buren, was to take side trips to collect specimens and prepare them for shipment. Arriving in Colombia, Cluff contacted the American consul, hoping to secure protection for the company as they traveled through the disrupted country toward Peru. Unfortunately, the government would not offer help to the explorers. The officials warned Cluff that if the expedition attempted the trip their goods and supplies would probably be confiscated and they themselves killed by the insurgents.

It had been 632 days since the 21-man expedition had left Provo and 559 days since the group of nine had left Nogales. Three of those nine had turned back, leaving only six to complete the journey. The men had endured malnutrition, hunger, poisonous bites, tropical diseases, imprisonment by soldiers, narrow escapes from drowning, and threats to their lives in order to reach Colombia. But now even President Cluff was baffled. Supplies had run out and their mules were dead. Like Moses, who was permitted to view but not enter the Promised Land, Cluff was forced to turn back from the threshold of what he considered to be the land of Zarahemla.

The group unanimously accepted the decision of their leader to disband the expedition and return home. It was decided, however, that Van Buren's work was of such an exceptional nature that he should remain behind and continue collecting specimens. He had proved himself to be a real scientist who was willing to withstand all kinds of privation and remain alone in a strange country for an indefinite period of time to accomplish his task. On 8 January 1902 the other five men sailed from Colombia to Texas by way of Cuba. In Texas they caught a train back to Salt Lake City. Their homecoming attracted attention throughout the area, and the men related their adventures to many civic and church groups.

Appraisal of the Cluff Expedition

While the Cluff Expedition did not find Zarahemla, it was a monument to men who were determined to vindicate the beliefs of the Church and to glorify Brigham Young Academy. Nothing can detract from the courageous sacrifice of the whole company. Even though the expedition failed to achieve its stated purpose, the dedicated expeditioners nevertheless made important contributions to the Academy. In his own evaluation of the expedition written on 3 March 1947, some 45 years after his return from Colombia and shortly before his death, Cluff listed six major accomplishments. In his words, the expedition

Kienke, diary; and Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," pp. 141-54.

1. Served to open to the Mormon people a knowledge of the countries on the South where they believe the ancient Nephites and Lamanites lived.
2. Created a scientific interest in Central and South America so that students most likely have been stimulated to carry on researches there.
3. Collected and shipped to the Brigham Young University valuable specimens of the flora and fauna of Central and northern South America, which must have proved interesting and instructive to students of tropical countries. These specimens may be of increasing value in the future.
4. Probably furnished some evidence to corroborate the theory of Anthony Ivins and other Book of Mormon authorities that the narrow neck of land spoken of in the Book of Mormon as being "a Sabbath day's" journey for a Nephite from sea to sea, is the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.
5. Helped to increase the interest in the ancient ruins of Central and South America and to stimulate scholars to do all they can to date the construction of those ruins. I was confident that the ruins of Palenque and others of that period were not the Nephites. However, recent discoveries have made me doubtful of my former conclusions.
6. Perhaps served many other useful purposes which we cannot think of at present. It was a hard trip and the men who made it became deeply attached to each other. The work accomplished by Chester Van Buren, Paul Henning, J. B. Fairbanks, Walter Tolton, Asa Kienke, and Heber Magleby cannot be praised too much.⁷²

Cluff's dream excited the imagination of school and Church leaders alike. Except for the revolution in Colombia he might still have succeeded in exploring specific areas of South America and discovering significant archaeological sites.

In retrospect, the contemplated project was too ambitious, and too much encouragement was given the project without sufficient investigation or preparation for the trip. The expedition suffered from insufficient funds. Once underway, the expedition lacked the continued discipline from Cluff that might have held it together. The hardships and sufferings of the trip would have been avoided, of course, if Cluff and his associates had followed the advice of Church leaders given through President Smith to turn back.

The greatest tragedy of the expedition was not what it failed to do but what it did to President Cluff. His decision to continue the expedition was like Caesar's decision to cross the Rubicon. Just as Caesar's decision left him no alternative but to go on to Rome and fight, Cluff's decision limited his future opportunities. The deeper he penetrated in the southern hemisphere, the farther he withdrew from his career as

72. Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," pp. 162-63.

an educator. His experience whetted his appetite for further exploration. When a year later he resigned as President of Brigham Young University, Cluff returned to Mexico to oversee Noble Warrum's large rubber plantation at Tabasco, Mexico. Unfortunately, the plantation was confiscated by the Mexican government and Cluff returned with his family to Utah after five years in Mexico. Nevertheless, after a short stay in Utah Cluff returned to Mexico in 1913 to promote a variety of banana trees which would yield vinegar.⁷³

Success again eluded Cluff as general unrest in the country made it impossible for him to carry on commerce in any fashion. He had additional opportunities to engage himself in exploration for oil and in mahogany lumbering, but the same problems plagued him. Had conditions been different in Mexico during these tumultuous years, Cluff might have become a wealthy plantation owner in Central America and could have financed another expedition to search for Zarahemla.⁷⁴

73. Ibid., pp. 209-13.

74. Ibid., pp. 193-216.

10

Changing of the Guard

While the Zarahemla Expedition was in Central America, sweltering in the tropical heat and fighting off starvation, poisonous insects, snakes, and politicians, the Brigham Young Academy was passing through serious crises of its own.

At the time of President Cluff's departure from Provo, after commending the Academy to kind Providence, he left it in the hands of acting president George H. Brimhall. Brimhall was not an educated man in the academic sense, but his phenomenal dedication, capacity for hard work, and ability to get along with people made him an effective administrator. He was also especially articulate. Brimhall spoke in vigorous and colorful language appropriate to the times. Men of intelligence respected him, and rustic people understood him.

George Henry Brimhall

George H. Brimhall was the eldest of ten children. He was born in Provo, Utah, on 9 December 1852. His father, George Washington Brimhall, was an educator, master mechanic, Church leader, and member of the Territorial Legislature. Young George received his earliest lessons from the teachings of his mother, Rachel Ann Meyer Brimhall, and went to his first formal classes at a private school while the family was living in Ogden.¹

In due time the family moved back to Utah Valley, making their home in Spanish Fork. Finally, at the age of 18 George was able to enter high school at the Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret in Provo with Warren N. Dusenberry as principal. It would be hard to find something farther removed from the jet age than this autobiographical note by George Brimhall:

Walked on Monday morning or Sunday eve 12 miles from my home in Spanish Fork to school [in Provo]. Worked for my bene-

1. "Pedagogical History of the Brigham Young Academy Class of '93," typescript of original unprinted manuscript in George H. Brimhall Biographical File, BYU Archives, p. 2.

factor [Principal Dusenberry] for part of my board. Did janitorial work for my tuition and at the close of my course gave the valedictory address with considerable vehemence, I presume, as for the first time I *was applauded* although my pants were patched.²

After two years at the Timpanogos Branch, young Brimhall was encouraged by Warren Dusenberry to serve as a teacher in the schools of Spanish Fork, where he lived.³

In 1874, as George neared the age of 22, he obtained his Utah County teacher's certificate, and in December of that year married Alsina Elizabeth Wilkins in the Salt Lake City Endowment House. Six children were born to the couple: Lucy Jane, Alsina Elizabeth, George Washington, Mark Henry, Wells Lovett, and Milton Albert.

Brimhall's Early Professional Life

While in Spanish Fork, Brimhall became active in civic affairs. Following his father's penchant for politics, in February 1875 he was elected city marshal, though he was soon released for an unknown reason.⁴ He was later appointed "auditor of accounts" for two terms, the first from 1876 to 1878 and the second from 1880 to 1883.⁵

Brimhall helped organize a literary and debating society at which a small group of young men read essays they had written. The same group went into the mountains and procured sufficient timber to build a 19- by 25-foot schoolhouse, which they proudly called the Young Men's Academy.⁶ "They selected me their teacher at \$3.00 each," wrote Brimhall, "and I was elevated by my boyhood companions to the position of Principal." The group "worked together seeking truth and found it even with our primitive appliances."⁷

By 1876 Brimhall, who had been involved in every major educational event in Utah County since 1870, decided to attend Brigham Young Academy. Little is known about his performance as a student; he is not mentioned as a special instructor or assistant during the time he attended. Since he was older than most other students and was already a teacher, he may not have been involved in many of the activities of the school.

Speaking of his studies at the Timpanogos Branch and later at Brigham Young Academy, Brimhall wrote, "Judge Dusenberry showed me the road to higher education, but Karl G. Maeser showed

2. Ibid., p. 3.

3. John Henry Evans, "Some Men Who Have Done Things: George H. Brimhall," *Improvement Era* 13 (March 1910):403.

4. "History of Spanish Fork," *Tullidges Quarterly Magazine* 3 (April 1884):165.

5. Ibid., pp. 166-68.

6. Elisha Warner, *The History of Spanish Fork* (Spanish Fork, Utah: Spanish Fork Press, 1930), pp. 210-11.

7. "Pedagogical History of the Class of '93," p. 3.

me the way to a higher life." The Academy smoothed off some of Brimhall's rough edges. Maeser taught him that a good teacher needed more than just a knack for teaching. He began to see that "education was a *science* and teaching an *art*."⁸

Choosing the Career of an Educator

In 1877 Brimhall graduated from the Maeser school with one of the county's first normal diplomas, and at the age of 25 Brimhall became principal of the community schools in Spanish Fork.⁹ He received honey, wheat, and cheese as tuition from his students.¹⁰

In 1883 Brimhall was elected district superintendent of Utah County schools.¹¹ This new position required Brimhall to make long and often difficult visits on horseback or by buggy throughout the 2,000 square miles of this pioneer district. As district superintendent, Brimhall worked with all the educators in Utah Valley and many in Salt Lake City. He also frequently associated with Wilson Dusenberry and his brother Warren.¹² Brimhall also worked in the Sunday School program with local stake officials, and together with Milton Hardy, perhaps his most intimate friend at this time, he spent long hours traveling and lecturing for the Mutual Improvement Association.¹³ Brimhall and Hardy published a number of scriptural analyses for MIA students in the 1889 volume of the *Contributor Magazine*.¹⁴

In 1890 the Utah County Teachers Association elected Brimhall president and Benjamin Cluff, Jr., vice-president. As co-workers in the teachers association, Cluff and Brimhall cultivated a friendship which had begun while Brimhall was attending the Academy.¹⁵ Cluff liked the energetic older man, and the two served together on the local board of examiners.

Brimhall's increasing popularity as an educator influenced him to move from Spanish Fork to Provo, the center of Utah County education. In 1885 he accepted an offer to head the Provo community schools.¹⁶ Many Spanish Fork citizens objected to Brimhall's move, counting it a serious loss to their town.

8. Ibid.

9. Edward M. Rowe, "Dr. George H. Brimhall," George Brimhall Biographical File, BYU Archives, p. 5.

10. George H. Brimhall, "Glimpses," *Utah Educational Review* 24(April 1931):367.

11. Utah County Teachers Association Minutes, 16 June 1887, in vault of Provo City School District Office, Provo, Utah.

12. George H. Brimhall, journal, 8 January 1885, typescript of original in BYU Archives.

13. Ibid., 24 January 1885.

14. The articles, published in the "Association Intelligence" section of the *Contribution*, began in December 1888 and ran through June 1889.

15. Brimhall, journal, 17 January 1885.

16. Ibid., 12 October 1885.

It was this same year that he married his second wife, Flora Robertson. Eight children resulted from this union: Dean R., Fay R., Fawn R., Ruth Afton, Paul R., Alta R., Golden H., and Arco R. When combined with the six children from his first marriage, this made a total of fourteen Brimhall children.¹⁷

The Key to Brimhall's Success

Brimhall's natural talent, rather than his formal training, accounted for his success and popularity as a teacher. Although he was interested in literature, he did not read avidly or profoundly. Nevertheless, he was a good listener and recorded in detail the comments of speakers whose wisdom he prized. Brimhall's notes from general conference covered many pages. Brimhall had a passion for pithy epigrams, and his notebooks were filled with gems or "gleanings," as he called them, which reflected an extraordinary ability to condense thought into simple, poignant phrases. His expressions were the ideas of a conversationalist rather than an academician, as indicated by the following excerpts from his journal.

7 January 1889. Much of mind depends upon culture. Even the reasoning faculties are held in the bonds of imbecility by neglect and inactivity.

8 January 1889. Necessity often makes the difficulty of doing difficult things a pleasure. Men are glad to get the chance to shovel 10 tons of coal for 85¢.

10 January 1889. People are more considerate of things than people. Proof: they say little of things except what they know, but of persons they speak without knowledge.

Student, Teacher, and Administrator

In 1890 Abraham O. Smoot offered Brimhall a position on the Brigham Young Academy faculty. Since President Smoot's proposal was made as a church assignment, there was little doubt that Brimhall would accept, even though his salary was only twenty dollars per month.¹⁸ He joined the faculty in the fall of 1891.

Despite the low salary there were advantages in accepting a position at the Academy. Almost in his fortieth year, Brimhall had to begin work on his college degree if he was ever to get one. By studying at Brigham Young Academy under Professor Cluff, Brimhall could postpone the inconvenience, expense, and privation of going east to college. During the course of the next two years Brimhall read psychology and pedagogy under Cluff, at the same time heading the

17. Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 Vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901-36), 3:327.

18. "President George H. Brimhall," *White and Blue*, 22 January 1904.

Intermediate Department and Preparatory School at the Academy.¹⁹

Both Brimhall's pedagogical talents and his administrative skills were useful to the school. Owing to his MIA experience and his background in the public schools, he soon became one of the Academy's most popular lecturers. Church historian Andrew Jensen wrote, "In all the years of teachers coming and going at the Brigham Young University, no other teacher ever attracted so many students to his classes as has Professor Brimhall."²⁰

During 1892 his spare time was occupied with speaking engagements outside the school. Brimhall also presided over faculty meetings held among the preparatory and normal teachers. When Cluff became principal of the Academy, Brimhall became principal of the Normal Department, at the same time retaining his position as principal of the Training School.²¹ During this period of almost frenzied activity, he finished the work required for his bachelor's degree in pedagogy. He graduated on 25 May 1893 in BYA's first college commencement. In the same year he was awarded the bachelor of didactics degree by the Church Board of Education.²²

Brimhall hoped for a number of years that he might go to Ann Arbor and partake of some of the advanced educational training which Benjamin Cluff described with such enthusiasm. Both financial and administrative circumstances distracted him from this tempting possibility and he finally abandoned it. Outside of a few extended conferences, some tours, and a summer school session, Brimhall never did leave the state for educational purposes. His lack of advanced academic training proved to be something of a handicap when he later took over the reins of the Academy.

Even so, Cluff always considered Brimhall a capable man to be at the helm of the Academy. Cluff told Brimhall that his "success as a principal has been very marked, so much so that should I leave at the close of the year and go to the University, I am certain that all will be well with the Academy."²³

Mission to Colorado

In the spring of 1897 Brimhall was called by Apostle John W. Taylor on a one-month mission to Colorado. Though Brimhall had "planned

19. *Circular of the Brigham Young Academy and LDS Training College, 1891-92. 1891-92.*

20. "Jensen, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:326.

21. "President George H. Brimhall," *White and Blue*, 22 January 1904.

22. "Pedagogical History of the Class of '93," p. 4.

23. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to George H. Brimhall, 26 January 1894, Cluff Presidential Papers. This was written while Cluff was away obtaining his master's degree and Brimhall was substituting for him. The University referred to is the University of Deseret, which two years later became the University of Utah.

for a much needed rest from mental work by working with my boys on the farm and in the canyon,” he “expressed a willingness to go.”²⁴

While on this mission, Brimhall saw forty-three converts baptized and four confirmed. It was also during this term of service that Brimhall was stricken with a serious heart ailment, possibly brought on by overwork. His battle with this infirmity became one of the permanent burdens of his life. Brimhall described his illness in a journal entry for 29 August 1897:

Have had those terrible pains in my chest but less excruciating. I believe they are similar to those that killed my father. It often seems that to run a knife in between my ribs would be a relief, but there is no need of “grunting” to people about it. I have had them for years, but they have been of short duration until the years of '96 and '97 when it has seemed to me often in school and while at work with the boys that I could not keep from groaning outright. Have had quite an easy time on this mission, perfectly free from anxiety and depending on the Lord, not from day to day alone but even from hour to hour and it has been one of the most profitable periods of my life physically, mentally, and spiritually.

Despite his protestation of having an “easy time,” Brimhall’s mission was difficult. John W. Taylor, who blessed Brimhall when he was ill, admonished him “to not try to do too much.”²⁵ Brimhall accepted Apostle Taylor’s counsel as good advice, but invariably violated it.

After finishing his mission, Brimhall returned to his duties at the Academy where Benjamin Cluff continued to lean heavily upon him and frequently called him from his teaching duties to assist with administrative problems. As monitor of students, Brimhall also dealt with student problems and was often responsible for disciplinary action.

In addition to his influence in the school, Brimhall was an important Academy representative in Salt Lake City. On 18 November 1898 he was made an official member of the Church Board of Education. While Cluff attended only one Board of Education meeting in 1899, Brimhall was invariably present.

Taking the Helm during the Zarahemla Expedition

In March 1900, just before Cluff left on the expedition to South America, Brimhall was appointed temporary superintendent of Church schools. When Cluff left in the spring of 1900, he designated Brimhall as acting president of the BYA with the approval of the Board of Trustees.

The Academy flourished under Brimhall. By the fall of 1900 he reported 700 students enrolled, and the faculty appeared entirely willing to support the acting president in making the personal and

24. Brimhall, journal, undated (preface to missionary journal, probably written in July 1897.)

25. Brimhall, journal, August 1897.

professional sacrifices necessary to keep the Academy alive. They were determined to perpetuate the school's reputation as the top secondary school in the state.

There were, however, a number of obstacles hindering the progress of the school. The Board of Trustees, which had always been firmly united behind Maeser and influential with the authorities in Salt Lake City, began to weaken in effectiveness. David John and Wilson Dusenberry were the only Board members who lived in the local area. The other Board members, George Q. Cannon, William Seegmiller, Brigham Young, Jr., J. D. C. Young, Joseph F. Smith, and Reed Smoot, were seldom in Provo, and the Board was often short of the quorum needed to transact business.

Of course, the most pressing need of the Academy — a need universal among the Church schools — was money. Facilities were neglected and overused.²⁶ Brigham Young Academy's outdoor privies were a disgrace to the community, and Brimhall met with very little success in getting indoor plumbing. On one occasion Brimhall noted with apparent satisfaction that "the Board was in good condition to take into consideration the sewage proposition as all three of the Salt Lake members were under the necessity of using our outside conveniences before the meeting."²⁷ Academy classrooms were often too cold, and insufficient ventilation endangered the students' health.²⁸

The Perennial Problem of Salaries

Salaries at Provo were also notoriously low, the worst of the three Church colleges.²⁹ Teachers were paid one-third of their salaries in cash and the balance in scrip.³⁰ Scrip was often discounted ten percent at local stores, thus reducing even more the buying power of the already meager salaries.³¹ To make matters worse, Utah Stake threatened to print its own scrip, which would be worthless outside Utah County.³²

26. J. M. Tanner wrote Joseph F. Smith, "The Academy of Provo is not kept. The main building is more or less dilapidated"; Church General Board Papers, 25 March 1903.

27. George H. Brimhall to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 30 October 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers. *See also* Francis W. Kirkham, journal, 1 June 1900, original in BYU Library; and George H. Brimhall to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 2 June 1900, Brimhall Letter Book, BYU Archives.

28. "Is It True or False Economy," *White and Blue*, 11 December 1903.

29. A committee for "equalization of salaries" was established 12 January 1900, but it was apparently not successful in controlling the active bidding for teachers; General Board Minutes, 3 December 1902; *see also* J. M. Tanner to Joseph F. Smith, 25 March 1903, General Board Papers.

30. Journal History, 12 September 1901.

31. George Higgs, untranscribed taped interview, 8 August 1973, BYU Archives.

32. George H. Brimhall to George Q. Cannon, 25 January 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

In his 1901 president's report Brimhall said that "many of the leading teachers and professors have been offered higher salaries to work elsewhere," but most of them remained faithful to the Academy. Even so, in the general financial squeeze, the Church closed down Brigham Young Academy's Training School because "President Snow felt he could not spare so large a sum for one school."³³ Normal students were required to do their student teaching in county schools, which hurt the Academy as it attempted to compete with the University of Utah Normal School.

Survival of the Fittest

Competition was intense among the Church schools themselves as they vied desperately for Church appropriations. "It has always been a battle with us for our rights," wrote Cluff to Joseph Keeler. "If we had sat idly down, if we had not urged our rights at headquarters, the Academy would have been a little one-horse stake institution today."³⁴

On 24 December 1900 Brimhall notified Cluff that the University of Utah was "making a strong pull and bringing to bear all the influence they can to have the Church discontinue all its collegiate work and make the Church schools nothing more than high schools and feeders to the University." He reported that certain influential members of the Church General Board supported the University of Utah. To educators in the Church system, the proposal "created a profound chill of disgust and abhorrence." Brimhall knew that if the University of Utah succeeded in monopolizing college work, the fate of Brigham Young Academy would be sealed. To Brimhall, losing college status would be disastrous since there was "a greater necessity of a Latter-day Saints college . . . than there is for intermediate and even high school work."³⁵

Struggling for a Training School

In April 1900 Brimhall wrote Maeser concerning the status of Brigham Young Academy as the Church Normal School.³⁶ He wanted to know how, if BYA was the Church Normal School, the Church could place restrictions on its own program when it was in such critical need of schoolteachers. He wrote to Cluff that because of the Academy's "presuming to prepare teachers without a Training School," it had "already become a sneer in the mouths" of its rivals.³⁷

33. Journal History, 24 March 1900.

34. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to Joseph Keeler, 12 January 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

35. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., journal, 24 December 1900.

36. George H. Brimhall to Karl G. Maeser, 23 and 24 April 1900, General Board Uncatalogued Papers.

37. George H. Brimhall to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 11 January 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

Brimhall decided to appeal to President Snow to reopen the Training School, but President Snow's continued ill health prevented him from being able to meet with Brimhall. Finally, Brimhall resorted to local support. If a building for training teachers could be financed locally and funds raised without any appeal to the Church, Brimhall knew the Academy could probably get the Training School reestablished. After some initial consultation with George Q. Cannon and Reed Smoot, Brimhall began planning for the building. He wrote humbly to Cluff, "I do not know that I will be able to accomplish what I wish in this regard, but I shall try."³⁸

The students, anxious for a training school facility, joined in promoting the cause. With their enthusiastic support Brimhall mounted a full campaign for both a training school and a gymnasium. In November Brimhall told Cluff he had never seen "such zeal" as the students "manifest in this regard, and the faculty is going to pray for them, and if you feel so impressed we would like to have the prayers of the expedition also."³⁹ In December the students formed a committee "of the class of men that will not fail" and started canvassing the state for donations.

Brimhall wrote a rapid succession of letters to various General Authorities asking them to attend the annual school "handshake dance." His affection for the presiding brethren was genuine, and he found it easy to be enthusiastic about receiving them as visitors to Provo. At the same time, their visits gave Brimhall the chance to show them the advantages of supporting the Academy. To President Snow he wrote, "I recognize the fact that you are very busy and that you have little time to devote to entertainments of any kind, but I feel that we are justified in being quite solicitous in regard to this matter as it will make it possible for many young people to shake hands with the prophets and apostles and other leading brethren of the Church — a privilege that the students might not have in a lifetime, were it not for such an occasion as our reception will afford."⁴⁰

The Multiple Facets of Fund-Raising

In accordance with the Board's previously approved plan to liquidate some of the Academy's interests in order to consolidate the school's holdings, William Knight purchased the Central Building from the Academy in January 1901 for \$8,000.⁴¹ More help for the Training

38. Ibid., 18 June 1900.

39. Ibid., 28 November 1900.

40. George H. Brimhall to Lorenzo Snow, 7 December 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

41. BYA Board Minutes, 1 December 1901. This building occupied the corner of First Street and present University Avenue. T. N. Taylor and Reed Smoot later purchased \$1500 worth of land from the Academy; David John, journal, 17 February 1902.

School building came from the Knight family in May 1901. Brimhall wrote in his journal that he “met with the Knight family about helping the BYA. Jesse said go on and build a \$15,000 building.”⁴² The next day, at a special meeting of the Board of Trustees, Jesse Knight offered to furnish \$25,000 for the proposed gymnasium and Training School building. He added, in the presence of President Lorenzo Snow, that he would like the amount applied on his tithing. When he was told that the sum could not be applied to tithing, Knight retreated to his former figure of \$15,000.⁴³

Jesse Knight also persuaded David Evans, a wealthy Salt Lake City non-Mormon businessman, to contribute \$5,000 towards the building. To extract funds from his wealthy non-Mormon associate, Knight

called Mr. Evans on the telephone and invited him to come to Provo as he had a proposition he could recommend and consider it the best investment they could ever make. Mr. Evans came down quite excited over what this venture was to be. . . . He listened eagerly for the details of what he expected to be a new mining venture. On being told that father would like him to contribute \$5,000 to erect a training school for the BYU in which the two would share on a fifty-fifty basis, Mr. Evans seemed to be quite shocked, but after deliberating on the matter for a while, he reached into his pocket for his checkbook and said, “Jesse, I’m going to call your bluff.”⁴⁴

It was no bluff. “Uncle Jesse” contributed his share. The total cost of the building with its interior furnishings was \$33,000, almost twice the anticipated cost.⁴⁵ The total amount raised in the fund drive was \$26,000, with the remainder of the funds presumably coming from the sale of the Central Building.

The whole transaction was enormously successful and it boosted the morale of faculty and students alike. It proved that the Academy was still capable of gaining support from local residents. The pedagogical work, which had always been the financial mainstay of the school and the ultimate purpose of its courses of instruction, was reinforced by the construction of the Church’s best-equipped normal facility. The building, of course, was also a personal victory for Brimhall. Though credit for its construction must be shared among a number of influential citizens and enthusiastic students, Brimhall was the moving force that inspired, directed, and coordinated their efforts.

42. Brimhall, journal, 13 May 1901.

43. Journal History, 14 May 1901. However, a *Deseret News* article of 14 May 1901 stated that the amount of \$1500 per annum was allowed him for tithing credit because of his donations to Brigham Young Academy.

44. Jesse William Knight, *The Jesse Knight Family* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1941), pp. 89-90.

45. “Locals,” *White and Blue*, 1 November 1901.

Help from the Jesse Knight Family

The assistance of Jesse Knight and his family proved to be one of the Academy's greatest assets. Though he had contributed generously to the College Hall Fund in 1898,⁴⁶ Jesse Knight had generally remained aloof from Brigham Young Academy affairs until Brimhall's time. He liked Brimhall, and his son Will Knight, married to Brimhall's oldest daughter, was enthusiastic about supporting the Academy and "George H."

Knight was a man of great means whose influence among other wealthy men was considerable, as was his reputation with the General Authorities of the Church.⁴⁷ Knight was a worthy successor to Abraham O. Smoot as the main financial benefactor of Brigham Young Academy, and his help and influence did much to make Brimhall's administration a success. As we shall see later, it was Knight's contributions which made it possible for the institution to finally become a university. Knight also financially assisted several faculty members.⁴⁸

Reorganizing the Board of Trustees

The 1900-1901 school year brought the deaths of President Lorenzo Snow, George Q. Cannon, Edward Partridge, and Karl G. Maeser. These men were all staunch supporters of Brigham Young Academy, and Brimhall assumed the responsibility of seeing that equally strong people filled their positions on the Board of Trustees. By Founder's

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46. Gary F. Reese, "Uncle Jesse: The Story of Jesse Knight, Miner, Industrialist, Philanthropist," Master's thesis (Brigham Young University, 1961), p. 38.
 47. Knight once saved Joseph F. Smith from financial ruin. Heber J. Grant wrote Will Knight, "One of the most remarkable and wonderful things to my mind that ever happened in my life was when your father sent me \$10,000 to assist in saving the honor and good names of President Joseph F. Smith, Francis M. Lyman and Abraham H. Cannon in connection with Utah Loan and Trust Co"; Heber J. Grant to Will Knight, 17 March 1921, quoted in Roland M. Gourley, "The Story of Jesse Knight," master's thesis (Utah State Agricultural College, 1935), Appendices II and III. According to tradition, Heber J. Grant had been sent to Provo to make a request of "Uncle Jesse" for \$5,000 for this purpose. Knight was adamant in his refusal. He indignantly told Grant that "Brethren who can't keep their own financial affairs in order are not worthy of being bailed out." The latter replied, "Uncle Jesse, I didn't come to Provo to get a refusal, I came to get the \$5,000. You go home tonight and pray about it and give me your answer in the morning." Uncle Jesse did as directed, lying awake a good part of the night praying about it. When he got to his office the next day he sent Brother Grant a check for \$10,000, concluding his letter, "The next time you ask for money don't also ask me to pray about it."
 48. Lars Eggertson (Annie Eggertson, "My Memoirs," BYU Library, pp. 77-78), Francis Kirkham ("Autobiography," end of last journal, BYU Library), and others received assistance from Jesse Knight.

Day 1901 the new Board was complete. Joseph F. Smith was appointed President of the Board on 1 April 1901 and David John was made vice-president, though he had wished to yield his position to a younger member of the Board. New members were John Henry Smith, Oscar B. Young, Teenie Taylor, Lafayette Holbrook, and Jesse Knight. Lafayette Holbrook was Brimhall's son-in-law, and Jesse Knight was the father of another son-in-law, J. William Knight, who served as president of the Alumni Association.⁴⁹

The new board became active at once. During 1901 they met to reaffirm their commitment to the school and to discuss the problem of getting a quorum to Board meetings. William Seegmiller of Richfield was asked to resign for non-attendance, and to insure a quorum at Board meetings it was decided that only people living in Utah County or Salt Lake City should be named to the Board.⁵⁰

Fighting for the College Program

President Joseph T. Kingsbury of the University of Utah had long campaigned for greater participation of Utah students in the state college, while Cluff and Brimhall promoted the collegiate program which was gradually developing at Brigham Young Academy. They were opposed to the monopoly of state education on the college level by the University of Utah and were suspicious of the completely secularized educational program which was developing there.⁵¹ In a letter to Cluff, Brimhall said he had "made it a point to ask every young man who had been East where the great struggle to maintain their faith takes place, and invariably I have been told that it is right in the laboratory of science and before the scientific professors."⁵² Brimhall and others feared that the University of Utah was going the way of the eastern institutions. A special Church Board of Education meeting was called on 25 June 1901 to discuss the entire issue. President Lorenzo Snow, after assembling the various educators concerned, asked "how far it would be wisdom for us to assist the State University and to sacrifice our own individual interests in the interests of the University."⁵³ He counseled that Church educators needed to work for

49. Holbrook, ex-Mayor of Provo, had married Alsina Elizabeth, Brimhall's second daughter by his first wife. Will Knight married Brimhall's eldest child, Lucy.

50. BYA Board Minutes, 7 May 1901.

51. The theme of secularization at the University of Utah had an extensive history that went back at least as far as a vigorous controversy between John Rocky Park and Charles W. Penrose, editor of the *Deseret News*. See "Grave Errors in a Learned Lecture," *Deseret News*, 22 June 1886; and "Dr. Park Replies," *Deseret News*, 23 June 1886. See also Joseph H. Jeppson, "The Secularization of the University of Utah to 1920," Ph.D. dissertation (University of California at Berkeley, 1973).

52. George H. Brimhall to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 24 December 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

53. General Board Minutes, 25 June 1901.

the good of the whole Church, not just for the good of their own schools.

Brimhall spoke for the Church schools, offering eight basic points in favor of the Church college program:

1. It would not be practicable to change the present policy for the coming year, because the faculty was engaged and arrangements had been made. . . .
2. The cost of maintaining the Academy would be very little less, if the collegiate department were cut out, than it is at present.
3. That there might be a pattern of higher education economically given [to teach educators that good work could be done for less at Church schools].
4. If all higher education is turned over to one institution, that institution then becomes a sort of educational monopoly.
5. The Church schools would at once lose their hold on strong men for teachers. The Academy teachers are University graduates, and they are ambitious, and by doing some college work with the high school work they are able to develop themselves, and they are not paid more than high school prices for their services.
6. The three schools in the Church school system that are doing college work are not duplicating studies, for each has been assigned its particular sphere.
7. It permits our young men to study in the Church schools and graduate as college students. . . .
8. [It] provides a field for the exercise of the highest talent of the teachers.⁵⁴

Brimhall urged he “had nothing to say against the State University; it was doing a good work; but he felt that it ought to be able to get along side by side with [the Church schools] without cutting off their branches.” He considered “the competition furnished by the Church colleges was a good thing for the University.”⁵⁵

The Moment of Decision

Several General Board members spoke in opposition to college work in Church schools, maintaining that the precedent established in 1896, when the Church decided to lay aside its plans for a Church University and founded instead a chair at the University of Utah, ought to be followed by the Church Board in the present situation.

President Snow summarized the consensus of the group, however, when he said that the Church colleges should “be allowed to carry on their branches as usual.” Still, his own opinion seemed to favor the University of Utah. He said, “I admire the sentiment that our schools were founded to make Latter-day Saints and to qualify young men to teach the Gospel. That is very true. But should we not gain an influence

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

in the Gentile world as far as we possibly can? I say we should.” The President favored the University of Utah if the Church could maintain control of its policies and standards, but his greatest fear was “that we could not keep control of the institution, and in that event all our efforts in its support would be lost.”⁵⁶

William M. Stewart vigorously defended President Kingsbury and his motives for initiating the drive to take over all collegiate training in the State, but he could not answer the question that was burning in the mind of President Snow: “Where is the State’s higher education going to carry our children?”

In the course of a heated discussion between Elder Seymour Young, who favored the position of the University of Utah, and J. M. Tanner, who favored the position of the Church schools, George Brimhall informed the meeting that “his experience led him to say that we might get hold of the University, but we could not keep hold of it.” The discussion ended with a decision to leave matters as they were. Brimhall wrote in his journal a concise summary of the meeting: “Meeting of the Board of Education at the President’s Office. Big Discussion. Saved the college Department of BYA. University tried to cut it out of existence.”⁵⁷ Brimhall had proved to be a calm counselor and an influential partisan for the cause of the Church schools. He defended the work of Brigham Young Academy as well as Cluff himself could have done — possibly better, since he was a member of the Board of Education.

Brimhall’s Personal Influence on the Academy

Brimhall’s work with the students played a significant role in the progress of the Academy. He exercised his talent for counseling, consoling, chastising, and inspiring, never allowing the well-being of individual students to be entirely subordinated to an academic program. In March 1910 he made the following handwritten report to Seymour B. Young of the First Council of Seventy:

We have had 101 members in the class. About 40% of them when they came here had some bad habits, such as using tobacco, blaspheming, using intoxicants, visiting saloons, idleness and lack of ambition — in other words, using their own phraseology, they were toughs. . . . To my great joy, I am able to report that there is not one in the class today but what keeps the Word of Wisdom, has a desire to learn, has a reverence for the name of the Deity, has respect for the Holy Priesthood, and desires to do good to his fellowmen.⁵⁸

56. Ibid.

57. Brimhall, journal, 25 June 1901.

58. George H. Brimhall to Seymour B. Young, 30 March 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

In addition to continuing active Sunday School work at the Academy,⁵⁹ Brimhall spearheaded the parents class program, a Church-directed series of lectures and activities aimed at activating local adults and instructing them in principles of child raising. Brimhall told Cluff that the parents class was "one of the features of the Academy recognized by the best society in Provo."⁶⁰ The acting president also gave real emphasis to student devotional assemblies, a program which was deemphasized and later discontinued at the University of Utah.⁶¹

Brimhall organized a system of Academy student clubs which served to bolster morale and bring new students to the Academy. Increased enrollment was also sought by having some students and several members of the faculty go on special missions to speak in stake conferences on the value of education and the advantages of Brigham Young Academy. In July 1901 Brimhall called Francis Kirkham as an educational missionary to labor among the young men who had not "awakened to a sense of their responsibilities."⁶²

Brimhall also pressed hard to get the finest possible speakers at Academy summer school sessions. In April 1901 John Dewey agreed to be the visiting scholar for that year's summer session. His lectures at the Academy were well attended and widely acclaimed.

Brimhall's own lecture calendar was extremely busy, though Cluff admonished him not to concern himself with lecturing so much to the public.⁶³ Brimhall nevertheless continued accepting educational and ecclesiastical lecture assignments knowing that these helped to expand the school's influence throughout the state.

Brimhall was forced to carry a heavy teaching load in addition to all of his other responsibilities.⁶⁴ Because of his efforts to do more than he was able, Brimhall's health began to fail. In September 1901 he began having severe nose bleeds and intestinal pains. He claimed he could not climb stairs because of his heart. After a brief recovery in October he relapsed. Yet in spite of his infirmities Brimhall continued his strenuous schedule of lecturing, public speaking, visiting, and working at the school.

59. Brigham Young Academy was the only Church school that had an active Sunday School program; BYA Sunday School Minutes, 1900-1901, BYU Archives. *See also* Sunday School General Board Minutes, 19 March 1907, LDS Church Historical Department.

60. George H. Brimhall to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 30 October 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

61. Minutes of the Board of Regents of the University of Utah, 1900-1901, on microfilm at University of Utah Library.

62. George H. Brimhall to W. H. Smart, 16 July 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

63. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to George H. Brimhall, 2 July 1900, Cluff Presidential Papers.

64. *Brigham Young Academy Catalog, 1901-1902.*

Return of Benjamin Cluff, Jr.

On 7 February 1902, Cluff and three members of the Zarahemla Expedition returned to Provo. They were welcomed in a climate far different from that which marked their festive departure. During the past two years an atmosphere of controversy had gathered around Cluff's handling of the expedition, particularly after the Church leaders had withdrawn support of the project and urged the explorers to disband. At one point feelings had risen so high that Paul Henning had written Cluff that he "might not even be allowed to assume [his] position as President of the Academy."⁶⁵ All of this, of course, was a deep disappointment to the "men who endured sickness and hardship and even risked their lives for two years in a sincere attempt to be of service to their school and church."⁶⁶

But Benjamin Cluff was fully reinstated as President of the Academy, although for a few days the atmosphere was extremely heavy in Provo. "As the students saw their own beloved Brimhall supplanted by brother Cluff," Francis Kirkham says he felt a "qualm go through the school."⁶⁷ Young members of the student body followed the homecoming parade, shouting slogans for the return of Brimhall.⁶⁸ Brimhall, however, took pains to show his allegiance to Cluff and by the same token Cluff openly acknowledged Brimhall's tremendous success as acting president. Cluff had returned to a school different from the one he had left two years earlier. The old Board had been restructured. There were many innovations which Brimhall had initiated. Both the faculty and the board assured Cluff that they would give him their complete support, but it was obvious that the popular administration of Brimhall had made Cluff's return far more difficult than he had expected. There was a subtle psychological climate of sufferance, almost condescension, as Cluff once more assumed the office of President.

The tension of the first few weeks rapidly dissipated, however, when Brimhall's health reached a state of crisis. The day after Cluff returned, Brimhall was compelled to go to a local doctor for a physical examination. It turned out that he was acutely ill with kidney and stomach disorders, anemia, and heart trouble. The following week Brimhall became so ill that he could not get out of bed. His strenuous activities had left him physically exhausted and mentally overtaxed.

On 17 February 1902, the very day the new Training School Building was dedicated, Brimhall had to be excused from his duties by President Joseph F. Smith, who was presiding at the ceremonies. A few

65. Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," p. 178.

66. Ibid.

67. Francis W. Kirkham, journal, 20 June 1902, BYU Library Special Collections.

68. George Higgs, untranscribed taped interview, 1973, BYU Archives.

days later, although barely able to stand without assistance, Brimhall left for California to overcome his illness. He was gone for over a year. He did not return to Provo until April 1903, and there were several additional months of recuperation necessary before he became fully active.

These circumstances quickly resolved Benjamin Cluff's dilemma. Automatically the mantle of leadership was once more fastened securely on his shoulders. The departure of the ailing Brimhall permitted a complete changeover of school administration without any further resentment or resistance.

The Academy Becomes a University

While striving to retain the support of people who had befriended the Academy during Brimhall's administration, Cluff wisely engaged the school in a number of conservative but popular projects. One of the most important of these was the construction of a preparatory school building for which President Joseph F. Smith and Reed Smoot led out in fund raising. Although this new building supplied no additional upper division facilities, it accommodated younger students in a separate area, leaving the better-equipped Academy Building for high school and college students. This was especially important as school administrators anticipated growth in upper division enrollment. In 1902 the Academy catalog began to describe courses according to schools and departments instead of subjects,⁶⁹ and by 1903 the Academy was organized into eight "schools" or departments:

The Preparatory School (Walter Cluff, principal)
High School and Normal School (N. L. Nelson, principal)
Kindergarten and Kindergarten Training School (Ida Dusenberry)
Normal Training School (Ella Larsen)
Missionary School (Orin W. Jarvis, principal)
Music School (A. C. Lund, principal)
Commercial School (J. B. Keeler)
College (Benjamin Cluff)

All these administrative changes foreshadowed Cluff's plan to establish Brigham Young Academy as a university. In September 1903, Cluff proposed to separate the college from the high school and call it "Joseph Smith College."⁷⁰ Defeated in this proposal he urged the Board to change the name of the entire school from *academy* to *university*, stressing that while it was a formal change, the basic Academy program would continue without additional cost. On 15 October 1903 the Board took formal action and the name was changed to Brigham Young University. Anthon Lund, a member of the First

69. See BYA Faculty Minutes, 5 May 1902.

70. BYA Board Minutes, 22 September 1903.

Presidency who opposed the change, wrote in his diary, "I hope their head will grow big enough for the hat."⁷¹

Of course, to Cluff and his associates the name *university* was merely a declaration of intent rather than a vindication of earned status. With the First Presidency and Board of Directors in attendance, the appropriate changes were made in all of the governing documents designating the name and status of the Church school in Provo. October 23 was selected by the Board as a special "Founder's Day" to celebrate the legalization of the new name.⁷² This was undoubtedly one of the high points among the many vicissitudes of the Cluff administration.

Resignation of Benjamin Cluff, Jr.

Barely had this latest achievement been entered on the pages of BYU history when Benjamin Cluff discovered a thunderhead of storm clouds gathering over his head. It all came about as a result of certain residual feelings incurred during the Zarahemla expedition. Cluff was formally accused of "un-Christianlike conduct" during the expedition. The principal accuser was Walter Wolfe. Although Wolfe was a member of the faculty until 1903-4, he had developed a strong hostility toward Cluff.

Since the charges related to ecclesiastical standards of conduct and responsibility, the trial was conducted in a Church court and the complainants were allowed to tell their story. At the end of the trial, Cluff, even though he did not even so much as appear in his own behalf, was completely exonerated of all charges except a minor allegation of administrative mismanagement in certain instances. The faculty and students of the University immediately rallied around Cluff to assure him that their faith in him was unshaken and they would warmly support him.

For Cluff, however, the trial had been a humiliating and soul-shaking experience. For the first time he began to seriously consider the possibility of leaving Provo and seeking a whole new career. While in Mexico he had seen the possibility of pioneering a number of new industries and he now determined to take the fateful step of abandoning the field of education in which he had been so eminently successful. He discussed the matter with the First Presidency and they left the decision to him.

After arranging employment with the Utah-Mexican Rubber Plantation in Mexico, Cluff tendered his resignation to the Board of Trustees on 17 November 1903, to be effective 23 December 1903.⁷³ Thus the

71. Anthon H. Lund, journal, 30 September 1903, LDS Church Historical Department.

72. For details of the Founder's Day celebration, *see* Journal History, 23 October 1903. *See also* BYU Board Minutes, 23 October 1903.

73. For a more detailed discussion of his reasons for leaving, *see* Roberts and Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff, Jr.," pp. 178-91.

remarkable and in many ways illustrious career of this early Utah educator came to an end.

Appraisal of the Cluff Administration

It is unfortunate that the controversial Zarahemla Expedition should have so completely obscured the important professional innovations which Benjamin Cluff brought to Brigham Young University. From the moment he attained a position of influence in the administration of the school he had an impact of lasting importance.

As far back as November 1891 he persuaded the General Board to establish the first Church Normal School at the Brigham Young Academy. He strengthened the Academy's curriculum and separated the high school and college courses. He lengthened the teacher-training course from two to four and later six years. He lengthened classes from thirty minutes to an hour. He established the Collegiate Department and initiated training programs to improve the effectiveness of Sunday School and Mutual Improvement Association teachers. He also launched the Academy's highly successful missionary training program.

Cluff encouraged young men and women to continue their education in prominent universities of national reputation. As a result of Cluff's inspiration, James L. Brown, Richard R. Lyman, Edwin S. Hinckley, M. H. Beckstrand, Stanley Partridge, Josiah H. Hickman, Alice Louise Reynolds, and Arthur Daley registered at the University of Michigan. He also supported Moses H. David and Caleb Tanner, who went to Harvard University. Ernest DeAlton Partridge (Michigan State College) and John C. Swenson (Stanford University) also received Cluff's encouragement. Most of these fine scholars later returned to teach at Brigham Young University. He was responsible for organizing a student loan association, and during the early years of his administration Cluff was also instrumental in creating such student body and department journals as *The Normal*, *The Business Journal*, and the *White and Blue*.

Intercollegiate athletics began at the Academy during Cluff's administration. Baseball began in 1891, football in 1896, track and field in 1899, and basketball in 1900. White and blue were chosen as the school colors in 1892, and Annie Pike Greenwood wrote the lyrics for the College song. Cluff encouraged the school's alumni to become organized and actively support the school. He encouraged class activities and an institutional spirit of enthusiastic loyalty. He formalized many worthy traditions which have continued at the school to the present. Under his direction the first Founder's Day was held on 16 October 1891.

Beginning in 1892, Cluff brought prominent educators to the campus from the East as guest lecturers. Summer school lecturers included Francis W. Parker, A. Burk Hinsdale, and James Baldwin. This tradi-

tion of having outside teachers and lecturers of national importance is still one of the hallmarks of BYU summer study.

The Holt Laboratory of Physics, the Magleby Laboratory of Chemistry, the Hinckley Laboratory of Natural Sciences, the Beckstead Laboratory of General Mechanics, and the Warren Smith Library of General Science Works were all endowed during Cluff's administration. He successfully enlarged the student body, the faculty, and the library. During his administration the student body, exclusive of grammar school students, increased from 386 in 1892 to 825 in 1903. The faculty increased from 28 in 1892 to 57 in 1903. The library increased from 1,053 volumes and 596 pamphlets in 1891 to 5,432 volumes and 6,023 pamphlets in 1901.

Probably Cluff's greatest accomplishment was persuading the First Presidency to incorporate Brigham Young Academy as a subsidiary of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, after others, including Abraham O. Smoot, had failed. This insured Church financial support for the school, and during Cluff's administration Church appropriations increased from \$2,000 to \$30,000 a year.

In the face of severe financial difficulties, Cluff was forced to meet the opposition of a number of influential people who sought to curtail the school's expansion, but he was constant in his determination to lay a solid foundation of educational philosophies, policies, and practices upon which a great university could be established. He was successful. Those who succeeded him and the university of today will forever be indebted to him for converting BYA from a proprietary academy of Brigham Young, with no visible means of support, to a Church institution that today probably gets a larger percentage of financial support from its founding Church than any other Church-related institution in the country.

11

George H. Brimhall: Devoted Administrator

As soon as Benjamin Cluff, Jr., left the University at the close of 1903, the search began for a new President. Some parties supported James L. Brown, while others favored Josiah Hickman. The names of Willard Young and brilliant young John A. Widtsoe, who had received a doctor's degree with honors at Harvard, were also prominently mentioned. Nevertheless, these available luminaries did not obscure the eligibility of George H. Brimhall. In fact, a number of trustees thought his capabilities surpassed those of any other in meeting the administrative needs of the University at that time.

Choosing the New President

The Board finally decided to postpone the selection of a permanent president for the time being and merely appoint an acting president. The vote was divided evenly between George H. Brimhall and Joseph B. Keeler until Stephen L. Chipman finally shifted his vote to Brimhall to break the tie. The Board then voted again and made the endorsement of Brimhall unanimous.¹ Brimhall confessed his anxieties in accepting the position but the Board noted that within a few weeks he had the school running smoothly and his health was greatly improved. When it was also apparent that he had gained the support of both faculty and students, the Board stopped looking any further for a president and made his appointment permanent.

It became the practice during this period to have the president of each Church college choose two counselors so as to constitute a presidency over each institution. Brimhall chose Joseph B. Keeler and Edwin S. Hinckley.

Keeler and Hinckley were very loyal to BYU and to Brimhall and were of great help to him during his entire administration. Their personalities effectively complemented each other. Keeler handled most of the routine administrative details and financial matters of the

1. Richard Young to Reed Smoot, 17 December 1903, Reed Smoot Papers, BYU Library Special Collections.

school, where his steadiness and devotion to duty made him the balance wheel in the presidency. Hinckley, on the other hand, was more like President Brimhall. He was an eloquent speaker and had great visions of the future. About the time Orville and Wilbur Wright made their first flight in a heavier-than-air machine, Hinckley predicted to his class that the time would come when a man would fly from New York to San Francisco between breakfast and dinner. Keeler thought this was a ridiculous statement, but since none would believe it, perhaps no harm had been done to the institution. Hinckley lived to see this happen, and later his own son Robert Henry Hinckley, a BYU graduate, became chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Authority, the first governmental agency to supervise commercial aviation in the United States.

At the end of the Brimhall administration the practice of choosing counselors was discontinued.

John A. Widtsoe

Ever since the days of Karl G. Maeser, the administration had been anxious to acquire a faculty which satisfied the three dimensions considered necessary by the Church. To discover all three qualifications in a single personality was a unique challenge. First, the Church wanted the teachers of its youth to be singular examples of proven faithfulness and superior spirituality. Second, the faculty members should be competent in their fields, the more outstanding the better. Third, the faculty had to be willing to work for a fraction of their worth — at least that was the way it turned out. It was not that the Church was parsimonious. It was just poor, and every member who was called into professional, full-time service was expected to shoulder his task knowing it would have to be undertaken at great personal financial sacrifice.

John A. Widtsoe, one of the most remarkable professors on campus during the early Brimhall period, was a superb example of the caliber of teacher BYU was seeking. A brilliant chemistry student from Harvard, Widtsoe had already earned an enviable reputation in the state for his innovations and research in dry farming. He came to Brigham Young University in 1905 after being unexpectedly released from his position at Utah State Agricultural College because of an internal political "row."² This was a windfall for BYU, and President Brimhall received a special appropriation from the Church Board of Education to cover Widtsoe's salary of \$2,200.

Within one year Widtsoe brought agricultural work at BYU to the fore. Brimhall reported that his department was "having a wonderful educational influence in favor of our Church systems."³ Widtsoe or-

2. John A. Widtsoe, *In a Sunlit Land* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1952), p. 86.

3. George H. Brimhall to J. M. Tanner, 8 December 1905, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

ganized a farmers institute which travelled throughout the state giving instruction to farmers and recruiting students to study agriculture at BYU. His amazing influence on the school's enrollment in the area of agriculture confirmed the drawing power of a strong faculty member.

In one year's time this department so threatened to eclipse the same area at Logan that he was recalled to USAC in an advanced position and by 1907 had been made the president of the same institution from which he had been discharged in 1905. He went on to become the president of the University of Utah. Widtsoe's departure from BYU had a disastrous impact on the number of agriculture students who enrolled, and deeply disappointed the entire BYU administration. Nevertheless, Widtsoe never forgot his brief interlude at the Church university and remained one of its most staunch supporters even while serving as president of two state institutions. Eventually he became a member of the BYU Board of Trustees.

The Faculty

When Brimhall took office none of the faculty had a master's degree, though most had received bachelor's degrees, often from prestigious eastern universities. Over the following years, however, the number of master's degree-holders grew as more educated teachers were hired and some already on the faculty pursued graduate work. Gradually, a few faculty members held the Ph.D. degree.

As the faculty increased in number and quality, the curriculum also expanded. Courses became available in literature, composition, and literary interpretation (Alice Louise Reynolds), accountancy (Joseph B. Keeler), horticulture (William H. Homer, Jr.), medicine and nursing (Elmer E. Hinckley), writing, elocution, and speech (Nels L. Nelson), and personal hygiene, sex education, and nutrition (Susa Young Gates). Other prominent BYU educators included Harvey Fletcher, a BYU graduate who earned his Ph.D. *summa cum laude* from the University of Chicago in 1911; Nathaniel Baldwin, a young "genius" who taught physics classes and experimented widely — Harvey Fletcher said that "instead of going to buy a pen, [Baldwin] would make it"⁴; and William J. Snow, about whom Brimhall wrote, "He gives one of the most impressive, logical and classical lectures on spiritual education that I have had the good pleasure of hearing."⁵

Struggle and sacrifice were two common denominators that continually unified the faculty just as they had in the past. A few, like Charles Maw, had been able to get their education without financial hardship, but most of the others had endured poverty and hardship to obtain their training. James L. Brown, for instance, after losing two

4. Harvey Fletcher, transcribed oral interview, 19 September 1968, BYU Archives, p. 13.

5. George H. Brimhall to A. E. Huish and Lillie Fairbanks, 18 November 1904, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

children in one week from a diphtheria epidemic, was virtually destitute at the University of Michigan during the financial panic of 1893. Clair Reed lost his wife and suffered financial misfortune while trying to get his education. William H. Boyle worked long hours in the mines and hauled lumber to earn his way through college.

Even after qualifying themselves to obtain employment at BYU, the faculty found themselves constantly struggling against smothering indebtedness and the necessity of severe frugality. Salaries averaged around \$1,400 per year for a well-trained teacher, and only rarely did salaries exceed that figure by more than three or four hundred dollars, even for top teachers and administrators. Many of the faculty did odd jobs on the side and some ran farms to stay alive. T. Earl Pardoe wrote that in order to teach at BYU, "one had to own and till a farm and to be obliged to take watering turns between classes."⁶ A few members of the faculty invested carefully garnered savings in various kinds of business ventures, but these rarely paid off. Others invested in mining stock during the mining boom of 1907, but the crash that followed was a sobering and painful experience.

A more enduring investment by BYU, though it brought no profit, was the establishment of a summer camp at Wildwood in Provo Canyon. John C. Swenson is quoted as recalling that the camp "was made up at that time almost entirely of University people and including the children there were more than 100 people in camp. We established a Sunday School and every Sunday morning a brief worship was held with an evening worship also. The group life was simple, unconventional, and very democratic, all of which led to a very wholesome community group."⁷

Like Brimhall, many BYU faculty members were actively involved in politics. Reed Smoot's election to the Senate in 1902, his victory in the Senate investigation to determine whether or not he should be seated, and his subsequent reelections and homecomings were often the objects of highly enthusiastic rallies and receptions at BYU.

Faculty members were also front-line soldiers in the early prohibition campaigns. In November 1909 Brimhall gave a rousing devotional speech on the subject:

I shall never look a saloon in the face and see there any part of me or my power. If it opens its doors, it is against my protest. I protest against it in the name of my manhood; I protest against it in the name of my brotherhood; I protest against it in the name of my fatherhood; I protest against it in the name of my priesthood, which is the connecting link between godhood and manhood. I protest against it in the name of citizenship. . . . The question

6. T. Earl Pardoe, *The Sons of Brigham* (Provo: Brigham Young University Alumni Association, 1969), p. 94.

7. "Autobiography of John Canute Swensen," typescript copy in BYU Archives, p. 30.

comes up, shall we as a school go out at 4 o'clock today and assist prohibition. I told the committee that they had my official consent to take the faculty and students. Shall we go?⁸

They went. The University was also involved in a number of lesser political issues dealing with local pool rooms, barbershops, and public dancing places.

Educational Facilities in Early Brimhall Years

Brigham Young University school facilities provided a good indication of the status of the school at the beginning of the 1904-5 school year. The small campus was constructed on a four-acre plot of ground on Fifth North and University Avenue. While it was no smaller than the campuses of other schools with similar enrollment at that time, it was in no sense a university campus. Most of the school buildings were crowded into one haphazardly arranged school block. The four principal buildings were the Academy Building, College Hall, the Missionary Preparatory Building, and the Training School Building. The Probert Building across the street west on University Avenue and the Blacksmith Shop across the road south on Fifth East completed the campus facility.

Inside toilets were made available in 1901, and electricity was generally available in the buildings by the turn of the century. The buildings were heated by separate coal-fire boilers, and were maintained by a small custodial staff, composed mostly of students. A gas generating plant was added in 1906 to supply the domestic science department with gas for cooking.⁹

The fewer than 60 college students, who represented less than five percent of the overall student body, met for classes in College Hall. The rest of the campus was devoted to high school work — normal students, commercial students, high school students, and music students — and to the grammar school. This variety of students demanded great versatility from the school's administration.

During this period the school purchased about ten acres of land on what was then known as Temple Hill. This acreage, comprising a park in the area of the present Fletcher Building, was named after Raymond Knight, the son of Jesse Knight, who once owned much of the land on Temple Hill. It was purchased from Provo City at \$125 per acre, with funds raised by the student body.¹⁰

A site located approximately where the Joseph Smith Building now stands was surveyed by Ernest D. Partridge for the construction of a

8. "Remarks by President Brimhall," 1 November 1909, box 34, folder 6, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

9. Ephraim Hatch and Karl Miller, "A History of the Brigham Young University Campus and the Department of Physical Plant," 8 Vols., typescript in the Physical Plant Records, 3:56.

10. "Work of the Campus Committee," *White and Blue*, 19 February 1904.

track for athletic field events. Men with teams of horses and scrapers donated their time to level this land and develop a suitable track with banked curves. Several hundred students turned out with rakes and shovels to help finish the athletic field.

Financial Quandaries

The school, of course, relied heavily on Church appropriations for financial support. Brimhall explained that Brigham Young University was “not a tuition school.” At the time, one term’s tuition at BYU averaged “a little more than \$12. In the State Institution it averages about \$10 so if this is a tuition school, it is a \$2 tuition school if the other is free.” Brimhall reminded high school students that “there is about \$32 somebody pays for you every year.” To college and normal students he said, “Somebody has to pay between \$60 and \$75 for everyone of you after you have paid your tuition.”¹¹

In May 1904 the Church Board allocated BYU \$34,000, which was \$9,000 more than the appropriation to LDSU and \$14,000 more than Brigham Young College received. The allocation, however, was \$4,500 short of BYU’s request.

In 1903, salaries for the presidents of the three Church colleges averaged around \$2,200. Brimhall received \$2,250. Joseph Kingsbury of the University of Utah made \$4,000 the same year, and full professors at the University of Utah were making \$2,000 while department heads made \$2,400.¹²

In 1906 Brigham Young University again received additional help from Jesse Knight by way of a land donation of five hundred acres on the Provo bench. The land’s value was enthusiastically estimated at \$49,306.60. In 1907 Knight gave the University \$1,300 worth of irrigation company stock and the water rights to store water on the Provo River.¹³ However, though Jesse Knight’s generosity was appreciated and added to the assets of the school, it did not help its immediate cash position.

Enrollment Outlook

Enrollment at Brigham Young University climbed steadily during the early Brimhall years. In 1904 a total of 1,275 pupils enrolled, most of them high school students. In 1906 the *White and Blue* claimed that enrollment of high school and college students had increased 33 percent over the previous year. President Brimhall reported that “enrollment is nearing the fifteen hundred mark, and when it reaches two

11. “Remarks by President Brimhall,” 14 January 1906, box 34, folder 6, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

12. Amos N. Merrill, “In Remembrance of Joseph B. Keeler,” Joseph B. Keeler Biographical File, BYU Archives.

13. “Report of the Bequests of Jesse Knight to BYU,” box 31, folder 5, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

thousand my desire shall have been realized.”¹⁴ By February of 1907 enrollment had reached a total of 1,449, and by the end of the academic year it was 1,553.

Brimhall always spoke optimistically of enrollment, but most of BYU’s increased enrollment during the early years of his presidency was due to an increase in the number of lower division students, especially students in the early high school grades. Enrollment in higher grades had leveled off. However, BYU’s curriculum was becoming increasingly broad, clearly reflecting developments in the Church education system, which fostered a wide number of educational programs that would, like the Church program of auxiliary organizations, reach out to the LDS community in every conceivable way, continually emphasizing practical and moral education.

NUMBER OF COLLEGE STUDENTS ENROLLED
AND NUMBER WHO GRADUATED FOR THE
ACADEMIC YEARS 1902-3 — 1908-9

Academic Year	Number of College Students Enrolled	Number of Graduates*
1902-03	37	7
1903-04	64	5
1904-05	58	2
1905-06	90	4
1906-07	105	6
1907-08	72	5
1908-09	111	8

*In Spring of academic year indicated

Source: Summary of Degrees and Certificates Conferred by Brigham Young Academy and Brigham Young University prepared by Institutional Research, Brigham Young University.

BYU and the Church Board of Education

From 1904 to 1908 the Church Board of Education, increasingly concerned about the rising costs of the Church school system, took a number of steps to control funds and to regulate courses of study.

In April 1906 Joseph M. Tanner was replaced as superintendent of the Church school system by Horace Hall Cummings.¹⁵ Cummings was a home-bred educator. He learned his *ABCs* in a log cabin school, becoming interested in education as a lad when he studied grammar under John R. Park. He taught for years in Salt Lake City in the Church

14. *White and Blue*, 21 December 1906.
15. General Board Minutes, 25 April 1906.

school system and was under the influence of Karl G. Maeser in Maeser's later years.

Cummings became superintendent of Church schools at a critical time of reevaluation, and his influence, both administratively and philosophically, was very strong. He received his Bachelor of Science degree in education from the University of Utah the year he was appointed superintendent.

As Cummings visualized it, the Church school system was like an unfinished building which he had seen in a dream. He felt his task was to work in the still unfinished basement, doing the "dusting and cleaning," and leaving the more profound work to those who would follow. He thought the greatest weakness in the program was the Church schools' effort "to do more than the means available would permit." He therefore opposed the extension of college work in the school system, maintaining that "it would be cheaper to send our students to Columbia than to finance three separate Church colleges."¹⁶ He also made the following changes in the Church school system:

1. Appropriations were allocated on the basis of actual enrollment rather than Church school administrators' estimates of needs.
2. Uniform courses in theology were provided, and excellent course outlines were printed.
3. Uniform textbooks in other studies were adopted for five-year periods as in the state schools.
4. The office of the Church superintendent became an agency where teachers wanting positions and schools desiring teachers could register their needs.
5. High school teachers were required to have a college degree.
6. The rate of Church financial involvement in school buildings was made constant, and building plans had to be approved by the superintendent's office.
7. Schools were instructed to maintain a student body of at least one hundred.
8. Annual teachers conventions were instituted.

Influence of the State's Expanding High School Program

Cummings's "efficiency measures" might have doomed the college work at Brigham Young University if it had not been that around 1907 there was a great mushrooming of the state high school movement, which created a sudden need for many more teachers.

Noting that high schools were "springing up throughout the land," George Brimhall seized the opportunity to recommend that the BYU Normal Training School "extend its facilities so as to prepare high school teachers." He pointed out that expanding the Normal School

16. "Autobiography of Horace Hall Cummings," Xerox copy of unpublished typescript in the BYU Archives, Chapter 36, p. 5.

would “necessitate emphasizing our college work in the University.”¹⁷ Brimhall warned Board member Reed Smoot that “unless we improve our college faculty and increase the facilities, we may look for our graduates from the High School and the other Secondary Schools to go elsewhere for their college work.”¹⁸

John A. Widtsoe, then president of Utah State Agricultural College, agreed that a Church normal school could render invaluable service to the LDS community by maintaining Church influence in public schools:

I am coming more and more to the conviction that in our Church school policy we ought to emphasize more strongly than ever before the preparation of teachers to fill positions both in the common and high schools of this and surrounding states. This necessarily means that the Church must possess a normal school which must be second to none in the West, or for that matter in the country.¹⁹

Elevation of BYU in the Church School System

With this widespread interest in education, all of the Church colleges were eager to enter the field of university and high school teacher training. Competition for the allocation of Church funds became even more intense than before. Nevertheless, since Church Board reports had almost invariably mentioned BYU as the most efficient of the three Church institutions of higher learning, the administrators of Brigham Young University made application in 1907 to be designated the official Church university. Brimhall also asked for a \$10,000 appropriation for teachers “in consideration of which the Board of Trustees will erect a building on Temple Hill to cost \$100,000.”²⁰ This was approved. The new building was to become BYU’s first exclusively university facility.

In April 1908, after the emergence of more rivalry between the Church schools, Brigham Young University’s role as the official Church normal school was reaffirmed, and Brigham Young College in Logan very reluctantly agreed to discontinue its teacher training program. With the approval of the Board of Trustees, Brimhall moved ahead with plans for the construction of a new college building and normal school (Maeser Memorial) that was to cost the University \$100,000.²¹

17. President’s Report, 1907.

18. George H. Brimhall to Reed Smoot, 11 January 1907, Reed Smoot Papers.

19. John A. Widtsoe to George H. Brimhall, 21 December 1907, Brimhall Presidential Papers. *See also* John A. Widtsoe to George H. Brimhall, 22 October 1907, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

20. BYU Faculty Minutes, 11 January 1907.

21. George H. Brimhall to James L. Barker, 1 August 1908, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

In 1909 George Brimhall celebrated his sixtieth birthday and nineteenth year as a teacher and administrator at Brigham Young University. He had moved the school into an ascendant position in the Church school system and had the satisfaction of achieving what both he and Cluff had longed for — a real collegiate program. The school was now free to venture out in several directions. Formal recognition of BYU as the Church teachers college kindled Brimhall's desire to expand the work considerably beyond that sphere. This was only natural, since less than ten percent of the college students at BYU at that time majored in education. Twenty-five percent majored in the sciences, twenty percent in the social sciences, and forty-five percent in the arts and industrial areas.²²

Attracting Mormon educators who needed additional training, the college doubled its enrollment during 1909-10, its first year as the official Church teachers college.²³ Brimhall worked to recruit as students a number of "public school teachers in the state who are intellectual educators" but who were "deficient in scholastic attainments."²⁴ Students attending the Teachers College were at least 18 years old, and most of them were over 22. Many were educators of considerable experience, and the group included many returned LDS missionaries.²⁵

Moderate Church appropriations to the University in 1909 would not permit the extensive programs that the state schools were undertaking and that Brimhall desired. Nevertheless, BYU was appropriated more funds than any other school in the Church system. Brigham Young University received \$61,250, Brigham Young College \$24,000, Latter-Day Saints University \$50,000, and Weber Academy \$16,500.

The Maeser Memorial Building

The Maeser Memorial Building project undertaken in 1907 symbolized Brigham Young University's dominant role in the Church system. The \$100,000 building on "Temple Hill" represented both the school's devotion to its past and its aspirations for the future.²⁶ The site, destined to become the college campus which early school administrators had envisioned, was acquired through the joint efforts of the

22. College Registry, 1909-1910, UA 361, BYU Archives.

23. Ibid.

24. George H. Brimhall to A. C. Nelson, 2 April 1910, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

25. College Registry, 1909-1910, UA 361, BYU Archives.

26. According to tradition, Brigham Young prophesied that the hill which became upper campus was to be a temple site. See "Oldest BYU Graduates Attend Basketball Game," *Daily Universe*, 2 February 1960; and Eva Maeser Crandall interview, p. 60.

BYU student body and the Provo City Council. In a letter to William Probert dated 1 November 1907, George Brimhall explained the tradition associated with Temple Hill:

President A. O. Smoot, at the time of the purchase of the block, said to his son, Reed, "Reed, what do you think about the new location for the Academy?" The boy looked up at his father and said, "It is pretty good, but it is not the right place." His father said, "Where would you have it then?" The boy replied, "Right on Temple Hill." And the day will come when it will be regretted if the building is not put up there!²⁷

The Maeser Memorial was, according to Horace Cummings, "an air castle" come to earth which he and Brimhall had long dreamed of. He predicted that after the Maeser Building was completed other buildings would be constructed on the site.²⁸ Though the building was delayed several times because of finances, its fund-raising campaign was by far the most extensive in Brigham Young University's early history. The project received the support of the local ecclesiastical organizations, the alumni association, other schools, and all the general Church organizations. The faculty contributed substantially to the construction, some teachers sacrificing "what would mean a half year's salary" to see it completed.²⁹ Contributions of \$100 or more totaled \$41,125. Of this amount, \$38,200 came from the Jesse Knight family. The Maeser Memorial Building was ready to open for classwork by the fall of 1911.

The Fledgling University Prepares for Flight

Up to this point the aspirations of BYU on the academic level were more symptomatic than real. During the years from 1903 to 1908 about 100 students registered in the college program. Only 22 graduated. Most of the students registered in the various college classes just long enough to receive specialized training, and then left without fulfilling their general education requirements. Graduates received the bachelor of science or bachelor of pedagogy degrees until November 1906. After that the bachelor of pedagogy degree was replaced by the bachelor of arts degree.³⁰

Almost half of those who graduated as college students during this period were older than 24. Most of them had attended the University from five to seven years, and a few, like Ida Dusenberry, were at the

27. George H. Brimhall to William Probert, 11 January 1907, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

28. "Founder's Day," *White and Blue*, 18 October 1909.

29. George H. Brimhall to Annie Ronnow, 19 January 1911, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

30. *White and Blue*, 29 November 1906.

school even longer. John E. Booth, who graduated in 1904, had been teaching mathematics when Karl Maeser was principal.

Both the Church and the BYU administration knew they had a strong definitive program for the structuring of character and spirituality in the students. The question was what would happen to these students when they were exposed to the vastly different academic climate of graduate work in the better-known universities of the country. By this time the Church was basically favorable to its students going away to study, though ecclesiastical leaders and the BYU administration were uncertain as to the effects of gentile education on Mormon scholars.

President Brimhall carefully weighed reports from his students who had left the nest to seek higher degrees. Francis Kirkham wrote from Stanford that “This is the finest body of undergraduates I have yet met.”³¹ Eugene L. Roberts wrote that “Yale is distinctly and profoundly religious; and while it is a fact that more intimate acquaintance with its students reveals that many of the prayers chanted in the chapel every day are prayers of the lips, it still remains true that the Yale spirit is one of reverence and devotion.”³² Earl Glade praised the University of Chicago but said, “The various schools exist absolutely separate from one another. The seniors alone are invited to a brief chapel exercise about twice a week. As a result one doesn’t know anything about the student body. I believe I have learned to appreciate our daily morning assembly.”³³ William H. Boyle wrote from Los Angeles, “As you know, there is a different social atmosphere, ideals are not as high, or motives, as fun. . . . Lots of style and little Christianity.”³⁴

A grateful testimonial came from former BYU student Annie Pike Greenwood, a non-Mormon who had written the lyrics to the official BYU school song. She said one of her friends, having noted some of her attitudes and behavior, facetiously remarked, “I think they must have spoiled you at that Brigham Young Academy.” Reflecting on the comment, Annie wrote,

It struct me forcibly that he was right. “They” had certainly “spoiled me” at “that Brigham Young Academy” — spoiled me as mother spoils her child — with kindness, encouragements, appreciation, charity — spoiled me so that I can never be content to take anything but the best the world has to give nor satisfied to give anything but the best that lies within me. By day and by night it

31. Francis W. Kirkham to George H. Brimhall, 17 November 1908, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

32. Eugene L. Roberts, “Religious Life at Yale,” *White and Blue*, 18 March 1910.

33. Earl J. Glade to E. H. Holt, 1 July 1911, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

34. William Boyle to George H. Brimhall, 13 February 1908, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

comes upon me that I must fulfill all of which my teachers believed me capable.

I thank God that hundreds of young people are being spoiled every year in the Brigham Young University — spoiled for the uses of malice, sloth, evil, and irreverence. They shall not go forth into the world with sneers and murky skepticism.³⁵

35. Annie Pike Greenwood, "Greetings," *White and Blue*, 27 April 1909.

12

BYU Survives an Ideological Crisis

The continuing increase in enrollment and the prospect of modern, expanded physical facilities on Temple Hill were sufficient to cause George H. Brimhall to engage in a countrywide search for high-quality teachers with advanced degrees who could strengthen the faculty and expand the curriculum.

Prominent New Faculty Members

Joseph and Henry Peterson were both engaged to teach at BYU in 1907 as the first of the “new” faculty. Joseph Peterson was the first Ph.D. ever to be employed at Brigham Young University.¹ He had worked with Dr. John B. Watson, the famous behavioral psychologist, and received his doctor’s degree in 1907 from the University of Chicago. His psychology courses at BYU gained statewide fame within a few months after he joined the faculty.² Joseph’s brother Henry Peterson obtained his bachelor’s degree from the University of Chicago in 1905, and then earned his master’s degree from Harvard in 1906.

In 1908 J. H. Paul wrote Brimhall that a certain Ralph Chamberlin was “one of the world’s foremost naturalists, though, I think, he is only about 28 years of age. I have not met his equal. . . . We must not let him drift away.”³ Brimhall responded by hiring Chamberlin as a member of the BYU faculty. Chamberlin had been head of the department of biology at the University of Utah for three years, and his coming to Brigham Young University was hailed by all as a propitious event. His academic accomplishments were exceptional: on several occasions he was invited to read papers before national scholastic organizations.⁴ He

1. *White and Blue*, 5 November 1907.
2. See letter to Dr. Joseph Peterson, 16 August 1909, box 15, folder 2, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
3. J. H. Paul to George H. Brimhall, 4 February 1908, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
4. Ralph V. Chamberlin to George H. Brimhall, 1 December 1908, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

had received his bachelor's degree from the University of Utah in 1898 and his doctorate from Cornell in 1905. Although his area of specialization was entomology, Chamberlin had training and background in other sciences as well.

In 1909 Brimhall hired Ralph's brother, William H. Chamberlin, who lacked a doctorate but had received extensive training at Harvard, the University of California, and the University of Chicago. William had been strongly influenced by the philosophers and psychologists of the day, and he was also trained in modern and ancient languages and occasionally had taught religion classes in the Church system. He had a dynamic personality which was most impressive and appealing to his students.

These new faculty members came to Brigham Young University hoping to transform the newly named college into a genuine university, comparable to the country's fully accredited institutions of higher learning and capable of turning out thoroughly reputable scholars.

Joseph Peterson moved the work in psychology rapidly ahead, with nine separate courses in general and experimental psychology. Henry Peterson headed the educational work, Ralph Chamberlin headed the biology department, and William H. Chamberlin taught philosophy and conducted classes in psychology.

In addition to these outstanding educators, the catalogue for 1910 listed the following full-time faculty members who had been added to the staff since 1904 when Brimhall first took over as President:

James L. Barker, A.B., History (U of U)
Fred Bennion, A.B., Physical Education (U of U)
Alma L. Binzel, B.S., Education (Columbia Teachers College)
Elbert H. Eastmond, B.Pd., Fine Arts and Manual Training (BYA)
Vilate Elliot, B.Pd., Domestic Art (BYU)
Moses Gudmundson, Music
Elmer E. Hinckley, M.D., Nursing
Francis W. Kirkham, A.B., History (Stanford)
George C. Laney, B.S., Woodwork (BYU)
Amos N. Merrill, B.S., M.A., Agriculture (Agricultural College of Iowa)
Andrew T. Rasmussen, A.B., Biology (BYU)
Loa Roberts, Oral Expression and Physical Culture
Chester Snow, A.D., Physics (Harvard)
May Ward, B.Pd., Domestic Science (BYA)

Most of the new teachers possessed impressive credentials for faculty members at a Church school at that time.

James L. Barker, although he had received his degree in history, was a gifted linguist and added breadth to the modern languages department by teaching classes in phonetics, French, and German. W. H. Chamberlin's Hebrew, Greek, and Latin courses created the University's first department of ancient languages. He offered classes in grammar, composition, the study of basic classical texts, and ad-

vanced courses in biblical readings. Biology courses under the direction of Ralph Chamberlin included vertebrate zoology, animal histology, vertebrate embryology, entomology, human physiology, neurology, and general principles of biology. Chamberlin led insect-hunting field trips and supervised student research papers on biological subjects.

Ralph Chamberlin's excellent work in biological sciences freed Edwin S. Hinckley and his assistant, Fred Buss, to teach geological sciences. Harvard graduate Chester Snow rapidly improved the physics department by adding considerable material to the laboratories, laying the groundwork for such BYU physicists as Harvey Fletcher, Vern Knudsen, Carl Eyring, and Ray Olpin, who had careers of distinction: Fletcher left BYU to become a distinguished researcher at Bell Laboratories, after which he returned to Provo; Knudsen became chancellor of the University of California at Los Angeles; Eyring became dean of the BYU College of Arts and Sciences; and Olpin became president of the University of Utah.

In the History Department John C. Swensen and Christen Jensen, a graduate with an M.A. from Harvard, offered courses in history, government, and economics. Henry Peterson, A. C. Lund, and James L. Brown conducted a wide variety of education courses, offering teacher training to students of philosophy, music, and psychology. The collegiate department also featured a complete course in the fine and applied arts.

Eugene Roberts

In 1910 George Brimhall offered Eugene Roberts, a gifted student of physical education at Yale, the position of athletic coach and chairman of the department of physical education.⁵ Roberts had been trained in all major sports. He was offered positions at several schools, but he sacrificed the prospects of a higher salary and accepted Brimhall's offer to come to BYU. Roberts immediately began planning invitational tournaments in high school basketball, Church school basketball, track and field, tennis, swimming, and gymnastics⁶ which have continued to this day.

Roberts's training, native intelligence, and organizational ability influenced the entire University program. He rejected the idea that athletics were for a favored few and announced a program designed to increase the health and vigor of the entire student body. He was "not primarily interested in the star athlete or the Olympic hero. Our primary objective is not to turn out winning athletic teams, even though, if a large number of men report for practice and training, we

5. Marva Hudson Gregory, "The Life and Educational Contributions of E. L. Roberts" (master's thesis, University of Utah, 1952), p. 32.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

shall win our share of victories. We are concerned about the physical and social welfare of every student.”⁷

Roberts refused to proselytize athletes or give them special privileges and jobs. He placed athletes “along with all other students.”⁸ Along with Henry Rose, Roberts led BYU’s basketball and gymnastics teams to several league victories. In 1911 he started the BYU Invitational Track Meet, which proved a great success and has continued annually since then. In 1912 Roberts established the annual Timpanogos hike, which became a traditional University event and continued until 1971 when it was discontinued because of environmental damage to the mountain. Roberts was one of the best leaders in the field of physical education ever to coach on the BYU campus.

The Upward Reach

All of the new teachers were acutely aware of BYU’s rather lowly status as an intellectual institution and were anxious to secure for it the reputation which they considered it rightfully deserved. Ralph Chamberlin reported to Brimhall that “the opinion seems quite widely to prevail that we are lacking in genuine scholarship, the son of one of the leading men in the Church saying that he regarded the main body of my associates here as a ‘bunch of farmers’ who gave their leisure time only to teaching and who lacked any genuine devotion to their profession.” He urged the President “to remove grounds for such criticism as this,” as otherwise “many students whom we might rightly expect to attend our college turn elsewhere.”⁹

In the second term of the 1910-11 school year the faculty met and decided to organize a special institute for the sharing of educational ideas. Visiting speakers discussed eugenics,¹⁰ communism,¹¹ and the impact of Darwinism on history and education.¹² Reaction to guest speakers was generally very favorable. The *White and Blue* of 16 February 1909 said that William Thurston Brown’s lecture on socialism “was scholarly and well-prepared, the speaker having his subject well in hand. . . . We may not all agree with his remarks, but we like to hear him talk.”

Although Benjamin Cluff had introduced years before a number of “philosophical” theology classes for the collegiate students, including

7. Ibid., p. 38.

8. Ibid., p. 39.

9. Ralph V. Chamberlin to George H. Brimhall, 3 September 1910, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

10. See review of Stanton Colt’s “Discussion of Eugenics,” *White and Blue*, 10 October 1910.

11. William Thurston Brown lectured on campus on 16 February 1909. His book *How Capitalism Has Hypnotized Society* was published about the time of his visit to BYU.

12. Percy Craven lectured at BYU on “The Course of Human Progress.” His visit to campus came near the end of April 1910.

theological “seminaries” to handle the problems of philosophy and science as they related to LDS doctrine, the college faculty of 1910 offered an array of classes much beyond Cluff’s program. New courses with titles like “Ecclesiastical Sociology” and “The Psychology of Religion” stressed scientific principles and the relationship between scientific philosophy and Mormon doctrine.

The “Modernism” Controversy

The enthusiasm of some of the teachers in presenting their ideas as coming from the “latest,” the “newest,” and the “most advanced” scientific research and philosophical discovery stirred the entire campus. Many of the teachers and most of the students were attracted by the novelty of hearing highly accredited academic newcomers proclaim concepts and theories which not only were innovative but also boldly suggested the possibility that some of the basic tenets of the past teachings of the school and the Church were either over-simplified or in error.

As might have been expected, there was a prompt reaction from various quarters, including Church headquarters in Salt Lake City. The main concern was not so much the fact that these topics were being introduced for discussion, but rather the highly partisan zeal with which personal points of view were being advocated. Ralph Chamberlin and his brother William H. had become two of the most enthusiastic exponents of organic evolution. This subject was not new on campus — it had been discussed many times, both pro and con, by such men as James E. Talmage, George Phillips, C. A. Whiting, J. E. Hickman, Edwin Hinckley, and N. L. Nelson.¹³ However, it had never been advocated at BYU with such unrestrained vigor and under such a strong presumption that it was no longer merely a theory but a demonstrated fact — to the exclusion of other alternatives.

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13. For Talmage’s views on evolution, see his 1890 address to the Utah County Teachers Association. He was in the main committed to the general principles of uniformitarian creationism. The James E. Talmage papers of BYU show that he used his 1890 paper at later periods with little or no alteration. His diary entries are more frank, but never extensive (see James E. Talmage, journal, 4 May 1884, 16 March 1884, and 21 January 1890). George Phillips wrote a short analysis of the impact of evolution, describing the theory as possessing “some modicum of truth”; “Science and Religion,” *The Normal* 2(20 December 1892):71-72. He asserted that Orson Pratt had actually anticipated Darwin by eight years. J. E. Hickman gave a talk at Brigham City on reconciling the six days of creation with science. His views are nowhere clearly explicated. Edwin S. Hinckley, who some thought was an evolutionist, claimed that “part of the theory was erroneous. It rests with someone studying in the light of the Gospel to unravel the mysteries and set people aright”; “Founders Day Exercises,” *White and Blue*, 15 October 1900.

BYU Policy of Academic Freedom

It had been the policy of both the school and the Church to permit broad considerations of virtually any subject that might be of interest to either faculty or students, but to progress from mere exegesis to vigorous advocacy was a completely different matter to the Church. Furthermore, some of the implications of these presentations ran contrary to what many considered to be established Church teachings, and carried overtones which they thought were philosophically unwholesome if not totally false. Nevertheless, a number of faculty members added their support to the views expressed by the Chamberlin brothers.

N. L. Nelson, for example, was very assertive in his views, and had been one of the first to see evolution not only as the basis of a philosophical platform, but also as a controlling metaphor in his religious essays as well.¹⁴ Besides his training at BYU, Nelson had spent a year studying philosophy and biological science at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, and his speculations became more daring in later years.¹⁵ However, Nelson's slight training in the biological sciences and his position as professor of composition tended to limit his influence.

On the other hand, Ralph and William Chamberlin had been thoroughly trained in the biological and physical sciences and saw in the principles of evolution a controlling idea around which not only purely scientific concepts but also religious and psychological systems could be structured. Their ideas corresponded closely with the most popular texts and teachings in most of the nation's schools of philosophy and social science.

During 1909, the year of the Darwin centennial celebration, Ralph Chamberlin delivered a number of speeches in which he attempted to demonstrate that evolution argued for a rational creation. He said that the doctrine of evolution "demands an ultimate cause as much as any other held as to the mode of creation and to hold it is clearly to pay a much greater tribute to the power and majesty of the Creator, for uniformity of method is an indication of strength while irregularity or discontinuity is ever a sign of weakness."¹⁶

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14. He claimed that Mormonism was "able to organize the truths of Evolution into a larger whole and supply intelligent motive, moreover, for the origin, trend and final destiny of the Universe"; Nels Lars Nelson, *Scientific Aspects of Mormonism* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907), p. 77.
 15. See Nels Lars Nelson, *What Truth Is* (Salt Lake City: Stevens and Wallis, 1947), pp. 60-68.
 16. Ralph V. Chamberlin, "Darwin Centennial Speech," 12 February 1909, Ralph V. Chamberlin papers, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Unlike James E. Talmage, who only spoke publicly of evolution in guarded generalities,¹⁷ Ralph Chamberlin often spoke out against what he considered to be general misunderstandings of the principle. He believed that the theory of evolution did more than explain the origin and development of living organisms; it also explained the origin of man's theological beliefs.¹⁸ In an article entitled "The Early Hebrew Concept of the Universe," he wrote:

For, assuredly, it is only as we perceive the constant growth, the constant evolution, in the Bible and recognize in it the progressive unfolding of the divine Will in the Hebrew race that it has its highest meaning for and can teach and stimulate us. It is the progressiveness in the Bible that gives it life; its errancy in many matters that represent merely the accepted views of the day and the people do not weaken, but properly understood, should strengthen the value which it should have for us.¹⁹

Ralph's brother William also saw more than biological mechanism in the system of uniformity. As a philosopher and theologian, he saw in nature a working, vital expression of divine personality. He considered evolution to be a basic spiritual principle by which the divinity in nature expressed itself. In his short and jubilant monograph "The Theory of Evolution as an Aid to Faith in God and Belief in the Resurrection" he articulated his religious philosophy:

If a divine purpose is immanent in nature, nature's forms must be thought of as evolving in a way parallel to the unfolding of the divine purpose. The use of the theory [of evolution] is a most important means of advancing to a realization of God's immanence in nature and life and a great remover of intellectual difficulties that hamper faith in so many.²⁰

His method, as his brother Ralph explained, was based upon the

17. When Talmage gave a speech on evolution in 1890, he read his address so that there could be "no uncertainty in my expressions. While speaking extemporaneously a person is liable to slip and say the opposite of what he means"; James E. Talmage, journal, 21 January 1890.

18. His writings and lectures on the subject are found in the following: "The Kingdom of Man," second William Reynolds Memorial Lecture, 20 January 1938; "Evolution and Theological Belief," *White and Blue*, 31 January 1911; and *The Meaning of Organic Evolution* (Provo, Utah: 1911). The latter is perhaps his definitive statement on the subject. It includes a brief history of the idea of evolution and a semi-philosophical treatise on the nature of evolution.

19. *White and Blue*, 24 December 1909.

20. *Ibid.*, 14 February 1911. See also his "Essay on Nature" for a more complete definition of his position on the immanence of God in nature as well as a statement of his own social and ethical philosophy. His master's thesis, "The Ultimate Unity for Thought in the Society of Minds," written for G. H. Howison at the University of California, proposed the physical relation between archaic and modern biological forms as one of the proofs for the unity of thought between the present and the past.

principle that “the fundamentals of religion could and must be investigated by extending the [empirical] method into the spiritual realm.”²¹ His entire philosophical system, which owed much to several modern philosophers, was called “personalism.”²²

The Chamberlins’ approach to the scriptures followed the methodology of rational exegesis which was common among Bible scholars at the time.²³ In a sacrament meeting held 25 October 1910 William Chamberlin spoke on the book of Jonah, attempting to show that the Bible contained a number of superstitions that were best understood in the light of parabolic wisdom. He said that “regarding the book as a parable does away with the need of believing the fish story — as fact. It also places beyond the reach of petty critics other stories in the book used merely for purposes of illustration.”²⁴ Perhaps it was here that the “new thought” stirred up the most criticism, because Chamberlin was treading on sensitive areas and insisted upon reinterpreting and “de-mythologizing” the Bible — which the Church, in the eighth Article of Faith, accepted as “the word of God as far as it is translated correctly.” As E. E. Erickson observed, Chamberlin had accustomed himself to treating the most sensitive issues surgeon-like, “saying that he was engaged in cutting out dead tissues . . . from the individual or community. And he must perform the operation without destroying the life of the soul.”²⁵

The Peterson brothers and other teachers²⁶ also involved themselves in discussions of sensitive issues. Joseph Peterson’s work on cognition theory, for instance, led him into discussions of will and behavior which

21. Ralph V. Chamberlin, *Life and Philosophy of William Chamberlin* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1925), p. 137.
22. Apparently significant to his thought was A. K. Rogers’s *The Parallelism of Mind and Body from the Standpoint of Metaphysics*, 1899; and especially *The Religious Conception of the World*, 1904. According to Ralph Chamberlin, G. H. Howison, *The Limits of Evolution*, was also significant.
23. They frequently followed the pattern of explaining biblical passages in the light of myth and literature rather than revelation. Ralph Chamberlin especially showed the impress of several significant nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors. Andrew White’s *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, 1896; several works of Lyman Abbott (*The Life and Literature of the Ancient Hebrews*, 1901, and *The Theology of an Evolutionist*, 1897); and some of the writings of Thomas H. Huxley (*Science and the Hebrew Tradition*, 1914) were sources which influenced his articles on the concepts of Hebrew religion. The W. H. Chamberlin library contained several twentieth-century works on Bible interpretation, such as Rudolph Otto, *Life and Ministry of Jesus According to the Historical and Critical Method*, 1908.
24. “Professor Chamberlin Talks on the Book of Jonah,” *White and Blue*, 25
25. “William H. Chamberlin, Pioneer Philosopher,” *Western Humanities Review* 8(Autumn 1954):279-80.
26. Andrew Rasmussen, Ralph Chamberlin’s biology assistant who later became a renowned biologist, referred to several “tussles” on issues with George H. Brimhall. These undoubtedly referred to evolution. John C.

occasionally treated the traditional concept of the "soul" rather indifferently if not disparagingly.²⁷

Henry Peterson apparently left no record of his doctrines before the time of the crisis, though he did write a short article in the *White and Blue* on the value of scientific exploration, in which he urged students to gain faith in the scientific method.

The Position of Church Leaders

These views of the new members of the faculty, pronounced as they were with dogmatic vigor, seemed to many Church leaders to be in conflict with the truths enumerated by direct revelation. As early as 1909 the First Presidency prefaced a statement on the subject of evolution by saying, "To tell the truth as God has revealed it, and commend it to the acceptance of those who need to conform their opinions thereto, is the sole purpose of this presentation."²⁸ In that statement the First Presidency declared that all things were first created spiritually in a form which approximates their earthly or physical form and, therefore, their earthly forms are obviously predetermined and not the product of chance or accumulated accident; second, that God has revealed that man, animals, and plants will all be resurrected in the glorified form which approximates their physical form here on earth, and, therefore, this presupposes a stratification of "kinds" or types which are not by chance or happenstance but according to a design which is perpetuated in the resurrection.

In support of these views the First Presidency quoted Joseph Smith, who had said, "God has set many signs on the earth. . . . It is a decree of the Lord that every tree, plant, and herb bearing seed should bring forth of its kind, and cannot come forth after any other law or principle."²⁹ George Q. Cannon, a counselor to four Presidents of the Church, said,

Swensen's autobiography gives a rather detailed account of his conversion to evolution at Stanford. These two professors were probably involved in the discussions.

27. A survey of his later lectures shows that Joseph Peterson's interests were more scientific than philosophical. He was accused generally of treating Joseph Smith's visions as psychological phenomena, but no direct statements to that effect have been found. His more extreme views were explained in a talk he gave in 1914 at a psychology convention in Chicago, after he left BYU ("Dr. Joseph Peterson Stirs Chicago with His Soul-less Man Talk," *Provo Post*, 3 July 1914). See an unpublished letter written by Andrew Rasmussen for the 1933 *Banyan*, Andrew Rasmussen Biographical File, BYU Archives; and "Autobiography of John Canute Swensen," unpublished typescript in BYU Archives, pp. 18-19.
28. James R. Clark, comp., *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5 Vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-71), 4:201.
29. Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), p. 198.

We hear considerable about evolution. Who is there that believes more in true evolution than the Latter-day Saints? — the evolution of man until he shall become a god; until he shall sit at the right hand of the Father; until he shall be a joint heir with Jesus! That is the Gospel of Jesus Christ, believed in by the Latter-day Saints. That is the kind of evolution we believe in; but not the evolution of man from some low type of animal life.³⁰

Campus Reaction

The BYU faculty at least outwardly seemed to side with the new professors, who were articulate spokesmen for modern ideologies and who replaced the older professors as popular lecturers before the Teachers Association and in other speaking engagements. With the campus in the main sympathetic to the new concepts, the influence of locally educated Church school superintendent Horace Hall Cummings became an important factor in the events which occurred in 1911. Cummings had moved the Church school system under the protecting wing of the Church Board of Education and had increasingly stressed the importance of orthodoxy and spirituality in the curriculum of Church schools. His own account of the “modernism” controversy suggests that he was influenced more by what he considered to be the effect of the new teachings on the lives of the youth than by a philosophical examination of the new ideas. Cummings reported that since the controversy began he had perceived a subtle change in the theological and spiritual attitudes of some BYU students. He felt that there “seemed to be a struggle still going on between the new views and their old ones, and at times, their words were full of light and at other times . . . full of darkness. The struggle that both pupil and teacher described to me as having taken place in their own hearts when the new thought was being presented to them, was very fierce, and often robbed them of appetite and sleep.”

Cummings was concerned because “as many as three stake presidents in one week have called upon me expressing alarm at the teachings that come from the B. Y. University. One of them said that when he expostulated with the principal of their stake academy for teaching false doctrine, his defense was that the B. Y. University taught the same.”³¹

Attempting to calm the situation, Cummings made a series of visits to the campus in 1910 to talk with the faculty and administration. However, he had little success in harmonizing the views of the factions that were developing.

30. “Remarks by President George Q. Cannon,” *Deseret Weekly*, 8 October 1893.

31. Horace H. Cummings to President Joseph F. Smith and members of the General Board of Education, 21 January 1911, BYU Archives.

Position of President Brimhall

At this particular juncture the position of President Brimhall was still unclear. Despite his strongly conservative stance on other occasions, he had as yet taken no announced position in the modernism controversy. Because of his own lack of exposure to the current wave of popular intellectualism in the colleges and universities around the country, this sudden contention probably caught him by surprise. Furthermore, the members of the faculty who had injected themselves into the eye of the hurricane were primarily men of his own choosing whom he had appointed on the assumption that their academic degrees were sufficient proof of their intellectual capability.

Brimhall's state of mind at this particular time is expressed in a letter which he wrote to the First Presidency during December 1910 concerning the more controversial members of the faculty:

It seems to me that the attitude of these brethren ought to be made clear to the President of the Board of Directors. I believe I understand them. While I believe they are from their point of view perfectly right, still I think they are a little over zealous in their desire to bring people to their point of view. As they look at it, their teachings are in perfect harmony with the principles of the Gospel, but there are certainly many who cannot perceive that harmony, and, therefore, it seems to me that a little waiting with their working will be in keeping with greater wisdom on their part.³²

Later in the week he was still defending to some extent the teachers who had come under fire. At a faculty meeting held 7 December 1910, "Superintendent Cummings spoke of the criticisms he had heard of the result of some of the teachings here, but was glad to learn through conversation with the [school] Presidency that the matters have been misrepresented."³³

Cummings later recorded that Brimhall began to sharply change his position when some of the students "frankly told him they had quit praying because they learned in school there was no real God to hear them."³⁴ Cummings also reported that shortly thereafter Brimhall told him of a dream in which Brimhall saw students being disarmed of their faith.³⁵ Cummings reported that Brimhall's dream as well as his contact with several obviously disillusioned students "seemed to awaken in President Brimhall a realization of what was going on in the school, and he gave me the most enthusiastic support thereafter in setting things right."³⁶

32. George H. Brimhall to Joseph F. Smith, 3 December 1910, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

33. BYU Faculty Minutes, 7 December 1910.

34. "Autobiography of Horace H. Cummings," Chapter 41, p. 6.

35. Ibid. Brimhall did not mention the dream in any of his papers.

36. Ibid., Chapter 45, p. 6.

The Superintendent Intervenes

The controversy finally reached a point where Cummings decided that he, as superintendent of Church schools, had both the right and the duty to exercise his authority in the matter. Therefore, on 21 January 1911 he submitted a lengthy report of his findings to the Church Board of Education. Some of his charges were

1. The teachers were following the "higher criticism" of Lyman Abbott, treating the Bible as "a collection of myths, folk-lore, dramas, literary productions, history and some inspiration."
2. They rejected the flood, the confusion of tongues, the miracle of the Red Sea, and the temptation of Christ as real phenomena.
3. They said John the Revelator was not translated but died in A.D. 96.
4. "The theory of evolution is treated as a demonstrated law and their applications of it to Gospel truths give rise to many curious and conflicting explanations of scripture."
5. The teachers carried philosophical ideas too far: "They believed sinners should be pitied and enlightened rather than blamed or punished," and they believed that "we should never agree. God never made two things alike. Only by taking different views of a thing can its real truth be seen."
6. The teachers said that "memory gems are immoral."
7. The professors taught that "all truths change as we change. Nothing is fixed or reliable."
8. They also taught that "visions and revelations are mental suggestions. The objective reality of the presence of the Father and the Son, in Joseph Smith's first vision, is questioned."

Cummings concluded his report by saying that the professors "seem to feel that they have a mission to protect the young from the errors of their parents." He urged that some means be found "to bring into harmony the theological teachings in our Church schools and prevent the dissemination of doubt or false doctrines." He advised the Church Board that the teachers had been warned by himself and the presidency of the school "not to press their views with such vigor"; that even if they were right, "conditions were not suitable" to impose their views on the students with such a dogmatic approach. In spite of these warnings, however, he said the teachers seemed even more "defiant in pushing their beliefs upon the students."³⁷

In a special Church Board of Education meeting on 3 February 1911, discussion once again centered on the modernism issue. Cummings named Henry and Joseph Peterson and Ralph Chamberlin as the three principal offenders, who "from an educational standpoint" were considered certainly equal, if not superior, to the rest of the

37. General Board Minutes, 3 February 1911.

faculty.³⁸ According to the minutes of the meeting, Brimhall agreed with Cummings's observations:

Brother Brimhall, the President of the institution, expressed himself to the effect that the only thing that he could see to do was to get rid of these teachers. He had patiently labored with them in the hope that they would change their attitude and abstain from thrusting their objectionable views before the classes but it seemed that they were more determined than ever to teach theology according to their own ideas and theories, instead of according to the revealed truth, and he therefore saw no alternative but to dispense with their services.³⁹

John Henry Smith made a motion that a special committee be appointed to investigate the charges, talk with the professors, and report their recommendations to the Trustees of Brigham Young University. The motion was passed by the General Board, and Francis M. Lyman, Heber J. Grant, Hyrum M. Smith, Charles W. Penrose, George F. Richards, George H. Brimhall, and Horace H. Cummings were requested to act as the committee.

Special Committee Hearing

On 11 February 1911 the committee met with Joseph Peterson, Henry Peterson, and Ralph Chamberlin in Salt Lake City to hear their side of the controversy. According to Ralph Chamberlin, the hearing came as a total surprise. "We never had the slightest intimation that we were being singled out. We didn't know when we rode up on the train and we couldn't figure out why we were being summoned. . . . We were suddenly brought into a room with six of the top dignitaries of the Church to try us."⁴⁰

All three of the professors later complained that they were given no copy of the charges and that they were not allowed a proper hearing in which to defend themselves. Henry Peterson told the committee that he "had nothing in my heart that I would not freely tell them; and so, in response to their questions I told my individual belief as freely as what I had been teaching. There was no stenographer to take it down and hence nothing to aid the memory of those to whom our thoughts were new and perhaps strange."⁴¹ Henry Peterson denied all charges of having corrupted the faith of his students, stating that on one or two occasions he had been mistakenly blamed for the teachings of another professor.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ralph V. Chamberlin, BYU Archives Oral History Collection, p. 9.

41. Henry Peterson to Joseph F. Smith, 3 April 1911, Joseph F. Smith Papers.

The allegation that the teachers did not know the charges leveled against them seems strange in view of the fact that the report of the superintendent, which was read to them, was very specific. Furthermore, they had been questioned by at least Brimhall, Keeler, and Cummings, so they undoubtedly knew in a general way why they were being called to Salt Lake City. Both Ralph Chamberlin and Henry Peterson admitted they were given the opportunity to express their views, and the report of the Board committee states that the committee listened to the statements of all three of the professors "concerning each item in the superintendent's report."

The committee decided that Cummings's complaints were "substantially correct," and they therefore recommended that the services of the three professors be terminated unless they agreed to accommodate themselves to the traditional principles and teachings of the Church.⁴² The decision became final when it was approved by the BYU Board of Trustees.

Public Reaction

When details of the hearing were given to the press, the *Salt Lake Tribune* and the Provo *Daily Herald* sided with the teachers, declaring that the committee's decision shook not only Brigham Young University but also the Church educational system,⁴³ though the Church-owned *Deseret News* viewed the controversy as a minor incident which would have no far-reaching effects on the school.⁴⁴ A large number of students at BYU signed a petition against the dismissal of the teachers and the discontinuance of the controversial classes.

Since the action of the Church Board of Education had permitted the teachers to remain only if they were willing to discontinue their advocacy of evolution and the implications growing out of it, the teachers had both a personal and a professional decision to make. All three finally decided that they could not remain at BYU unless they were allowed to continue as in the past.

Joseph Peterson resigned at the end of the term and went to the University of Utah, then Minnesota, and then to the George Peabody

42. "Special Committee Report Relative to Religious Teachings," BYU Board Minutes, 11 February 1911.

43. See the following articles in the Provo *Herald*: "BYU Professors Give Side of Controversy," 21 February 1911; "A Reader's View of the BYU Muddle," 21 February 1911; "Students of the BYU Endorse Professors," 14 March 1911; and "Plain Statement from Professor Peterson," 17 March 1911. See also the following articles in the *Salt Lake Tribune*: "BYU Faculty Is Shaken Up," 12 March 1911; "BYU Students Destroy Reply of Presidency and Make Public the Protest They Formulated," 16 March 1911; and "BYU Students Adopt Protest," 15 March 1911.

44. "The Facts in the Trouble at Provo," *Deseret News*, 17 March 1911.

College for Teachers in Tennessee. Ralph Chamberlin stayed for a time and then returned to the University of Utah. He later applied to BYU but was never seriously considered for a teaching position on the campus. Henry Peterson went to the Box Elder County Schools, and then to Utah State University. Later, W. H. Chamberlin, who had not been called before the investigating committee, left BYU by his own choice.

The most important issue from the teachers' point of view was whether or not the decision of the Board had imposed unwarranted restrictions on their academic freedom by refusing to allow them to teach something which they honestly believed. The position of the Church, on the other hand, was that the manner in which evolution was being unequivocally presented, advocated, and interpreted was destroying rather than building the confidence of the students in themselves and in their faith. Unless the subject could be treated as it had been in the past without causing these deleterious side effects, it was the decision of the Church to avoid any future contention on the subject.

There is considerable evidence that the Church leaders were as much concerned with the attitude of the Petersons and Ralph Chamberlin as they were with the impact which the teachings of these men were having on the students. There were other faculty members, such as N. L. Nelson and Ralph Chamberlin's brother W. H. Chamberlin, who discussed or expressed favorable views concerning evolution, but who were not asked to resign. The fact that attitude was a critical factor is borne out by a letter from N. L. Nelson to Brimhall written on 6 January 1912:

My understanding at the time was that [Henry Peterson] was held to account for his interpretation of the creation as not being literally seven days and of the Jonah episode as possibly being a parable rather than a historical event — and for like interpretations of the scripture. I did not dream that it was for the Spirit of his opposition that he was called to account. Had I been there, you would have had no stauncher supporter of the authority of the school or of the Church.⁴⁵

Advice from President Joseph F. Smith

As a result of the adamantness of the three discharged teachers, the President of the Church felt it would be best if all the teachers at BYU allowed the subject of evolution and its ancillary implications to be "left out of discussion." In a diplomatically worded article that appeared in the February 1911 issue of the *Juvenile Instructor*, President Joseph F. Smith, the only man who could speak for the whole Church, explained the action of the Church Board of Education:

45. Nels L. Nelson to George H. Brimhall, 6 January 1912, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

Some of our teachers are anxious to explain how much of the theory of evolution, in their judgment, is true, and what is false, but that only leaves their students in an unsettled frame of mind. They are not old enough and learned enough to discriminate, or put proper limitations upon a theory which we believe is more or less a fallacy. In reaching the conclusion that evolution would be best left out of discussion in our Church schools we are deciding a question of propriety and are not undertaking to say how much of evolution is true, or how much is false. . . . The Church itself has no philosophy about the *modus operandi* employed by the Lord in His creation of the world, and much of the talk therefore about the philosophy of Mormonism is altogether misleading. God has revealed to us a simple and effectual way of serving Him, and we should regret very much to see the simplicity of those revelations involved in all sorts of philosophical speculations. If we encouraged them it would not be long before we should have a theological scholastic aristocracy in the Church, and we should therefore not enjoy the brotherhood that now is, or should be common to rich and poor, learned and unlearned among the Saints.

President Brimhall was deeply embarrassed by the controversy. Caught between opposing factions, he at first attempted to be conciliatory. However, when it became clear what was happening to the students and what the Church leaders wanted done about it, Brimhall moved forward with firmness. As already noted, the dismissal of the teachers was decidedly unpopular with most of the students and many of the faculty. Explaining his decision to dismiss the teachers, Brimhall wrote to his friend Victor Bean, "There was a splendid chance . . . for some of us to have followed the multitude and have them throw their caps in the air for us, but I would rather be a Moses on the mount with all of Israel against me, than Aaron at the altar of the Golden calf with all of Israel dancing around and praising me."⁴⁶ To Reed Smoot, one of his most intimate associates, Brimhall described his own personal struggle to come to a decision, his regrets for being slow to act, and his loyalty to Church leaders:

Ever since the last vacation I have suffered much anxiety, and it has increased and increased until the investigation was instituted. I recognize now that a more vigorous course of action on my part might have been better, but I was lenient, and patiently hopeful that men would change gradually as they have in other cases, but the storm, instead of dying out, increased in its fury. I feel now that nothing short of a public retraction should be accepted as a guarantee that these men will preserve an attitude of being in harmony with the spirit of the school and the doctrines of the Church as preached by the living oracles. I do not believe that with

46. George H. Brimhall to Victor Bean, 27 March 1912, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

the present attitude they can be patriotic — loyally patriotic, to the Prophets of the hour in Israel.

The going of these professors will perhaps disturb the college and interfere with its immediate growth. They will have a following, but like the Church, in a short time the school will not only retrieve its losses, but out of the accident God will bring glory to the institution until it will be said, "It is a good thing it happened." There are some people who predict the death of the college if these men go. I am ready to say that if the life of the college depends upon any number of men out of harmony with the brethren who preside over the Church, then it is time for the college to die. I would rather the Maeser Memorial remain a sealed tomb containing our college hopes and ambitions until the day of a new educational resurrection than to have its doors thrown open to influences antagonistic to the heroism, inspiration and revelation of those who have made the school and who have the right to say, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." The school follows the Church, or it ought to stop.⁴⁷

Thus, for the moment, the modernism issue was laid to rest — and the school survived.

47. George H. Brimhall to Reed Smoot, 8 March 1911, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

13

The Brimhall Days

To this day alumni who attended Brigham Young University between 1904 and 1921 are often heard to say, "I attended the Y in the good old Brimhall days." This is intended as a compliment to the spirit and personality of George H. Brimhall, for he breathed into the school a special charisma which people never forgot. He was particularly known for his short, pithy talks at devotionals. Ezra Taft Benson, U.S. Secretary of Agriculture and now President of the Quorum of the Twelve, has written "No man has so inspired me with so few spoken words as has President Brimhall in his famous four-minute assembly talks."

The President was equally impressive in his full dissertations. Often when speaking to the students he was both intense and dramatic and could either inspire them or evoke tender pathos or a sense of horrific guilt, illustrated in an incident reported by J. Edward Johnson, who describes a real "scorcher" given by Brimhall after a rash of pilfering had hit the student body. Brimhall was particularly incensed over the theft of a watch from a gym locker. "None who heard him would ever forget how small, little, unbelievably diminutive he made that thief." With dramatic pauses Brimhall said that if the culprit had "even so much as a trace of conscience and character every tick of that watch would say to him, 'thief.' 'Thief, thief; thief, thief; thief, thief.'" He suggested that perhaps the guilty person might want to return the watch. The story goes that when he came into his office early the following morning, Brimhall found several watches on his desk.¹

Student Life in the "Good Old Days"

When the Training Building was completed in the days of Brimhall's acting presidency, gymnastic exercises and dancing began receiving avid student support. From then on there were lavishly decorated

1. J. Edward Johnson, "Some BYU Recollections in the Lighter Vein," BYU Archives.

student dances with everyone in his Sunday best, dancing to the music of the school band.

BYU's music — bands, orchestras, choruses, or choirs, depending on the occasion — was generally a part of athletic events, dances, and solemn ecclesiastical meetings. Music professor A. C. Lund was surrounded by a corps of associates who loved to make music an important part of the school. These included Clair Reid, Charles Johnson, Clarence Hawkins, Maebel Borg, and Robert Sauer. They not only directed bands, choruses, and choirs, but also sang arias or played instrumental solos themselves. J. Edward Johnson recollected that "we took it all for granted that this fine music in all its manifestations was an essential part of our school day diet."²

Since football was banned in 1900 by the Church Board of Education, the school focused its energies on basketball, baseball, and track. In 1905 Clayton Teetze of the University of Michigan joined the faculty as a physical education instructor. BYU's participation in intercollegiate athletics increased over the years as the student body became more interested in sports events. In general, the school fielded winning teams. Rivals visiting Provo were invariably met at the train station and accompanied to their quarters by the brass band, and were feasted lavishly after the contest, win or lose.

Brimhall encouraged public speaking, storytelling, and dramatic readings before school assemblies. Well-known speakers were invited from outside the school and a lecture bureau was established under the direction of John C. Swensen so the students could hear such popular speakers as Richard G. Moulton, Thomas McClory, and Thomas E. Green.³ Students crowded College Hall to hear John B. DeMott's sermons on development of human character and Professor Guthrie's speech on "The Social Worth of the Rogue." Mixed in among the speeches were such entertainers as Maro the Magician, the Dunbar Quartette, and the Montarile Flowers. There were also inspiring sermons by members of the faculty, quoted for years afterwards. One such speech was by Josiah Hickman on the fallacy of Robert Ingersoll's doctrine of atheism. Hickman proclaimed that the world has been led by great men of faith who made their unique contribution because of their superior capacity to believe where others denied or doubted. Said he,

Columbus believed the earth round; Stevenson believed vehicles could be drawn by means of steam; Morse believed that thought could be flashed over wire by the aid of electricity; Marconi believed thoughts could be broadcast without a tangible medium; Joseph Smith believed that God could and would reveal himself. A faith in all of these unproved realities, accompanied with action, became house-hold truths of a startled world. Faith is the har-

2. Ibid.

3. "Autobiography of John Canute Swensen," BYU Archives, p. 37.

monious struggle of all the powers of the mind towards knowing some unproved truth. . . . Without it, man becomes dead to the future and turns idolator to the present.⁴

Brimhall also encouraged students to express themselves in print. Since there were no student body officers at that time, the editorial staff of the *White and Blue* became the *de facto* student government, or at least the most articulate segment of the student body. Each class (freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors) was tightly unified, and students patriotically declared the most fastidious loyalty to them. All the classes prided themselves in the lavishness of their dances, the achievements of their athletes, and the significance of their gifts to the University. Each class elected its own officers, including a yellmaster and a standard-bearer who carried the class banner inscribed with the class motto. Banners bearing the inscriptions "Character Is Power," "Work, Watch, and Wait," and "Knowledge Is Power" were carried like battle standards into interclass contests.

The Painting of the "Y"

In 1906 the class of 1907 whitewashed their graduating year on the mountain east of campus. When the rest of the students saw '07's presumption, a massive assault force was sent scurrying up the side of the mountain. The '07s held out as long as they could, but they were finally driven from their positions, and their lime powder monument was obliterated. Individual class members were hunted down and their heads were shaved. To prevent further clashes, Brimhall consented to having Ernest Partridge and three of his students, Elmer Jacobs, Clarence Jacobs, and Harvey Fletcher, survey the letters *B*, *Y*, and *U* on the mountain. After the letters were laid out, the whole student body joined together to whitewash them. Harvey Fletcher recalled that

The students stood in a zig zag line about 8 feet apart stretching from the bottom of the hill to the site of the Y. The first man took the bag of lime, sand or rocks and carried it 8 feet and handed it to the second man. The second carried it another 8 feet and handed it to the third man and thus the bag went up the hill, each man shuttling back and forth along his 8 foot portion of the trail. All the students started with enthusiasm as they expected to be through by 10 o'clock A.M. But it was a much bigger job than anyone expected. It was 4 P.M. before the Y was covered and then by only a thin layer. So no attempt was made to cover the other two letters. It was very hard work and most of the boys had had no breakfast and no dinner. No one dared to quit as it would break up the line. In the afternoon it was more than some of them could take and they fainted and had to be helped down the hill. They were somewhat rewarded when they got back to the campus and looked

4. "The Last Part of Professor Hickman's Famous Speech on 'Ingersol,' " *White and Blue*, 27 May 1903.

at the beautiful white Y on the mountainside in just the right proportions.⁵

The Y, which is claimed to be the largest school letter in the country (465 feet tall by 168 feet at the widest point, with an area of approximately 32,847 square feet), was composed of a thin coat of lime powder, needing constant repair. Students showed their patriotism to their class and to the school by climbing the mountain each year to give the Y a fresh coat of lime. Sluggards and malingerers who refused to help with the job were rewarded with haircuts and Y's painted on their foreheads. Thus Brigham Young University established a new student tradition, bred as much from rustic rowdiness as from a self-conscious desire to outdo neighboring schools.

Strengthening the Faculty

After the dust had settled from the modernism controversy, President Brimhall set himself to the task of finding new faculty members. There was a promising young physicist studying under Robert Millikan at the University of Chicago who had done his undergraduate work at BYU — Harvey Fletcher. Fletcher had graduated at the head of his class with the first Ph.D. *summa cum laude* ever given in physics by the University of Chicago. Brimhall wrote, "If Harvey was my own son I would write him to come home."⁶ Harvey came. Brimhall also secured the services of Beatrice Camp, A. B. Christensen, and William Ward. Nevertheless, the faculty had difficulty maintaining the stature it had enjoyed a few years earlier. In 1908 there were 32 teachers of professional status at the school. In 1911 the number was 27. In 1912 the figure rose, but it fell again in subsequent years and did not again reach the peak of 1908 until 1920. During the period from 1911 to 1913, 22 faculty members out of a total of 60, or 34 percent, left the institution.⁷ The number of faculty members holding doctor's degrees or master's degrees did not come up to the 1908 level until 1915. The 25 November 1911 *White and Blue* predicted that the college would "develop in prestige and power, in quantity and quality, as never before."⁸ The immediate future, however, proved otherwise. While Brimhall himself continued to affirm the school's successful development in spite of "the prophets of Baal,"⁹ statistics showed that by 1913

5. Harvey Fletcher, "History of Harvey Fletcher," pp. 15-16. For another version of the first Y Day see George C. Laney to W. H. Snell, 10 March 1959, BYU Archives.
6. George H. Brimhall to Harvey Fletcher, 2 February 1911, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
7. Catalogs of BYU.
8. "The College: Bigger and Better Than Ever," *White and Blue*, 25 November 1911.
9. George H. Brimhall to Victor E. Bean, 27 March 1912, Brimhall Presidential Papers, BYU Archives.

BYU's academic strength, as shown by faculty education, was down.

Attracting a strong faculty depended to a considerable extent on financing. Brimhall feared that the Church Board of Education might overreact to the controversy of 1911 and withhold needed funds from the collegiate department. However, the Church education appropriations committee assigned a full \$50,000 to BYU High School for the 1911-12 academic year, and asked the President to submit a separate budget for the college. Brimhall boldly requested \$25,000, a rather ambitious figure for that time. He strongly defended the school's need for increased funds. Horace H. Cummings described the dramatic meeting in his autobiography:

For a time it seemed to me that an increase was absolutely out of the question, and it looked like the College was doomed.

But one of the Apostles near the close of a speech remarked that it was an inopportune time to close the Teacher's College, just after the trouble with those teachers. . . . As soon as he sat down another sprang to his feet and made an animated speech along the same lines, giving other reasons for continuing the school.

Others followed in quick succession, until all had expressed themselves in favor of giving all needed help to the school. All seemed to feel alike and exactly opposite from what they felt in the forenoon. A motion was made and carried unanimously to recommend the increase.

"What will the President say when we make our report?" asked one of the Apostles of Pres. Lyman, the chairman. "Why, he will feel just as happy as we do about it," he replied, patting his breast with his hand to indicate how happy he felt within.¹⁰

The appropriation of \$25,000 did much to revitalize the morale of both the faculty and administration.

Fixed Enrollment

In February 1912 Joseph F. Smith notified George Brimhall that "the maximum number of students you will be allowed to enroll has been placed at 1,300 for the high school and 250 for the college, and the maximum number of paid teachers at 60 for the high school and 15 for the college."¹¹ The \$75,000 joint appropriations of 1911 — which had been conditioned upon no further increase for five years — soon proved insufficient, and BYU was faced with increasingly heavy financial burdens. By 1911 expenses had grown to \$97,200 and by 1913 the total expenditures of the school were in excess of \$120,900. The local Board was finding itself increasingly unable to cope with the mounting dimensions of its annual deficits.

10. "Autobiography of Horace H. Cummings," typescript copy in BYU Archives, chapter 42, pp. 2-3.

11. Joseph F. Smith to George H. Brimhall, 7 February 1912, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

Crowding in the Sheep

The Maeser Memorial Building, though small by modern standards, was a prestigious facility in 1911. Elaborately planned, but not with utmost regard for maximum utility, the 19,335 square feet of the building provided the college student body little more than ten classrooms and an auditorium large enough to seat only 400 people. It was planned as the administrative center of the new campus to be built on Temple Hill. Ware and Traganza, the Maeser Memorial architects, also devised a master plan for the rest of the University campus, including the site of a temple.

In 1912 the school published plans to build an elaborate \$300,000 central building to house the college, including a library of 50,000 volumes, described as the largest in the state. Besides the library, this facility was to house faculty offices and the departments of art and archaeology. The basement was to contain "cloak rooms provided with metal lockers for six hundred students and furnished in tile or marble; unpacking rooms; editorial rooms; a mailing and document room; a telephone room for the private University exchange of fifty or sixty instruments; a post office; a bookstore; and possibly a classroom or two."¹² The structure was to match the Maeser Building, which was made of sandstone. Financial difficulties, however, made it impossible to carry out these plans and the school had to resort to other means of providing adequate facilities.

The result was that college students had to be crowded in with those taking lower division work on lower campus. With the exception of the upper floor college gymnasium, the Training School Building was completely filled with grammar school students. The Art Building (Missionary Preparatory Building) also housed some elementary classes, since the grammar school had become too large for the Training School Building. The seventh and eighth grades were housed on the main floor of the Art Building. The basement of the Academy Building accommodated the school's woodwork shop, the science laboratory facilities, and offices of many of the science teachers. Rooms which needed special plumbing or fixtures had to be remodeled. College classes were squeezed in wherever space permitted.

Library space was enlarged by expansion within the Academy Building. Several rooms, including the student study hall (room D), were added to the library. When through the efforts of Alice Reynolds and dedicated students the school acquired Judge Whitecotton's fine liberal arts library, it was placed reverently in a special room on the north end of the Academy Building.¹³

The Ladies' Gymnasium, started in 1912 and completed in 1913,

12. "University Plans Big Central Building," *Provo Post*, 13 July 1912.

13. "Whitecotton Library," *White and Blue*, 1 March 1916. The Provo judge sold his library to the school for half its actual value.

supplemented the recreational facilities of the school. Designed as a dance hall as well as a gymnasium, the new facility housed numerous school social activities and was also used as a classroom.

Stranded on the Rocks of Distress — the Church Takes Over

While the years 1914 through 1916 continued to bring changes in the faculty and administration at Brigham Young University, these changes were overshadowed by the serious financial difficulties of the school. The Maeser Memorial, for which the alumni association had gone deeply into debt, was a heavy liability. In order to pay off deficits and rapidly growing interest, the Board of Trustees decided to buy and sell land with the hopes of making some profit. This program of speculation, which was probably initiated by Jesse Knight's endowments of land and irrigation property, was unsuccessful and ultimately added to the school's deficits.

In April 1914 Brimhall informed Reed Smoot that the school was in "arrears financially" and that "a trimming must take place. . . . Last year we gave notice to the Board that in order to carry on the school as we have carried it on would mean a deficit of \$6,500.00. The Board said, 'carry on,' as we had means in sight in the sale of land, but you know what a 'slump' there has been in real estate and we have been left stranded." He hoped wistfully "that some tidal wave of universal prosperity" would lift the school "off the rock of distress into fair sailing again."¹⁴

In 1914 the school purchased for investment and resale ten acres of land on Temple Hill called the "Keeler-Brimhall and Draper tracts" or the "Manavu townsite."¹⁵ The student body assisted in purchasing the land, but the venture moved too slowly to bring much relief to the school.¹⁶ Brimhall wrote firmly to Smoot, "I could stand to lose my own home, go out and live in a tent better than I could stand to see the youth of Israel . . . meet when they come here closed doors or a poor bill of fare. It cannot be! Surely, the school is an institution of destiny."¹⁷

The financial situation became so acute that there were unofficial reports that the school was to be closed and moved to Salt Lake City to be consolidated with LDSU.¹⁸ Whether the report was true or not, the

14. George H. Brimhall to Reed Smoot, 30 April 1914, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

15. BYU Archives, UA 146, 6 May 1914. *See also* BYU Faculty Minutes, 2 March 1917.

16. In March 1917 the Alumni Association reported that \$1,450 of the total had been paid; BYU Faculty Minutes, 9 March 1917. *See also* BYU Faculty Minutes, 28 January 1914; and "The 1914 Annex 1," *White and Blue*, 4 February 1914.

17. George H. Brimhall to Reed Smoot, 15 May 1914, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

18. "'Uncle Jesse' Knight's Gift," *Provo Herald*, 24 September 1914: "There has been talk of consolidating this school with the LDSU and concentrat-

situation was grave: the school owed more than \$185,000. At a Board of Trustees meeting held on 15 June 1914 the administration was ordered to liquidate the school's assets by reducing the selling price of its acreage from \$250 to \$180 per acre.¹⁹ During the summer of 1914 the most stringent restrictions were placed upon the budget of the school in order to prevent further deficits.

Aware of the financial trouble of the school, Jesse Knight attempted to help. In October 1914 he gave BYU an endowment of irrigation stock having a par value of \$100,000.²⁰ Though his endowment was a great morale booster, the question of reducing it to cash assets was another matter. Indeed, the market value of the stock was only \$20,000 at most, and the stock was hard to sell.

At the school's request Jesse Knight bought back his own stock for \$20,000, and with the help of President Joseph F. Smith the school finally negotiated a consolidation of debts by obtaining a low interest loan from the Church-owned Utah-Idaho Sugar Company. With this loan the school paid off \$127,000 of debts. Brimhall hoped to pay off the loan and the five percent annual interest by liquidating BYU's real estate at a reasonable price.

However, this did not prove feasible and by July 1918 indebtedness had grown to \$113,500. It finally became apparent that it was unrealistic for the school to continue borrowing to survive. At this juncture the First Presidency of the Church made the following proposition:

If you will convey to Joseph F. Smith, as Trustee-in-Trust for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, all of the real estate, water rights and contracts for the sale of the lands . . . the total value of which amounts to \$57,666.33, according to your own estimate, the Trustee-in-Trust will assume the obligation in full, crediting the University with \$57,666.33 as the value of the property and treating the remainder as a special appropriation to the school.²¹

The Brigham Young University Board of Trustees gladly accepted the offer. The school had struggled under its debts long enough. The Church was BYU's last resort and, though the BYU Board of Trustees

ing both in Salt Lake City. . . . The theory is advanced that if both schools were operated under one head there would be a greater saving of money to the Church." See also "A Great University," *Provo Herald*, 15 October 1914. There is no mention of the rumored move in the Church Board of Education Minutes, the BYU Board of Education Minutes, or Brimhall's papers.

19. "Resolution of the Board," 15 June 1914, UA 147, BYU Archives. See also E. H. Holt to Peter Beck, 12 June 1914, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

20. "Uncle Jesse Knight Presents Our School with Endowment," *White and Blue*, 12 October 1914. See also "A Gift of Nearly \$250,000 for BYU," *Provo Herald*, 24 September 1914.

21. First Presidency to BYU Board of Trustees, 3 July 1918. See also BYU Board Minutes, 30 May 1919.

surrendered the school's financial independence, the Church's assumption of BYU's debts created a closer alliance between the Church and the school than had ever existed before.

Curriculum During Brimhall's Later Years

There is no doubt that the modernism controversy of 1911 somewhat disoriented the educational objectives of the school for the balance of the Brimhall administration. The aggressiveness of the collegiate program was blunted, and much of the school's confidence in philosophy and letters gave way to a cautious and pragmatic approach: teacher training was enthroned as the major function of the academic program. Although of the twelve education courses listed in the catalog for the 1915-16 academic year only six were actually taught, those six classes accounted for over 490 separate student registrations, including high school, normal, college, and special students. Total combined enrollment for the agriculture, language, biology, chemistry, economics-sociology, history, English, geology, mathematics, physics, and philosophy-psychology departments did not far exceed the enrollment of the education classes. Thirty-three students graduated with bachelor's degrees in 1915. Of this number twelve received degrees in education; the history and language departments awarded three degrees each; the physics, home economics, chemistry, mathematics, English, and agronomy departments awarded two degrees each; and the sociology, commerce, and psychology departments each gave one bachelor's degree.

Making academic courses ancillary to the education department may have accounted for some teacher resignations during this period, but most BYU faculty members supported Brimhall's vision of BYU as an institution for the development of teachers. By 1915 the BYU faculty included 56 full-time teachers. Though the faculty was not significantly larger than it had been in 1904, the level of faculty academic training throughout the institution rose steadily after the 1911 slump. Most faculty members taught lower division classes along with their college courses. Of those teaching at the end of 1914 only Amos Merrill, E. D. Partridge, Alfred Osmond, W. H. Chamberlin, Alice Reynolds, and Christen Jensen were scheduled to teach college classes exclusively. The rest of the collegiate faculty also taught high school or training school classes. The normal and training school work received top priority. Brimhall congratulated Eugene Roberts for having "well chosen the lines of your investigation and study." Roberts seemed to clearly understand that "we have here a training school for teachers and that par excellence in that line will give us a very much better standing as an educational institution than mediocre work in a variety of lines."²² George Thomas, representative of the Utah State Board of

22. George H. Brimhall to Eugene L. Roberts, 28 September 1916, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

Education who later became president of the University of Utah, assured the State Board that the work done by the Church university was at least equal to state requirements. "The scholarship of the faculty compared with similar institutions is reasonably good. The chief criticism I have against it is that there is too much inbreeding."²³

In the period from 1914 to 1916 a number of faculty members left the University.²⁴ James L. Barker became principal of Weber Academy in Ogden in 1914. Edwin S. Hinckley became superintendent of the State Industrial School in the same city, while Harvey Fletcher accepted a position with Bell Laboratories in New York City. William Chamberlin left to continue his "studies in the East." Earl J. Glade left for Salt Lake City where he launched KSL Radio and eventually became mayor. Christen Jensen left to attend the University of Chicago, though he remained very close to Brimhall.

In July 1916, while Brimhall was on vacation, Anthon Lund announced he had been asked to be director of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. J. B. Keeler and Amos Merrill appealed to President Smith. They were "very sure that if President Brimhall were here he would very much desire to put before you the needs of the Brigham Young University in the department of Music. It has taken the institution years to build up this branch of school work, and the success that has attended our efforts with Professor Lund's wonderful talents will make it almost impossible for us to keep up the standard if he severs his connection with us."²⁵ But the letter was to no avail. When he was notified of Lund's change, Brimhall wrote Lund that "Your leaving the school will weaken it more than the taking away any *other one of us*."²⁶ Though Brimhall's pleas had been successful on earlier occasions, Lund accepted the call to be director of the Tabernacle Choir. About the time of Lund's departure, the school almost lost coach Eugene L. Roberts to the Deseret Gymnasium. Once again Brimhall's counselors wrote President Smith.²⁷ This time their appeal was successful, and Professor Roberts remained at BYU.

Brimhall moved swiftly to replace the faculty members who left the University. He chose Amos Merrill to be his second counselor. W. E. Morgan (history and government), L. H. Peterson (psychology and education), C. W. Whittaker (foreign languages), Sherwin Maeser

23. George Thomas to State Board of Education, 10 June 1915, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

24. George H. Brimhall to Presiding Bishopric Office, 28 September 1916, box 24, folder 6, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

25. Amos Merrill and Joseph Keeler to President Joseph F. Smith and counselors, 28 July 1916, box 24, folder 3, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

26. George H. Brimhall to Anthony Lund, undated, attached to a telegram dated 28 July 1916, box 24, folder 5, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

27. Amos Merrill and Joseph Keeler to Joseph F. Smith, 29 July 1916, box 24, folder 5, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

(mathematics and chemistry), and C. W. Reid (music) joined the faculty directly from graduate school. Most of the new faculty members had attended BYU at some time in their educational career.

Several new instructors were hired to bolster the growing Business Department,²⁸ such as Edgar M. Jensen, a graduate of BYU, who joined the Correlated Arts Department.

World War I

When war was declared in April 1917, Brigham Young University enthusiastically entered the national movement to mobilize forces. In Brimhall's words, the school was anxious to make "its Americanism and democracy vigorously manifest."²⁹ While young men were petitioning the administration to let school out early so that they could join the Army, the president was holding a number of patriotic assemblies, encouraging students to affirm their allegiance to the United States and to support the war effort. Robert Sauer, a German immigrant, declared to the students that "a man cannot serve two countries."³⁰ Amidst thunderous applause, he pledged his support for the American war effort. Excitement was universal. Brimhall authorized a special patriotic assembly featuring General Richard W. Young as the speaker for June commencement. And in October 1917, 65 Utah County lads marched off with honor to the railroad station where they embarked for basic training in preparation for combat duty in France.³¹

The BYU Student Army Training Corps

Even before war was declared, Brimhall wrote to President Joseph F. Smith, "National patriotism is at a high ebb in the institution." He said, "There is a demand here in the school for military training, and unless we supply that demand, a number of our boys will undoubtedly leave school to get this training." Brimhall proposed a military course on the Brigham Young campus in conjunction with the physical education classes, "thus making the preparation for military service an appendage to our physical education department."³² President Smith approved the suggestion and authorized the University to establish a branch of the Student Army Training Corps on the campus "without expense to the school."³³ Application was made to Washington in the

28. They included Thatcher Jones, University of New York; Harold Dunn, BYU; Kiefer Sauls, BYU; Olga Wunderly, BYU; and Myrtle Hone, BYU.

29. "BYU and Its Relation to the Great World War," BYU Archives, p. 1.

30. "Professor Sauer Makes Statement," *White and Blue*, 10 October 1917.

31. "Royal Send-off for Liberty Boys," *White and Blue*.

32. George H. Brimhall to Joseph F. Smith, 2 April 1917, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

33. First Presidency to BYU Presidency, 4 April 1917, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

summer of 1918 and almost immediately granted, with the help of Reed Smoot.³⁴

1 October 1918 was agreed upon as the official date for opening the BYU Training Center. In August 1918 the University sent three faculty members to the Presidio in San Francisco to qualify as military instructors. At the same time BYU began an intensive recruitment program among college and high school students on behalf of the Church school system's only official Student Army Training Corps.³⁵ The program promised to be a significant factor in the development of BYU's enrollment and curriculum. E. H. Holt wrote in August, two months before the program officially started, "The establishment of the training corps has aroused more interest in the University than anything that has happened in years."³⁶

Soldiers were paid the standard enlistment pay of \$30 per month while attending school, and they were allowed from one to three 12-week terms on campus at government expense, depending upon their ability, age, and the requirements of the service.³⁷ In September Brimhall reported to Major Moore at Stanford University that "since being designated a unit of the SATC we have received over five-hundred sixty applications from young men to be admitted."³⁸

It appeared from early reports that the manpower shortage at BYU was to be largely offset by the influx of recruits to join the Army program. However, the actual number of inductees was only 141. Ernest L. Wilkinson, future president of BYU, was among them. He had volunteered for service at an enlistment headquarters in Ogden, but received no encouragement because of his size — only 114 pounds. He accordingly came to BYU where, after training awhile without induction, he was finally accepted.

Classwork for the Army course was very broad. Candidates were divided into two groups, A and B, depending upon their level of education. The A work was vocational and the B work, for students of more education, was technical.³⁹ Because of the lack of facilities, the school had difficulty getting the SATC vocational work started, but the technical training program fit well with regular college courses.⁴⁰ The *White and Blue* listed 25 courses which would fill the requirements of

34. Reed Smoot to George H. Brimhall, 15 August 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers. *See also* BYU Faculty Minutes, 19 August 1918.

35. BYU Faculty Minutes, 16 September 1918.

36. E. H. Holt to Alfred Osmond, 29 August 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

37. *See* George H. Brimhall to James F. Shirley, 31 August 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

38. George H. Brimhall to Major Moore, 17 September 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

39. George H. Brimhall to James F. Shirley, 31 August 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

40. George H. Brimhall to Major Moore, 17 September 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

the Army program.⁴¹ The military training program, which included 20 hours of special tactical work per week, emphasized physical fitness and physical education in addition to regular Army coursework.

The Brimhall Building

College classes, however, did not draw the enrollment that school administrators had hoped for, since most of the SATC cadets participated in the vocational program. In order to insure continued interest in BYU's SATC program, the Board of Trustees appealed to the Church Board of Education for the construction of a new Mechanic Arts Building. The local Board maintained that "unless we announce at once that improvements along these lines will be made, but few of the young men will choose to take their military training with us; but with these improvements we would be able to maintain our relative position." After a lengthy discussion of the matter, President Lund, Counselor to President Smith, assured the committee that the Church favored the military program. However, he cautioned the General Board to "find out just what kind of new building will be needed for the purpose, what its approximate cost would be and whether the Government could not be prevailed upon to advance most, if not all, of the necessary means."⁴² Brimhall apparently made application to the government through Senator Reed Smoot for financial help, but the Church ultimately supplied the total cost of the new building, appropriating \$43,000 for its construction.⁴³

The Mechanic Arts Building — now known as the Brimhall Building — was the first real academic facility added to the campus in many years. It was, according to the *White and Blue*, "a milestone" in the University's history.⁴⁴ Though it was small and hastily constructed, the Mechanic Arts Building was at least a sign that the Church Board favored BYU's decision to improve its vocational training program. The *White and Blue* editorialized,

This event in our school development is in keeping with the inspiration of the founder, President Brigham Young, who specifically stated in the deed of trust when the school was established

41. These were English, French, German, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geology, geography, topography and map-making, astronomy, hygiene, sanitation, descriptive geometry, mechanical and freehand drawing, surveying, economics, accounting, history, international law, government, and psychology; "Courses of Study: Regional Director Tells the Soldiers What to Do," *White and Blue*, 1 October 1918.
42. General Board Minutes, 28 August 1918.
43. When built in 1918 the new building was called the Mechanic Arts Building. It retained the name until 1935 when, under the administration of Franklin S. Harris, two floors were added and it was rededicated and renamed the Brimhall Building; First Presidency to George H. Brimhall, 16 September 1918. See also General Board Minutes, 16 October 1918.
44. "New Mechanic Arts Building," *White and Blue*, 16 October 1918.

that along with theology and the regular branches of study some branch of mechanism should be provided for the young men who enroll in the school.⁴⁵

To the local Board of Trustees the building represented another step towards an autonomous college campus on Temple Hill. It also raised the sights of the alumni association, which in November 1918 maintained that “now is the time to make a special effort to provide buildings to accommodate the college students on this site — Temple Hill — and not require them to go back and forth to and from the high school plant.” Brimhall saw the new building as the beginning of a series of developments in the Church school system that would see the rise of separate colleges at BYU. No doubt it was just such an aspiration which caused him to write to Carl Eyring at Bell Laboratories imploring him to return to Provo:

You have been trained for church school work, and the parent institution needs you. It cannot be without you what it can be with you, as I see it. While we may not expect for some time to have a school in professional engineering, we can give the very best pre-professional courses in mechanical, civil, and electrical engineering, and there is no doubt in my mind that in your day the school will have a number more.⁴⁶

The Flu Epidemic

The influenza epidemic forced Brigham Young University to close from 15 October 1918 to 1 January 1919, leaving the campus in relative isolation. American doctors did not know how to treat the Asiatic influenza virus that caused the epidemic of 1918 since antibiotics had not yet been developed. More Americans died from the flu than were killed on the battlefields of Europe. In Utah County alone hundreds died and many families were entirely wiped out. Although it also hit the two companies of soldiers in the BYU Student Army Training Corps, not one man died.

The shutdown of the school stopped all academic work, but the military training continued into November. Orders for demobilization were received shortly after the Armistice with Germany was signed on 11 November 1918. The SATC camp was completely closed down on December 23 after less than three months of operation.

Impact of Postwar Development on Church Education

The pressures of the postwar period necessitated serious adjustments in the Church school system. H. H. Cummings's Annual Report

45. Executive Committee, presidency and faculty of BYU to Joseph F. Smith, 21 September 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers; *see also White and Blue* 1 October 1918.

46. George H. Brimhall to Carl F. Eyring, November 1918, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

for 1917-1918 mentions the threat of large amounts of federal aid being poured into the state schools: "Huge sums of money have already been asked for and liberal amounts have already been given. . . . It looks like our schools will not be able to compete successfully with such conditions without much greater appropriations are given them."⁴⁷ At the same time, the Church Board had decided to begin converting the stronger stake academies into normal schools to intensify the training of Mormon teachers for Utah high schools. The Church's seminary program, which had begun in 1911, was becoming more and more influential in the Mormon communities dominated by strong tax-supported state schools. This method of teaching religious principles to Mormon youth enrolled in public schools expanded so rapidly that George H. Brimhall was instructed in 1919 to devote a substantial portion of his time to this work. A faculty executive committee was appointed to run the day-to-day administration of BYU during the remaining two years of Brimhall's tenure.

Closing Years of the Brimhall Period

The transition period which marked the closing years of the Brimhall administration was marked by a certain amount of distraction and frustration. The diversion of Brimhall's energies to the development of the seminary program and his inability because of the economic exigencies of the time to obtain desperately needed physical facilities had a significant impact on the administration of BYU. When Brimhall left the University in 1921, the Mechanic Arts Building and the Maeser Memorial Building were still the only permanent structures on the upper campus.

There was also the problem of the teaching staff. Although Brimhall had succeeded in attracting a number of fine academicians to the campus after the modernism controversy, many of them left after a short tenure, mostly for financial reasons. In fact, the school was continually forced to compromise its academic progress because of economic pressures.

Toward the last the student body also reflected the disruptive post-war frustrations of this period and relatively few students actually stayed on long enough to graduate. In 1921, the last year of the Brimhall administration, only twelve students received diplomas—among them Ernest L. Wilkinson, future BYU president.

In spite of all the discouragements, however, the closing Brimhall years made progress in a number of areas. Martin Henderson, a top biologist who became famous for his moral lectures and his research on the Word of Wisdom, joined the faculty in 1914. Noted physicist Carl Eyring continued to bring prestige to the school as he enthusiastically moved the BYU scientific program forward. Eugene Roberts continued to muster and develop fine athletic teams, especially in track

47. General Board Minutes, 27 November 1918.

and field. He coached two champion high jumpers: Alma Richards, an Olympic champion, and Clinton Larson, who broke all of Richards's records.⁴⁸ There was also steady but unpublicized progress in other areas.

An Appraisal of Brimhall

George H. Brimhall was a strong and compelling personality with wide versatility in talent and achievement. In terms of his time and culture he must be credited with high marks for his devotion to Brigham Young University, the Church, and the state. While rearing 14 children, presiding over the Church University, and serving on the Church Board of Education, the General Board of the YMMIA, and the Church Board of Examiners, he still found time to write, teach, preach, and counsel. He not only guided the University through some of its most difficult times, but also guided students in choosing the paths they would follow through life.

Intellectually, it would probably be both fair and accurate to say that Brimhall enjoyed spending his time in conversation and interpersonal relations more than he did in meditation and contemplative study. This trait definitely worked to the advantage of the school as it permitted him to cultivate literally thousands of friends and supporters who rallied around him in times of genuine need. His ability as a conversationalist, orator, and organizer appealed to the public. He liked students, and there was much of the missionary in him as he promulgated the principles he believed to be an essential part of happy living.

Brimhall had a capacity for hard work and his loyal commitment to the educational ideals of the Church gave credibility both to himself and the school. He enjoyed the confidence of the presiding authorities of the Church, served in many ecclesiastical capacities and for more than two decades wrote Church manuals for young people. From his official appointment in 1903 until his retirement as president in 1921, he guided the school through 18 years of extremely difficult circumstances, both philosophical and financial.⁴⁹ Although he made advancements toward academic goals, he vigorously concentrated on

48. Gregory "Life and Contributions of E. L. Roberts," pp. 52-59.

49. Although he served as president from 1904 to 1921, a 17-year period, the last three years the school was actually run by a committee, for which he cannot be held solely responsible. Of the remaining fourteen years he ran over his budget at least 50 percent of the time (1904, 1909, 1910, 1913, 1914, 1915, and 1917). The evidence shows, however, that although he was repeatedly admonished to keep within his extremely frugal budget, he seems to have sometimes exceeded it with the implied or express acquiescence of his Executive Committee. That was one way to enlarge the budget. Faced with the choice of depriving certain students of certain educational and spiritual advantages or exceeding his budget, he chose the latter.

spiritual objectives, focusing the University's efforts toward the challenge of molding students into faithful Latter-day Saints.

During Brimhall's last years as President of BYU the scholastic reputation of the school declined. Brimhall sometimes had difficulty recruiting and guiding a faculty which had more advanced formal training than himself. The prestige of BYU as the Church center for teacher training suffered somewhat after a number of the stake academies were converted into normal schools in their effort to survive. At the same time, BYU's emphasis on teacher training detracted from its status as a full-fledged college, and Utah's genuine university training (outside of teacher training) was provided on the whole by the various state institutions of higher learning.

However, the difficulties of the last years of his administration do not detract from George Brimhall's overall accomplishments as BYU President. His was an era of experimentation as BYU tried to define its scholastic role and discover its academic destiny. During his administration the school produced some of its most noted graduates, such as Franklin Stewart Harris, who succeeded him as President of BYU; Vern O. Knudsen, who became chancellor of the University of California at Los Angeles; Henry Aldous Dixon, who became president both of Weber College and Utah State Agricultural College and was later Congressman from Utah; A. Ray Olpin, who became president of the University of Utah; Robert H. Hinckley, who became chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Authority; G. Oscar Russell, who was the noted chairman of the Phonetics Laboratory at Ohio State University; the Hon. David J. Wilson, who became a federal judge in New York City; Harvey Fletcher, who became one of the leading scientists at Bell Laboratories and who, after retirement there, returned to BYU as Dean of the College of Physical and Engineering Sciences; Nathaniel Baldwin, noted radio and television inventor; Earl J. Glade, founder of KSL radio and television stations and mayor of Salt Lake City; a host of college professors who were prominent on the faculties of a number of universities; and many others. Considering all the circumstances of this transitional period, Brimhall was remarkably successful, especially in his role as a guide and counselor to the youth of the Church.

After his retirement from BYU in 1921 he became President Emeritus and worked closely with the new administration. Brimhall's spiritual steadiness complemented the intellectual surge of his successor, Franklin S. Harris, and despite chronic ill health Brimhall lived to the age of 80.

At the time of Brimhall's complete retirement in 1932, scores of individuals paid tribute to him. No less than five leaders who were then or soon would become members of the Council of the Twelve paid him high compliments. George Albert Smith, a former BYU student who later became President of the LDS Church, said, "The life of Dr.

George H. Brimhall was as a radiant star in the firmament of education. Endowed with unusual mentality yet humble as a child he devoted his life to inspiring faith in God.”

Justice George Sutherland of the United States Supreme Court, a student with Brimhall in the early days of the BYA, called Brimhall “a staunch friend — a wise counselor — a good citizen — a teacher who never ceased to be a student.”

Men who became heads of large institutions of learning joined in his praise: Vern O. Knudson, who later became chancellor of the University of California at Los Angeles, acknowledged, “The sayings and teachings of George H. Brimhall have been among the most vital and lasting things I have acquired in life.”

A. Ray Olpin, who later became president of the University of Utah, noted that Brimhall was “possessed of a stern demeanor, and bluntly frank in expressing his aims and convictions, [but] was endowed with the most sympathetic understanding and greatest power of appreciation of any man I have ever met.” J. L. Haddock of Massachusetts State College described him as “A father to the discouraged, a teacher to the ambitious, a philosopher to the wise and a friend to all.” BYU professor William J. Snow said that “President Brimhall well exemplified Christ’s saying, ‘He that loseth his life shall find it.’ ”

Andrew Jenson, assistant LDS Church Historian, summarized his estimate of George Brimhall as follows:

His leisure hours find him haunting canyons and streams with his boys and other members of his family who delight in manly outdoor sports. He is endowed with rich spiritual and rich intellectual endowments, whose gifts have been supported by a life of strenuous work. Whatever his limitations may be he never fails to scintillate. Brilliancy is in the essence of all his power. His style, whether in oral or written discourse, is full of originality, and presents many surprises in analysis, thought, and sentence structure. He possesses a personality that has impressed itself upon thousands of students; a personality that has attracted the attention of many persons from both east and west because of its force and originality; a personality that compels and commands, and rarely fails to grip those with whom he comes in contact.⁵⁰

So it was with respect and devotion from faculty and students that the career of George H. Brimhall as President and President Emeritus of Brigham Young University came to an end.

50. Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 Vols. (Salt Lake City: The Andrew Jenson History Company, 1931-36), 3:327.

14

Franklin Stewart Harris: The Right Man at the Right Time

The years immediately following World War I were difficult ones in America, and residents of the cloistered mountain valleys of Utah found them no easier. The dislocation of the economy after its acceleration during the war resulted in the collapse of farm prices, a sharp cutback in wages, and a rapid increase in unemployment. Across the nation there were crippling strikes, foreclosures on farms, bankruptcies in business, bombings by radicals, and political agitation for many kinds of reform. The Volstead (Prohibition) Act was passed and national women's voting rights were guaranteed by constitutional amendment.¹

It was also a period of transition for the Church. On 19 November 1918, eight days after the armistice was signed, Church President Joseph F. Smith died. Heber J. Grant became the new President with Anthon H. Lund and Charles W. Penrose as counselors. Owing to the prevalence of influenza and the ban on large assemblies, the General Conference of the Church ordinarily held in April had to be postponed until June 1920, at which time the new Presidency was sustained.

Almost immediately Heber J. Grant relieved the First Presidency of the detailed operation of many phases of Church activity by appointing carefully selected leaders to undertake these labors. One of the most important agencies created at this time was a new Commission on Education to take over the administration of the Church schools.

David O. McKay Heads the New Commission

The new commissioner of education, David O. McKay, was appointed on 3 April 1919. He selected as his counselors two other Apostles who were highly respected in educational circles: Stephen L Richards and Richard R. Lyman. By 16 July 1919 they had agreed upon a new superintendent of Church schools: Adam S. Bennion, who

1. Women had been given the right to vote in Utah in 1896 when statehood was granted.

had graduated from the University of Utah in 1908. Bennion received his master's degree at Columbia University in 1912 and pursued further graduate work at the University of Chicago. Following his appointment as superintendent of Church schools, Bennion was awarded a doctor's degree by the University of California. Adam S. Bennion was a professional educator, having been an instructor in English at the LDS High School and principal of the Granite High School for four years. At the time of his appointment as superintendent he was an assistant professor of English at the University of Utah and was widely known in the state as one of the most dynamic and popular speakers in the Church.

The strong professional leadership of the three commissioners and Adam S. Bennion augured well for the Church school system. All of the commissioners were as thoroughly versed in educational philosophy as the new superintendent. David O. McKay graduated in 1897 from the University of Utah, where he was valedictorian and president of the senior class. His field was English literature, which he taught until he was appointed principal of Weber Academy. During his years as principal he became so well known throughout the Church — primarily because of his teaching outlines prepared for the Weber Stake Sunday Schools — that the Church put him in charge of the Deseret Sunday School Union. He was ordained an Apostle in 1906 at the age of 32. In 1920 he was assigned by President Grant to make the first worldwide inspection of LDS missions, which involved a journey by land and sea of over 56,000 miles.

Stephen L Richards, selected by McKay as his first counselor on the Commission, graduated from the University of Utah and then taught school in Cache County. He later studied law at the University of Michigan and the University of Chicago, from which he graduated in 1904. Dean James Parker Hall of the latter institution acclaimed him as the best student of that school during Hall's deanship of 25 years.

Richards returned to Utah where he practiced law and became a member of the law faculty at the University of Utah. Richards was very active in civic and business affairs. By 1917 he was being groomed to be governor of the State of Utah, but declined to run when he was called to the Council of the Twelve Apostles at the age of 37.

Richard R. Lyman, second counselor on the Commission, was educated in the Utah public schools and then attended Brigham Young Academy, where he was class president and business manager of the school paper. He later received his bachelor's degree in civil engineering from the University of Michigan in 1895, his master's at Cornell University in 1903, and his Ph.D. from Cornell in 1905. Lyman became a professor of civil engineering at the University of Utah and was largely responsible for establishing its school of engineering. In 1918 he was ordained an Apostle at the age of 47.

The New Commission at Work

Administrators of the various stake schools immediately deluged the new Commission with urgent requests for additional teaching staff, new buildings, and increased budgets. The Commission took a hard look at the realities of the situation and immediately recognized that the postwar depression was threatening the existence of the entire Church school system. The commissioners therefore boldly recommended that the following stake academies be eliminated or converted to other Church uses:

Emery Academy
Murdock Academy
St. John's Academy
Cassia Academy
Millard Academy
Uintah Academy
Gila Academy
Snowflake Academy
Fielding Academy
and possibly Oneida Academy

The Commission further recommended that "there should be one institution in the system at which a complete college course leading to a degree is offered and we recommend that this be the BYU at Provo. For this school, all the other normal colleges should be feeders."² It was apparent that the new administration of Church schools was sympathetic to the continuing role of Brigham Young University and intended to make it the hub of the system. This was further demonstrated in August 1920 when the Commission granted a request from BYU for the organization of a school of education and a school of arts and sciences, and gave the school authority to award the bachelor of science as well as the bachelor of arts degree.³

Searching for a New BYU President

In March 1920 the Commission recommended to the Church leaders that Dr. Milton L. Bennion be appointed President of the Brigham Young University. Since 1912 Bennion had been dean of the school of education and director of the Summer School at the University of Utah.⁴ His work at the University of Utah was so effective, in fact, that there was some question about interrupting it. University President

2. Church Commission of Education to Heber J. Grant and members of the General Church Board of Education, 3 March 1920, 2727R, LDS Church Historical Department.
3. Minutes of the Church Commission of Education, 3 August 1920, LDS Church Historical Department; hereafter cited as Church Commission Minutes.
4. General Board Minutes, 8 March 1920.

John A. Widtsoe did not make any definite statement as to whether he would feel all right about letting Bennion leave the University except to say that if the brethren thought Bennion could be of more service elsewhere he would not stand in the way. But in spite of a general feeling that Milton Bennion was the ideal man for the new position, the Church leaders postponed their decision and considered further possibilities.

When David O. McKay left on his world tour of Church missions the search for a BYU President was continued by Stephen L Richards, Richard R. Lyman, and Adam S. Bennion. By 12 April 1921 they recommended that George Brimhall should be retired as active head of BYU and become President Emeritus at a salary of \$3,000 per year. Then Stephen L Richards as spokesman for the Commission recommended "that Dr. Frank Harris of the Agricultural College be tendered the position at a salary of \$4,500.00 a year, with an allowance of \$500.00, if necessary, for moving to Provo."⁵

Another person who attended this meeting is not mentioned in the minutes — Thomas N. Taylor, chairman of the Executive Committee of the BYU Board of Trustees and president of Utah Stake. In his unpublished memoirs he wrote,

In selecting a President of the School (Pres. George H. Brimhall having been released) among a list of names presented at a meeting of the Church Board of Education which I was asked to attend, I said, "Dr. F. S. Harris is the man." Some thought he would not leave the A. C. [Agricultural College] at Logan where he had [a] fine job in a scientific line that he had prepared himself for. I said, "I know his Father and Mother and if he is called to go to the BYU he will go, but be kind to him by way of salary." I was asked who would be my second choice. I said, "I have none. You want but one President and should Frank Harris die if I can be of any service to you in selecting a new President, I will happy to come up again and meet with you."

As Brother Taylor left the meeting Richard R. Lyman followed him out and asked: "What manner of man are you to have no second choice?" Taylor responded, "The school wants but one President, and Frank Harris is that man."⁶

Franklin S. Harris Receives an Offer

Once the General Church Board of Education had approved Franklin S. Harris as the prospective BYU president, he was called for an interview with President Heber J. Grant, Anthony W. Ivins, and Stephen L Richards. The invitation which they extended to him appar-

5. Ibid., 12 April 1921.

6. Thomas Nicholls Taylor, unpublished memoirs, in possession of his daughter Delena Taylor Taylor; Xerox of original handwritten copy in BYU Centennial History research files, BYU Archives.

ently caught Dr. Harris by surprise and he was unable to make an immediate decision on the matter. He spent the entire week consulting with Church and educational leaders throughout the state. Finally, after he had discussed the matter sufficiently to reach a firm decision, he accepted the offer on 22 April 1921.

In Provo, Ernest L. Wilkinson, at the time a student reporter for the *White and Blue*, picked up a rumor that Dr. Harris was to be the new president. He tried to verify the rumor through President Brimhall's office but could learn nothing. The audacious young man then called Harris stating that he had heard "on good authority" — newspaper jargon for rumor — that Dr. Harris had been appointed President of BYU. Harris confirmed that this was true and invited the young reporter to meet him at the Hotel Utah in Salt Lake City the following day for an interview.

It turned out that young Wilkinson had scooped the entire professional press corps. An interesting development during the interview in Salt Lake City was later related by Wilkinson:

When I came into the lobby of Hotel Utah to meet him the next day, I was rather embarrassed by running directly into President Brimhall, with whom, as editor of the student newspaper, I was not always on the friendliest of terms. President Brimhall immediately relieved my embarrassment by chivalrously introducing me to Dr. Franklin S. Harris, a young man of thirty-six. . . . I was later informed that President Brimhall had wanted either Dr. John A. Widtsoe or Dr. Franklin S. Harris to succeed him. Dr. Widtsoe in the meantime had been appointed to the Quorum of the Twelve. So both he and President Brimhall had recommended the appointment of President Harris.⁷

The names of the new members of the BYU Board of Trustees had been announced only two weeks before at the General Conference: Heber J. Grant, Susa Young Gates, Reed Smoot, Stephen L. Chipman, Lafayette Holbrook, Joseph R. Murdock, Joseph Fielding Smith, Joseph Reece, Zina Young Card, Willard Young, Thomas N. Taylor, and J. William Knight. On 26 April 1921 the Board convened and elected the following officers: Heber J. Grant, President; Thomas N. Taylor, vice-president; and Edward H. Holt, secretary and treasurer. Thomas N. Taylor, J. William Knight, and Stephen L. Chipman were named members of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee was all from Utah County, but the fact that Heber J. Grant was to serve as President of the Board shows the close relationship that was developing between the school and the General Authorities as a permanent policy of the school's administration.

At this same meeting President George H. Brimhall was honorably released as President of BYU. His President Emeritus status would

7. From an address by Ernest L. Wilkinson at memorial services for President Franklin Stewart Harris, 23 May 1960, BYU Archives.

take effect 1 July 1921. President Grant remarked on the close of the Brimhall administration:

I feel in my heart that from the time Brother Brimhall took charge of this school the spirituality in it — the spirit that should characterize our church school system, namely, that which is necessary in the making of Latter-day Saints — has existed in the school as perfectly as it is given to mortal man to make it.⁸

Apparently there had been considerable urging in educational circles to have President Brimhall replaced by someone with more formal training and educational credentials, which may have been the basis for President Grant's statement:

It has been one of the saddest tasks of the General Board's life, so to speak, at least since I became a member, to feel that in this day of educational progress there was any necessity to make a change in the Brigham Young University. So far as I am concerned, having practically no education at all, I am not as capable of understanding these necessities as some other men who have had opportunities in an educational way.⁹

The Board then went on to approve the motion of Susa Young Gates that Franklin S. Harris be appointed the new President of Brigham Young University upon George H. Brimhall's release. President Heber J. Grant warmly endorsed the selection of Franklin S. Harris, saying, "We want this school to be all that it is possible to be, to be worthy of its founder, and to be worthy of the Church. We feel that we have got a man to preside over it who owes a part of his success in life to the teachings and the spirit of this school . . . and we feel that we have the right man in the right place."¹⁰

Franklin S. Harris, the Right Man in the Right Place

President Harris began his new responsibility with energy and foresight. He agreed to work closely with the Church Commission on Education, though he insisted on the right to work directly with the local Board of Trustees, the General Church Board of Education, and even the First Presidency if he felt circumstances warranted it. This anticipated the possibility of future disagreements which might require the adjudication of serious problems by the top authorities of the Church. Harris also asked for the immediate initiation of six policies and procedures at BYU even though his appointment would not take effect until July 1.

1. That he be permitted to interview each faculty member and

8. Minutes of a meeting of the Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, 26 April 1921, in the office of the secretary of the Board of Trustees; hereafter cited as BYU Board Minutes.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

evaluate his qualifications for reemployment the following year, such evaluation to be reported to the Executive Committee and Commission on Church Schools for their approval.

2. That sabbatical leaves be granted to three of the faculty members on the basis of their present salaries: James L. Brown, Amos N. Merrill, and William J. Snow.
3. That a policy of encouraging endowments for the support of the University be vigorously initiated.
4. That George H. Brimhall be employed as professor of theology.
5. That the BYU Women's Organization (wives of faculty and staff) be allowed to take courses of instruction at the University free of charge.
6. That three new departments be developed at BYU: a Department of Social Leadership and Education in Religion, an Extension Division, and a Research Division.

The first five were immediately approved, while it was decided that the sixth should receive further study. It was therefore referred to the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees and the Church Commission on Education. Those attending this particular meeting were impressed with Harris's capabilities and promptly raised his salary from \$4,500 to \$6,000 per year — before he had even begun work.

Franklin Stewart Harris: Scientist, Educator, Humanitarian

Franklin Stewart Harris was born on 24 August 1884 in the small farming community of Benjamin, a few miles southwest of Provo, Utah. In a biographical sketch, his mother said of him,

One of his chief characteristics in his boyhood, his young manhood, and which has remained with him all along through life, and I suppose the one upon which his success has depended, was his desire to study his problems out without help. He wanted to study away where no one would make a suggestion. He was always a student. He learned to read by studying out the letters on signs and advertisements. He was orderly and industrious and had a fine understanding of the value of time even in his youth.¹¹

Another biographer, Oxford University-trained Karl Young, wrote,

A biography of Franklin Stewart Harris might be written under a variety of headings. A life could be written of F. S. Harris the Humanist, or of Harris the World Citizen, or of Harris the Educator, or of Harris the Man of Religion, or of Harris the Big Brother to All His Fellows. But Franklin Harris's greatest work in life was in education. He was born into a family of educators. His father and his mother had both been teachers before they married and were both teachers after their marriage. His father left a post

11. Eunice Stewart Harris, biographical sketch of Franklin Stewart Harris, BYU Archives, p. 1.

as superintendent of schools in the Nebo District of Utah County to teach, first at Colonia Diaz, and then at Juarez Academy in Chihuahua [Mexico].

Karl Young summarized Harris's academic career:

Franklin's own career as a teacher began in 1904, when, as a twenty-year-old, after one year of college at Brigham Young University, he taught science at Juarez Academy. Then, on returning to Provo, he served as an assistant [in agricultural chemistry] to Dr. John A. Widtsoe until he received his bachelor's degree [from BYU] in 1907. Dr. Widtsoe encouraged him to go on working for a Ph.D., and, after a year as assistant chemist at Utah Agricultural Experiment Station, he enrolled at Cornell University. He took his bride, Estella Spilsbury, with him to Ithaca where they lived on Spartan fare for three years while he earned his doctorate. During this period at Cornell, he served as assistant and as instructor with such distinction as to earn for himself a professorship in Agronomy at Utah State Agricultural College in 1911.

He stayed in Logan for ten years, as Director of the School of Agricultural Engineering from 1912 until 1916, and then as Director of the Experiment Station until 1921.¹²

In 1920 Dr. Harris was president of the American Society of Agronomy, and at the time of his appointment as President of BYU he was secretary of the experiment station section of the American Association of Land Grant Colleges.

An extremely versatile author, he wrote four books: in 1915 *The Principles of Agronomy* (with George Stewart), a widely used textbook; *The Young Man and His Vocation*, 1916; *The Sugar Beet in America*, 1918; and *Soil Alkali*, 1920. He also authored 15 bulletins at the Agricultural Experiment Station and published an additional 20 bulletins, not to mention numerous technical papers in scientific journals and many articles in farm journals. President Anthony W. Ivins, second counselor in the First Presidency and president of the board of trustees of Utah State Agricultural College at Logan, regretted to have Harris leave the Logan school because he thought Harris was "the logical man to succeed Prest. Peterson." However, "the fact that we needed your services at the BYU influenced me to decide that it would be better for you to go to your present post." In 1923 President Ivins was "still of the opinion that you made no mistake."¹³

Characterizing the breadth of Harris's vision and his educational philosophy, his secretary, Kiefer Sauls, said,

12. Karl E. Young, biographical sketch of Franklin S. Harris in "Memorial services for President Franklin Stewart Harris," 23 May 1960, pp. 7-8, BYU Archives.

13. Anthony W. Ivins to Franklin S. Harris, 16 June 1923, box 5, folder I, Harris Presidential Papers.

He found at BYU a faculty that had some misgivings about the future of the institution, but this young president brought to the school a new vision and enthusiasm which was contagious. He immediately charted an ambitious course for the destiny of BYU as he envisioned it and set sail. I once heard a faculty member philosophize about a young man with grandiose plans; it was thought the young man's sail was too big for his rudder. President Harris' sail was big, but the rudder proved adequate.

Dr. Harris believed in a well-rounded education. He had one. He had a better working knowledge in more fields of learning than any person of my acquaintance. Though his major field of study was science, he loved the classics in literature, art, and music and knew of the accomplishments through the centuries of the great artists in these areas. He realized the tendency of many students to neglect the arts.¹⁴

It was significant that for the first time in its 45-year history Brigham Young University was to have a president with a doctor of philosophy degree.

The Great Church University

Dynamic Frank Harris lost no time in tackling the challenges of his new position. As his mother said, time was of the essence to him. Sixty-three days before his appointment was to take effect he visited BYU with the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees to address the faculty and student body. He said,

The President of the Church, Commission of Education, and all who have anything to do with the Church schools are determined to make this the great Church University. No limits are set. When someone tells you that all the institution will do will be to prepare teachers, tell them they don't know what they are talking about. There is nothing greater than to be a teacher, but the school will have to prepare leaders in other directions just as well. We are expected to render service and our people are destined to lead the world in all things good. We want to make this institution the greatest on earth, as it is now in many respects. It doesn't take a big plant to be great. We want more buildings, more equipment and a greater faculty; but first of all we want to establish pre-eminent scholarship and leadership. All Mormondom cannot be educated here, but I hope to see the time when two of a city and two of a county will come here to become leaders.¹⁵

That same day Harris submitted a plan of organization for the University to the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees. The Executive Committee approved the establishment of the Extension

14. Keifer Sauls, "Tribute to Franklin Stewart Harris," 23 May 1960, p. 45, BYU Archives.

15. "Dr. Harris, President-Elect, Visits School," *White and Blue*, 4 May 1921.

and Research Division “to coordinate with the School of Arts and Science and the School of Education.”¹⁶

In May and June Harris intensified his efforts to establish Brigham Young University as the great Church university with “pre-eminent scholarship and leadership.” First, he involved prominent LDS scholars, including Dr. John A. Widtsoe, former president of both the Utah State Agricultural College and the University of Utah. Widtsoe referred him to the writings of Roger W. Babson, president of Babson Statistical Organization, who admonished that

We must teach in the schools a simple religion of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and the scientific basis for overcoming evil with good. For teaching this the best characters should be employed, irrespective of church or creed, men and women whom the entire community love and respect. Moreover, not until persons of such character are in demand and are paid highly for their services, will such teaching be respected. This has been the history of art, music and literature.¹⁷

President Harris also corresponded with Harvey Fletcher, a fellow student in Dr. Widtsoe’s chemistry class at BYU. It is said that they each tried to outdo the other in giving the professor a rough time the first day of class. Harris and Fletcher both received their bachelor’s degree in science from Brigham Young University in 1907, and by 1921 Fletcher had become an eminent physicist and inventor with Western Electric Company in New York. It was natural that President Harris should reach out to his former classmate in formulating plans for “the great Church University.”

In response to Harris’s request, Dr. Fletcher wrote him a long letter during the summer of 1921 to offer suggestions for the improvement of BYU. Fletcher believed that “the aim of the school should be to make the students loyal to the Church, and instill into their very being duty to God and their fellow men.” He continued,

The quality of the educational work which is done should be second to none. Then it will not be necessary to do so much *positive* advertising. The name Church Teachers College should be eliminated. It has served its purpose and has no further usefulness. There is a peculiar antipathy toward the name teacher for many young men and women. . . . In the college of arts and sciences the courses in such fundamental subjects as English, History, Sociology, Economics, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and Biology, should be made equal to any given in any college. In the college of applied arts and sciences the courses should be shaped as pre-

16. Minutes of meeting of the Executive Committee of the Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, 28 April 1921, UA 148, BYU Archives; hereafter cited as BYU Executive Committee Minutes.

17. Roger W. Babson, *The Future of the Churches: Historic and Economic Facts* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1921), p. 106.

paratory for the professions such as engineering, agriculture, medicine, etc. . . . In my judgment such courses would attract a large class of students who are now going elsewhere to school. It would add only a few to the faculty necessary for the college of arts and sciences.

I think the commercial department should be raised to the dignity of a college of commerce where business administration, banking, and accounting can be taught from the college point of view.

The normal school should give the standard four years' course with two years' high school entrance requirements. A majority of those who take this work will be young women who cannot spend more than six years in training after leaving the grades. The turnover in the profession of grade teachers is so great that we are hardly justified in requiring more formal preparation. . . .

Within the next one or two years I would like to see the school organized somewhat along the following lines:

Brigham Young University

A. College of Arts and Sciences

B. College of Applied Arts and Sciences

C. College of Commerce

D. Normal School

E. Secondary Training School

F. Elementary Training School

A high school diploma or equivalent should be required for entrance into A, B, or C, and two years high school work required for entrance into D. The normal time to complete the work in any of the four branches should be four years. The enrollment in E & F should be limited to a definite number.

With this arrangement I think more teachers would be turned into secondary and elementary schools of Utah who had a BYU training than at present.¹⁸

Publicizing the Plan

On 25 May 1921 President Harris was ready to unveil the first stage of his plan for the great Church University. In an article published in the *White and Blue* of 25 May 1921, Harris said,

Here we have a university unfettered by limitations in teaching the truth wherever it be found. There are no restrictions limiting instruction in the revealed word of God, which after all is our most direct source of truth.

The future of the Brigham Young University is bound up essentially with service to the Church, which in reality means service to humanity. Its chief function is to train for leadership —

18. Harvey Fletcher to Franklin S. Harris, box 1, folder F, BYU Archives. While this letter from Fletcher to Harris carries no date, it was certainly written sometime in the early summer of 1921.

leadership in the Church itself, leadership in social affairs, leadership in business, leadership in art, leadership in citizenship, in fact leadership in all that will contribute to the betterment of the world and the happiness of its people.

If this is to be done, we must have an institution that is second to none in the world. It does not need to be large, but its standards must be high. We do not need a large faculty, but it must be made up of men and women of unquestioned integrity and loyalty to all that is good. They must have the best scholarship that can be found in the world, and they must be so thoroughly interested in the service they are rendering that it will become almost a passion with them. A place on the faculty of the Brigham Young University must be made the highest intellectual honor that can be reached by scholars of the Church.

In this same article Harris pointed out that the heart of a great educational institution is a well-stocked library and that the influence of BYU must be expanded beyond the campus with an Extension Division. Harris also mentioned his proposal of a Research Division to foster the investigations of new truth with focus on “problems that are of interest to the Church.” He closed by emphasizing that the University must grow in substance rather than speed and thereby produce an oak rather than a mushroom.

Recruiting New Faculty Members

A new College of Commerce and Business Administration was established on 25 May 1921, and President Harris recruited Harrison Val Hoyt, a 36-year-old Harvard graduate with a master’s degree in business administration, to head the new college. Hoyt had been an efficiency engineer and consultant for New York manufacturers, and at the time of his appointment to the faculty of BYU he was general manager of the McDonald Candy Company. Harris also brought to BYU Dr. Thomas L. Martin, a 1912 BYU graduate with a doctor’s degree from Cornell University, to head the Agriculture Department. President Harris hired Lowry Nelson as head of the newly organized Extension Division. Nelson was a 1916 graduate in agronomy from Utah State Agricultural College. He later served as secretary to the president of that institution and as a member of the USAC Extension Division. At the time of his appointment at Brigham Young University he was editor of *Utah Farmer*, an extension-oriented publication of the Utah Farm Bureau.

In recruiting other outstanding Latter-day Saint scholars from universities around the country, President Harris wrote enthusiastically of the future prospects of BYU. The following telegram dated 20 May 1921 was addressed to Professor Kimball Young, assistant professor of psychology at the University of Oregon:

Church Authorities have decided to make Brigham Young University the big Church university. We are reorganizing entire institution along modern lines with emphasis on high scholarship. Plans for next year provide for a College of Education, College of Arts and Sciences and probably a College of Commerce and Business Administration. Am seeking a faculty of high grade men. When do you get your doctors degree? Would you be interested in the Chair of Psychology at a salary of thirty-two hundred?¹⁹

Professor Young's response reflected a backlash from the modernism controversy of the decade before. In academic circles it was apparent that the Church policy of allowing discussion on a broad spectrum while restricting advocacy when it ran counter to Church doctrine or divine revelation had been interpreted as an intrusion on academic freedom. Professor Kimball Young was concerned about this aspect of BYU policy as well as the teaching load. Harris's reply assured Professor Young that the teaching load was going to be reduced and then stated, "I stand for academic freedom without any attempt to avoid issues. We have nothing to fear from the truth. Of course, it is not always wisdom to shake a red flag in the face of a charging bull. I assume that men of our faculty will have due discretion in this matter but we must stand squarely for the truth as nearly as it can be found out."²⁰ Despite these reassurances Professor Young decided not to accept the position.

Lectures for Credit by General Authorities

Because a number of the General Authorities had excelled in the academic world, President Harris requested permission to utilize their services and give University credit to those attending their lectures. On 3 June 1921 President Grant told President Harris that he was "at perfect liberty to approach any members of the Council of Twelve in regard to proposed lectureships, and that any agreement entered into between you and them will receive our hearty approval."²¹ As a result John A. Widtsoe gave a series of lectures on "The Making of Science," Dr. James E. Talmage presented a series on "Revelation and Prophecy," Dr. Richard R. Lyman discussed "Community Building," Stephen L Richards presented a series on "Social and Industrial Problems," and Dr. Adam S. Bennion spoke on "Comparative Religions." According to the *White and Blue* of 5 August 1921, this series was to run for the full 1921-22 academic year.

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19. Telegram from Franklin S. Harris to Kimball Young, 20 May 1921, box 3, folder XYZ, Harris Presidential Papers.
 20. Franklin S. Harris to Kimball Young, 23 May 1921, box 3, folder XYZ, Harris Presidential Papers.
 21. Heber J. Grant to Franklin S. Harris, 9 June 1921, box 1, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.

The Inauguration of Franklin S. Harris

By the time of his formal inauguration on 17 October 1921, President Harris was prepared to enunciate his aspirations and goals for the University. His inaugural address in the Provo Tabernacle stressed the following points:

1. "Brigham Young University aims to maintain standards equal to those of any college in the land. It is not so much interested in building a big institution as in building a good one."
2. "The first task of the future is to preserve at this institution this spirit that comes to us from the past — the true spirit of the Brigham Young University."
3. He said the training of "women for the duties of a home" is "equal in importance to any training that we can give to men."
4. He proposed that in the near future BYU would have a College of Fine Arts "which should be worthy to take its place among the finest colleges of its kind in the world."
5. He stressed the need to prepare students for their vocations: "Men attend college not only for the cultural values of its courses, but they expect also to learn something of the occupation which they have selected as a means of earning a livelihood."
6. He said BYU must "maintain departments of the highest possible standard in the various branches of science."
7. He also said it was the duty of BYU to "prepare linguists in order that the message it has for mankind may be carried throughout the world to every people. It must give special attention to English in order that writers and speakers of great power may be developed."
8. He emphasized that BYU has "a special duty to be a teacher of things spiritual. Most of the modern universities concern themselves but little with this branch of learning, but we must make of this institution a great center of religious thought and we must have in our library the leading writing on religious subjects from all parts of the world."

Because the school's classrooms were already "filled almost to the point of bursting," President Harris called for an extensive building program in fireproof buildings including experimental laboratories, a well-equipped gymnasium, a well-stocked library, and adequate student housing under the supervision of the University. He emphasized that it was not sufficient to depend exclusively on Church resources for these developments — BYU urgently needed endowments from those who were interested in having their youth educated with the spiritual influences that BYU represented.²²

Thus was launched the 24-year administration of Franklin Stewart

22. "President Delivers Inaugural Address," *Y News*, 17 October 1921. The *Y News* replaced *White and Blue* as the school newspaper in the fall of 1921.

Harris, who served as the administrator of BYU longer than any other President.

Looking beyond the Mountains

In 1921 BYU was still essentially an intermountain denominational college. Although the Academy granted degrees as early as 1897, established a four-year program in 1900, changed its name from Academy to University in 1903, awarded bachelor of arts degrees beginning in 1906 and master's degrees beginning in 1916, by 1921 it still had a college enrollment of only 438 students. Since the University was not yet accredited, its graduates were not automatically recognized at other universities, and often were only able to gain admission to graduate schools by personal merit after completing preparatory courses.

President Harris felt that it was time for BYU to look beyond the mountains. It became his ambition to extend the influence of the University outside the valleys of the Rockies and at the same time bring the outside world into the Mormon commonwealth. The First Presidency of the Church shared Harris's aspiration to greatly increase the influence of the Church and its University. President Heber J. Grant accepted an invitation to speak to the Knife and Fork Club of Kansas City, Missouri, where he pointed out that only four states had a higher literacy rate than Utah. He also pointed out that the high level of public education had been achieved in Utah "without receiving one single, solitary dollar from the sale of public lands from the United States." Because President Grant desired to have some of the foremost educators of the country come and see for themselves he initiated an unusual program of inviting prominent American educators to address the April General Conference of the Church in 1921 and 1922. These speakers included Professor Thomas Nixon Carver, political economist from Harvard University; Walter Ernest Clark, president of the University of Nevada; Professor Perry G. Holden, of Iowa State College; and Charles A. Lory, president of Colorado Agriculture College. Professor Holden had heard reports from those who had visited Utah earlier and said,

One of the things that impressed so much those eastern people, as they came here last year, was when you open your meetings with a prayer, and ask that the people might have open hearts and willing souls to gather from what the speaker may say something to take home; and then they closed with prayer that we shall take home some of these things and put them into our lives and into our practices. I hope you will never give up those little customs, because they are wonderful.²³

23. Perry G. Holden in *Conference Report of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, April 1921, p. 151; hereafter cited as *Conference Report*.

President Grant's counselor, Anthony W. Ivins, commented on the new cultural climate into which the Church seemed to be moving:

After separating ourselves from the world, the world has come to us, bringing with it much that is good, much which is bad. One thing this changed condition has taught us: We are an integral part of the great world, and whether we desire it or not, we must be influenced, to a greater or less extent, by its environment with which we are surrounded.²⁴

All of the non-Mormon speakers invited to address the Conference of the Church had emphasized the need for the Latter-day Saints to stress spirituality in connection with their education. This was precisely the major contribution which President Harris and the leaders of the Church hoped to achieve. It was gratifying to them to see the perception and encouragement manifested by these notable visitors from outside of Utah.

The New Extension Division

On 28 April 1921 President Harris was authorized to set up an Extension Division. He employed Lowry Nelson to direct it. After two months Nelson had accumulated a vast array of information from the leading extension divisions of other institutions, including the University of Chicago and the University of Wisconsin. He also surveyed the BYU faculty to determine which classes could be set up as part of the Extension Division curriculum. Eventually four departments were developed:

1. *The Bureau of Social Services*, organized to assist community leaders, church officers, and teachers in more effectively performing their work.
2. *The Bureau of Publications*, organized to "issue from time to time bulletins, circulars and periodicals containing information for people interested in various lines of work."
3. *The Bureau of Correspondence Study*, organized to "offer many courses appearing in University curriculum for home study."
4. *The Bureau of Lectures and Entertainments*, organized to "supply appropriate lectures for MIA or ward Lyceum courses."²⁵

Lowry Nelson turned out to be a dynamic and aggressive promoter of the new program. After approximately two months, "8500 people have been addressed, entertained, or have witnessed demonstrations by representatives of the various departments of the institution."²⁶

First BYU Leadership Week

One day President Harris, Lowry Nelson, and Kiefer B. Sauls, sec-

24. Anthony W. Ivins in *Conference Report*, April 1922, p. 41.

25. *Lehi, Utah, Sun*, 23 June 1921.

26. Lowry Nelson to Franklin S. Harris, 13 October 1921.

retary to the president, were walking home for lunch when President Harris suddenly said, "Let us organize a special program for a week in late January, to which we can invite leaders of the Church in the surrounding area." This became known as Leadership Week.²⁷ President Harris admitted he was adapting a program at the Agriculture College, where he had participated in setting up what was known as "Farmers' Round-Up Week."²⁸ The whole idea was enthusiastically received by both the BYU faculty and the Church leaders. Harris conceived of the leadership program as "the forerunner of a great movement to put the Church and University in touch with each other."²⁹ To achieve this goal members of the First Presidency and other General Authorities were invited to speak on religious topics. Consequently the leadership program from 23 to 28 January 1922 was a tremendous success, with over 3,000 people participating in 18 different departments. Handling a crowd of such proportions was remarkable, considering that College Hall, the largest auditorium on campus, seated only 800 persons.³⁰

As the years went by faculty members taught in place of Church authorities, who only spoke at devotional exercises. With this shift in instructors, Leadership Weeks began to focus more on academic subjects in which the various BYU professors were the most proficient, although the spiritual aspect was still preserved.

Part of the success of BYU Leadership Week programs was due to the efforts of KSL Radio, founded in 1925 by former BYU instructor Earl J. Glade. In 1926 BYU paid \$10 for two hours of time on the telephone line from Provo to Salt Lake so that an address by President Grant at a devotional assembly could be broadcast. President Harris was so impressed with the success of this program that he appointed Lowry Nelson, Harrison R. Merrill, and Carl Eyring to work as an Extension Division committee "for the building up of a proper radio program . . . that will be favorable for the institution."³¹

The popular and enthusiastic response of the public to the efforts of the Extension Division encouraged BYU administrators to develop more effective correspondence courses, promote a broader variety of Lyceum programs, upgrade the campus lecture series, and expand the annual BYU Leadership Week. As Lowry Nelson explained, Leader-

27. Lowry Nelson, "Eighty: One Man's Way There," copy of unpublished typescript in Lowry Nelson biographical File, BYU Archives, pp. 57-58.

28. Franklin S. Harris to J. M. Christensen, 19 January 1922, box 1, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.

29. "Pre-eminence of Leadership Week Expressed in Sentiments," *Y News*, 25 January 1922.

30. Franklin S. Harris to D. E. Harris, 2 February 1922, box 2, folder H, Harris Presidential Papers. Subsequently, seating in College Hall was cut back to 600 to provide a large stage for theatrical performances.

31. Franklin S. Harris to Lowry Nelson, H. R. Merrill, and Carl Eyring, 26 March 1925, box 12, Folder N, Harris Presidential Papers.

ship Week remained a major feature of Extension Division work and "No other undertaking of the University at that time did so much to create goodwill throughout the Mormon Country as did Leadership Week."³²

Faculty Contributions to Church Literature

The Authorities of the Church repeatedly called upon the expertise and professional competence of the BYU faculty to furnish articles for Church magazines and class manuals. In 1922, for example, the BYU faculty provided 15 percent of all the materials published in the *Improvement Era*, the official LDS Church magazine.

President George H. Brimhall wrote a course of study on "Sources of Joy and Factors of Happiness" for the Advanced Senior classes of the MIA. At the conclusion of his lessons, which covered a wide range of subjects, he asked: "When does knowledge become scientific? In what four ways is eugenics expected to add to the happiness of human life? Why should vivisection not be legislated against? What scientific discovery in the field of medicine has done most for man's mastery of the microbe?" Other leading contributors to Church magazines at that time included President Franklin S. Harris, Dr. Lowry Nelson, Dr. Thomas L. Martin, Dr. Harrison Val Hoyt, Dr. L. John Nuttall, Jr., Rex Johnson, John C. Swensen, Newburn I Butt, and Dr. Carl F. Eyring.

The Extension Division built further goodwill for BYU by sponsoring the Rocky Mountain Drama Festival, the Heber J. Grant Oratorical contest, and an Intermountain Commercial contest for high school students.

David O. McKay replaced by John A. Widtsoe

On 26 January 1922 David O. McKay was released as LDS commissioner of education so he could devote more time to the foreign missions. He was replaced by Dr. John A. Widtsoe, who had been president of Utah State Agriculture College and of the University of Utah. Because Widtsoe had always been a friend of BYU, President Harris knew that as BYU expanded he would have the enthusiastic support of the new commissioner.

The Heber J. Grant Library

At this point Harris proposed a building program to extend over the next few years: a library first, then a "thoroughly modern science building," and after that a gymnasium, a women's building, and a general classroom building.³³

32. Lowry Nelson, "Eighty," p. 60.

33. Franklin S. Harris, "A Program for Brigham Young University," 12 November 1925, box 61, miscellaneous papers, Harris Presidential Papers, pp. 3-4.

He felt that the desperately needed library would be the heart of the great university he hoped to build. At the moment the school's library, consisting of approximately 19,000 volumes, was being housed in Room D of the Academy Building on lower campus. While the Commission on Church Schools and the General Authorities were considering his proposals, Harris launched a successful drive for additional books, increasing the total to 35,000. It was not until 6 August 1924 that the channels were finally cleared for the construction of a \$25,000 library on the upper campus near the Maeser Building. Joseph Nelson of Provo was hired as the architect, and the building was named the Heber J. Grant Library. President Harris and the architect left almost immediately for a tour of university and public libraries in order to incorporate in the new BYU facility the best of their features.

The ground-breaking for the 23,133-square-foot building was held on Founder's Day 1924, and it was dedicated on Founder's Day 1925 by Hyrum G. Smith, Patriarch of the LDS Church. The building was a two-story structure made of glazed granite brick. President Harris intended that this building should be merely the first unit of a much larger library to accommodate the growing student body of the future BYU, which is why the building was not provided with an entrance on the north side.

Ill Winds Threaten

During the first five years of the Harris Administration there arose a certain amount of concern about the cost of operating Church schools. While all agreed that the Church had every reason to be involved in religious education, there was a serious debate over whether or not the Church, because of the postwar depression and its limited resources, could afford to continue to offer the secular training which was being provided by state institutions. The problem was serious enough that between 1921 and 1924 the Church closed twelve of its academies. Nevertheless the Church formulated "a policy to establish junior colleges at convenient places throughout the Church and make them strong and efficient leadership centers with the primary motive of developing teachers for elementary schools, others for senior college work and others for efficient service for the communities in which they settle."³⁴ Because BYU was the official Church teachers college, Franklin S. Harris worked closely with the presidents of the new LDS junior colleges to help them administer their new teacher training program.

By 1925 financial pressures had become so acute that Adam S. Bennion, superintendent of Church schools, was instructed to reassess the needs of the entire educational system. As far as BYU was con-

34. R. P. Findlay, "Snow College, Its Founding and Development, 1888-1932," master's thesis (Utah State Agricultural College, 1952), pp. 118-19.

cerned, President Harris informed Superintendent Bennion that the school needed an improved faculty, more adequate scientific equipment, and more books in the library. He pointed out that the current budget of \$200,000 would no longer be adequate and that the operating revenue for BYU would have to be increased at a rate of \$16,000 per year so that during the next six years the budget would reach at least \$300,000 annually. Although Harris's estimate was conservative, the budget for BYU remained at \$200,000 for six more years.

The members of the Board and all those working closely with President Harris knew how discouraging these circumstances must have appeared to him. One member of the Board, Zina Young Card, daughter of Brigham Young, sent this warm note of encouragement to President Harris:

Your scholastic needs loom up before me and I see that it will be the labor of years to carry out your master mind's ideas. From my standpoint, you have done marvelous already, especially in the qualifying of former teachers in the broader fields of Science, English, Music, and books for our wonderful library. . . . God grant the way to open up and some tightwads will feel to impart of their surplus for the benefit of our rising generations. . . . Let us pray that the "Annual Maintenance" will be \$300,000.00 this coming year. Six years is too long to wait. We need it now, and don't be afraid to say so.³⁵

A Third Reassessment of Church School Policies

By 1926 financial pressures had increased so much that for the third time in three years the General Church Board of Education called for a complete review of possible solutions for the critical Church school problem. Not only BYU required additional financial support, but also Brigham Young College at Logan and Ricks College in Rexburg, Idaho. In fact, Ricks College was anxious to obtain permission to expand into a four-year college.

At this point Church school officials gave careful scrutiny to the per capita cost of providing religious education for LDS youths, and discovered that the approximately 9,000 seminary students were receiving religious education at a little more than one-eighth the per capita cost of operating Church schools. This of course did not place a value on the other virtues of Church schools. But it became increasingly obvious that the Church's two separate educational programs were beginning to compete with each other for available funds. The following chart demonstrates why from an economic standpoint the seminary system appealed to many Church leaders as being the more realistic program, even though it was admitted the students did not

35. Zina Young Card to Franklin S. Harris, 23 November 1925, box 16, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.

obtain the same overall education from a class in religion as they did from the entire curriculum of a Church school:

Expenditures and Per Capita Costs of
Church Schools and Seminaries for the Year 1924-25
Church Schools: Expenditures

		Cost Per Capita
Salaries	\$486,918.50	\$121.94
Maintenance	215,726.42	54.03
Building and Equipment	108,500.10	27.17
Total Expenditures	811,145.02	203.14

Church Seminaries: Expenditures

Salaries	\$121,987.58	\$ 14.65
Maintenance	12,415.48	1.49
Building and Equipment	63,099.53	7.58
Total Expenditures	197,502.59	23.72

The above facts led the General Board of Education to ask five pertinent questions:

1. Does the Church receive benefit in return from an 8 to 1 investment in Church schools as against Seminaries?
2. Do these returns equal the returns possible in other fields from the same investment?
3. Does there lie ahead in the field of the Junior College the same competition with State institutions that has been encountered in the high school field?
4. Can the Church afford to operate a university which will be able creditably to carry on against the great and richly endowed universities of our land?
5. Assuming that the Church should continue to operate Church schools, can it launch a permanent campaign for funds which will adequately provide for all academic needs?

President Heber J. Grant admitted to the Board that nothing had worried him more since becoming President of the Church than

the expansion of the appropriations for the Church school system. With the idea of cutting down the expense, we appointed three of the Apostles as Commissioners; but instead of cutting down we have increased and increased, until we decided a year or two ago that there would be no further increase. We decided to limit the Brigham Young University to \$200,000. Last year that school got \$165,000 extra for a new building, and inside of two or three years they expect a regular appropriation of \$300,000, besides which they have plans laid out for new buildings involving an expendi-

ture of over a million if not a million and a half. Well, we can't do it, that's all.³⁶

The discussion was continued at another meeting on 3 March 1926 at which time President Charles W. Nibley, second counselor to President Grant, stated that the whole question was whether or not the Church should "continue to compete with the State in education and duplicate the work being done by the State or shall we step out and attend strictly to religious education? . . . It must be borne in mind that the whole school situation in the country has changed very materially in the last ten or fifteen years and the Church has got to face it."³⁷ As the discussion tended more and more toward the possibility of phasing out the Church school system and eliminating the role of BYU as a university, one strong voice spoke up in vigorous opposition. It was David O. McKay who said,

I think that intimation that we ought to abandon our present Church Schools and go into the seminary business exclusively is not only premature but dangerous. The seminary has not been tested yet but the Church Schools have, and if we go back to the old Catholic Church you will find Church Schools have been tested for hundreds of years and that church still holds to them. . . . Let us hold our seminaries but not do away with our Church schools.³⁸

Stephen L Richards also thought that while the Church could emphasize "religious education and gradually get out of the field of secular education," nevertheless, "unless the President has the inspiration to do that I personally doubt the wisdom of taking such revolutionary action."³⁹

The outlook for BYU became increasingly serious at a meeting on 18 March 1926, when Superintendent Adam S. Bennion made a number of positive recommendations. He suggested

- a. That we continue to establish seminaries wherever their need is keenly felt and wherever the local people exhibit a spirit of cooperation and enthusiasm which seems to guarantee for successful operation of such institutions.
- b. That we plan to withdraw from the field of Junior Colleges as the State may make provision to take them over.

His specific recommendation for the future of the Brigham Young University was

that we organize the Brigham Young University on the basis of a senior college and a junior college. That we take steps to have the junior college taken over by the Provo City or Utah County or both and that pending such action attendance at this junior college be

36. General Board Minutes, 3 February 1926.

37. Ibid., 3 March 1926.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

limited to its geographical unit, comparable to the unit of our other junior colleges. That arrangements be entered into so that the expense of the training schools now operated in connection with the Brigham Young University be borne by Provo City.

That we discourage the enthusiasm to build a great Church University involving, as it will require, an elaborate building program.

That we discourage the giving of ultra technical courses that at best can serve but very few students.

That we stress the preparation of such teachers of religious subjects as shall make of these subjects the outstanding subjects of the institution. That above all else the function of this school shall remain the better equipping for their life work of Latter-day Saint leaders.

That we foster a movement to encourage endowments in the interest of a small but eminently superior Church university.⁴⁰

The debate became increasingly pronounced at a meeting held 23 March 1926, as the members of the Board of Education began to take fixed positions. The repeated suggestion that Church schools be eliminated drew this pointed remark from David O. McKay:

I hesitate about eliminating the schools now established, because of the growing tendency all over the world to sneer at religion. When President Woodruff sent out his letter advising Presidents of Stakes to establish Church Schools, he emphasized that we must have our children trained in the principles of the gospel. We can have that in the seminaries, it is true, but he added this, "and where the principles of our religion may form part of the teaching of schools." President Young had the same thought in mind when he told Dr. Maeser not to teach arithmetic without the spirit of the Lord. The influence of seminaries, if you put them all over the Church, will not equal the influence of the Church Schools that are now established.⁴¹

Superintendent Adam S. Bennion remained insistent that "finally and inevitably we shall withdraw from the academic field and center upon religious education. It is only a question as to when we may best do that." Bennion's solution to the problem was to "supplement the University of Utah with religious education under strong men. . . . In the main men in the State Universities are seeking the truth, and I think it somewhat a foolish idea to believe that they are wilfully perverting the truth." Bennion further proposed that seminaries be established at the University of Utah and the University of Idaho at Moscow.

Although there is no evidence that any firm decision was reached by the General Board, Superintendent Bennion announced on 7 April 1926 to the Board of Trustees of Snow College that the Church had

40. Ibid., 18 March 1926.

41. Ibid., 23 March 1926.

established a policy of eventually withdrawing from the academic field.⁴² Apparently he made a similar statement to the faculty at the Brigham Young College in Logan.⁴³ In spite of this President Harris remained optimistic about the future of BYU and refused to be perturbed by reports of Superintendent Bennion's statements.⁴⁴

President Harris Takes a Trip around the World

Indeed, Franklin S. Harris was so confident that the Church's school finances would be resolved without seriously damaging BYU that he turned his attention to the international scene and prepared to make a trip around the world. He had been invited to present a paper at the third Pan-Pacific Science Congress, to be held in Tokyo, Japan. This congress convened every three years and was attended by a limited number of scientists from each participating country. Dr. Harris, a recognized authority on alkali in soils, had been invited to present a paper on this subject before the congress. Before he left, the Board of Trustees and the First Presidency of the Church commissioned him to continue around the world visiting important educational institutions and Church members in some remote areas. Dean of education John Nuttall, Jr., served as acting president of BYU.

En route to Tokyo Harris stopped at Stanford University and the University of Hawaii. He deliberately planned to arrive in Japan several weeks before the conference in order "to study Chinese and Japanese education and agriculture before the Congress opened."⁴⁵ Making the most of his early arrival, Harris visited not only Japan but also Korea, Manchuria, northern China, and the Philippines. Returning to Japan, he organized the members of the Church there into branches and in Sapporo he interested several young members of the Church in attending Brigham Young University. Two men were able to make the necessary arrangements and became the first students from outside North America to attend BYU.⁴⁶

President Harris arrived back in Tokyo 25 October 1926, for the beginning of the conference. He was well received by the delegates and was elected chairman of the agricultural section. Harris afterwards reported that the meetings were very impressive and that it was a great personal satisfaction to be "in daily contact with a number of the

42. Findlay, "Snow College," p. 121.

43. Melvin C. Merrill to Franklin S. Harris, 10 June 1926, box 17, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

44. Franklin S. Harris to Melvin C. Merrill, 14 June 1926, box 17, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

45. Franklin S. Harris, "First Glimpse of Japan," MS. 340, box 19, folder 5, BYU Archives.

46. See Franklin S. Harris, diary, 21 and 24 September 1926; and Franklin S. Harris to L. John Nuttall, Jr., box 1, folder 9, L. John Nuttall, Jr., Papers, BYU Archives.

greatest scholars of the world and [compare] notes with them about our respective institutions.”⁴⁷

After the congress closed on November 9, Harris boarded the *President Van Buren* to finish his world tour. The steamship stopped at Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore, Penang, and Rangoon long enough for him to tour famous sights and visit important universities. By the end of November he was in Calcutta, India, where he landed to see the country in more detail. From there he traveled to the cities of Delhi, Bombay, and finally south to Madras, so he could visit Ceylon before traveling up the Suez Canal to Egypt.

At Cairo University, the leading institution of the Moslem world, Harris found 1,300 students working without the benefit of scientific equipment. Their curriculum revolved around the Koran, the Islam holy scriptures. In Palestine Harris met Joseph William Booth, who had spent half his life as a missionary among the Armenians and had been sent by the Church to help the Armenian Saints get resettled after the war. Harris had been commissioned by the First Presidency to make a study of the proper course of action for the Armenian Saints. He found the Saints in Syria to have a remarkable comprehension of the gospel. They were beginning to free themselves from their impoverished conditions. Harris recommended that the Armenian Saints be settled in groups to promote economic well-being, solidarity in the Church, and sound education for the young. In case no colony could be organized, he proposed the establishment of a mission headquarters in Haifa, Palestine, where the mission president could monitor the work in Palestine as well as the settlement of Armenian Saints in Syria.

After traveling through Turkey, Greece, Italy, and Switzerland, Harris arrived in Paris in March 1927. He then spent several months visiting universities in France, Holland, Belgium, and Germany with two professors he met in Europe, Dr. Ray Russell and Dr. James L. Barker.⁴⁸

Harris's wife, Estelle, joined him on 6 May 1927. They toured Scandinavia and Britain together and returned to Provo on 19 August 1927, just a few days short of a year from the time President Harris had departed. He recorded in his diary that he had traveled 47,000 miles, slept in 146 different beds, and had crossed international boundaries 24 times.

The First Presidency called him to Salt Lake City on August 31 to make an extensive report of his trip. The faculty and students were also anxious to hear the details of his journey. Harris told them he desired to combine the good things he had found in international education with the spirituality and friendship existing at BYU. He observed that BYU had more buildings than some of the most famous Old World

47. "Greetings from Distant Japan," *Y News*, 24 November 1926.

48. Russell was a BYU graduate and Barker had been on the faculty at BYU.

universities. President Harris stated that he had returned home with the conviction that "no institution in the world has a greater opportunity for service" than Brigham Young University.⁴⁹

Joseph F. Merrill Is New Superintendent

A little more than a month after President Harris returned, Adam S. Bennion resigned as superintendent of Church schools to accept a position with the Utah Power and Light Company. At a special meeting of the General Church Board of Education on 27 December 1927, Dr. Joseph F. Merrill, dean of the School of Engineering and Mining at the University of Utah, was appointed to take his place.⁵⁰ President Harris was immediately concerned whether the change in leadership would bring new policies which might endanger the future of BYU. Dr. Merrill reassured him and stated that "if my views can be approved by the Board you will have, I think, no reason to regret my recent appointment."⁵¹ Nevertheless, things became increasingly ominous as the months passed by. On 1 February 1927, the date of Adam S. Bennion's departure to his new position, he submitted his final recommendations to the General Church Board of Education. In his report Bennion reiterated the statement he made to the Snow College Board of Trustees two years earlier that it was the intention of the Church to withdraw from the field of secular education.⁵² This sentiment was further undergirded by the Church Board of Education on 22 March 1928 when Superintendent Merrill was specifically instructed "that the policy of the Church was to eliminate Church schools as fast as circumstances would permit."⁵³ Approximately one year later, on 20 February 1929, the General Board publicly announced its intention to close the various Church schools. As a result, Commissioner Merrill advised Thomas N. Taylor, chairman of the Executive Committee of the BYU Board of Trustees, that

On or before the close of another school year two or more of our Church schools in Utah will be closed. The closing of the others will probably follow in June 1931. This has reference also to Ricks College in Idaho and Gila College in Arizona. But what is of particular interest to you, it has reference also to the junior college work of the BYU at least. At the Board meeting yesterday it was not definitely stated so, but it seemed to be the minds of most of those present that the BYU as a whole was included in the closing movement; and that is specially the reason why I am writing you.

49. "Returns Full of Enthusiasm for Y Future, Predicts Great Things for University after Making Circle of Entire Globe," *Y News*, 31 August 1927.

50. General Board Minutes, 28 December 1927.

51. Joseph F. Merrill to Franklin S. Harris, 5 January 1928, Harris Presidential Papers.

52. General Board Minutes, 1 February 1928.

53. *Ibid.*, 22 March 1928 and 20 February 1929.

My own hope and fondest desire is that we may retain the BYU as a senior and graduate institution, eliminating its junior college work, and make the University outstanding, a credit to the Church, and a highly serviceable and necessary institution. But whether this can be done or not will, of course, depend on conditions.

So, I hope that you, President Harris, and other influential men in Utah County, will immediately get in touch with your delegation in the Legislature and such others as you may know, to insure such legislative action as will permit the establishment of a junior college in Provo under public auspices by the present Legislature.⁵⁴

The First Direct Action to Transfer Junior Colleges to the State

The above letter indicates that Superintendent Merrill hoped that he could save BYU as a graduate institution — but this would necessitate the sacrifice of the Church junior colleges by turning them over to the State of Utah. Of course, this entire proposal depended upon the State of Utah being willing to assume the expense of operating a junior college program, something the state had never previously undertaken. On 22 February 1929, Senate Bill No. 206 (the Candland Bill) was introduced “to Provide for the organization and Maintenance of Junior Colleges,”⁵⁵ but no action seems to have been taken on this proposed legislation. Nevertheless, the Church Board of Education made a public statement concerning its “intention of closing all Junior Colleges in the near future.”⁵⁶ In spite of this, it appears that there was still some confusion concerning the exact intentions of the Church, as indicated in a letter President Harris wrote to John A. Widtsoe, who was then in Liverpool, England, presiding over the European Mission of the LDS Church.

I certainly wish that you were here now. We have [been] having great doings in our Church school system, and we need a steady hand. Some of the things that you have previously told me about are now materializing, and some of our faculty members are very much worried, although I personally feel certain that everything will come out all right. The Church board was pretty outspoken in its announcements to try to induce the legislature to action, but at the present time the legislature is very much confused and Dr. Merrill has asked me to get on the job and see if the thing cannot be straightened out so that Weber, Snow, etc., can be transferred to state control. I hope you will be back before they go too far with the BYU. The whole thing is full of dynamite.⁵⁷

54. Joseph F. Merrill to Thomas N. Taylor, 21 February 1929, box 24, folder T, Harris Presidential Papers.

55. *Utah Senate Journal*, 1929, p. 500.

56. Franklin S. Harris to Eunice S. Harris, 25 February 1929, box 23, folder H, Harris Presidential Papers.

57. Franklin S. Harris to John A. Widtsoe, 2 March 1929, box 24, folder W, Harris Presidential Papers.

Although there was considerable fear that the phasing out of the junior colleges was merely a prelude to the elimination of BYU, President Harris continued to exhibit confidence that the Church Board of Education would make BYU an outstanding graduate institution as soon as resources were available. To reassure his friend Lowry Nelson, who was then doing graduate work in Madison, Wisconsin, President Harris wrote the following:

I have read all the minutes of their meetings and have talked with practically all of the authorities, and I am not the least bit excited. Up to the present time everything that has been done toward consolidating the system I think has been right, and I do not look for the authorities to make any great mistakes. They are pretty deliberate and take pretty careful counsel. This is very much in contrast to what I have experienced in the legislative bodies during the last ten days when I have been with them. I only wish that the educational affairs of the state were as well considered as those of the Church.

President Harris concluded by saying that he expected to “see the Brigham Young University move right along after I am dead, and I do not expect to see it during this time have any serious set-back.”⁵⁸ The true feelings of President Harris were further reflected in a letter to Melvin C. Merrill, brother of the Church commissioner of education:

In your letter you mention the possible elimination of the junior college — at the BYU. I am so convinced that this would be a mistake that I do not believe it will ever take place. Your brother Joseph has been rather in favor of that. He has in mind John Hopkins University and other graduate institutions. Certainly, we have not in hand the resources to build a great graduate institution, and until that is the case I think we should keep what we have intact. Our present organization, built up with over fifty years of experience, is well fitted for the work to be done here, and I should not like to see it interfered with.⁵⁹

A Brief Review of LDS Church Expenditures

President Heber J. Grant’s decision to close some of the Church schools was based on stern financial realities. Church leaders felt it impossible to increase expenditures for education to the detriment of other growing Church programs. The total budget expenditures of the LDS Church for 1921 were \$2,773,881. Of this amount, \$893,000 was devoted to education. Church stakes and wards were allotted \$925,585. Missions received \$518,647, charities, \$266,649, and tem-

58. Franklin S. Harris to Lowry Nelson, 12 March 1929, box 23, folder N, Harris Presidential Papers.

59. Franklin S. Harris to Melvin C. Merrill, 21 March 1929, box 23, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

ples, \$170,000.⁶⁰ By 1927 Church budget expenditures had risen to \$4,040,916, and expenditures for education had been reduced to \$805,117. Expenditures for wards and stakes had risen to \$2,041,920; expenditures for missions were up to \$767,647; and expenditures for temples totaled \$230,110.⁶¹ Nevertheless, the records will show that the Church was making a valiant effort during this very difficult period to keep its commitment to provide BYU with a substantial proportion of the educational budget and build it as rapidly as financial circumstances would permit. The following table shows the increased support BYU received after President Harris took over:

Year	Church Expenditures on Education	Education's Percentage of Entire Church Budget	Appropriation Made to BYU From the Church Education Budget	BYU's Percentage of Church Education Budget
1921	\$893,000.00	32%	\$116,660.00	13%
1922	\$771,490.00	28%	\$167,700.00	20%
1923	\$835,000.00	26%	\$167,700.00	20%
1924	\$727,808.93	21%	\$190,000.00	26%
1925	\$958,440.67	26%	\$200,000.00	21%
1926	\$837,810.47	23%	\$200,000.00	24%
1927	\$805,117.84	20%	\$200,000.00	25%
1928	\$900,000.00	incomplete total	\$200,000.00	22%
1929	not available		\$200,000.00	
1930	\$811,622.19	21%	\$211,500.00	26%

Perhaps this table shows why Franklin S. Harris continued to work optimistically for the improvement and academic progress of Brigham Young University in spite of the economic difficulties which threatened the entire LDS school system. Harris continued to “look beyond the mountains” as he endeavored to build a great university worthy of becoming an influence far beyond the boundaries of its Provo campus.

60. *Conference Reports*, April 1922, p. 13.
61. *Conference Report*, April 1928, p. 5. Church expenditures cited in this chapter are taken from published reports of Church General Conferences. The financial report for a given calendar year was published in the report of the succeeding April conference. Figures on appropriations for Church schools and for Brigham Young University are derived from the minutes of the General Church Board of Education and from minutes of the BYU Board of Trustees.

15

Reaching Upward and Outward: From Provo to Moscow

When Franklin S. Harris was appointed President of Brigham Young University, he was determined that the school become a university in fact as well as in name. Even before Harris assumed his official duties the Faculty Administrative Council made some significant changes. They were sensitive to the fact that only twelve students had graduated with bachelor's degrees in 1921 and that only two master's degrees had been awarded since graduate work was first authorized in 1916. There was too much similarity between the high school and college courses, and during the 1920-21 school year only 438 students had been enrolled in college courses.¹

With the approval of the Trustees, the Administrative Council changed the name of the Church Teachers College to the School of Education, and the most auspicious building on lower campus, the Academy Building, was now named the Education Building. The Council also obtained authority to establish a School of Arts and Sciences, and Martin P. Henderson, the only faculty member with a doctor's degree at that time, was appointed dean. A University of Utah graduate in 1911, Henderson received his doctorate in 1914 from the University of Wisconsin, and from 1915 served as head of the Botany Department.

President Harris Creates Five New Colleges

Innovations accelerated when Harris took office. One of his first major achievements was the establishment of five colleges over a period of three years.

First of all, the School of Education was changed to the College of Education with L. John Nuttall, Jr., a graduate of Columbia University with a master's degree, serving as dean. Nuttall later received his Ph.D. from Columbia University. Shortly thereafter, Dr. Harris changed the School of Arts and Sciences to the College of Arts and Sciences, with

1. Franklin S. Harris, "Annual Report," box 5, Harris Presidential Papers.

Martin Henderson continuing as dean until his sudden death from an unidentified infection during the summer of 1923 at the age of 49. President Harris found a capable successor in Dr. Carl F. Eyring, who had studied under Harvey Fletcher before graduating from BYU in 1912. Eyring received his master's degree in 1915 from the University of Wisconsin and then attended the California Institute of Technology where he studied under Dr. Robert A. Millikan and received his doctor's degree in 1924.

A College of Commerce and Business Administration was approved by the Board of Trustees on 25 May 1921. President Harris selected Harrison Val Hoyt to be dean. Hoyt had received his bachelor's degree in electrical engineering from Purdue University in 1913 and a Master of Business Education degree from Harvard in 1917. While he was dean he went on to receive his Ph.D. from Stanford in 1931.

A College of Applied Science was approved by the Board of Trustees on 25 January 1922. It was designed to consolidate the work being done by the departments of Agriculture, Home Economics, and Mechanical Arts, and other related subjects. To direct this college Harris recruited Melvin C. Merrill, who was at that time head of the Department of Horticulture at the Utah State Agricultural College. Merrill was a graduate of the Agricultural College with a bachelor's degree in horticulture. After studying for a time at Cornell, he earned a master's degree in botany at the University of Chicago. He also had a master's degree in chemistry from Harvard and a doctor's degree from Washington University in St. Louis.

Because Franklin S. Harris loved the arts, in 1925 he established the first College of Fine Arts in the western U.S. This new college included the departments of Art, Music, and Dramatic Arts. Gerrit de Jong, a highly cultured Dutch immigrant with a master's degree from the University of Utah, became the first dean.

Divisions Established

In addition to the five colleges, President Harris created a number of divisions to handle areas of specialized study at BYU. The Graduate Division was inaugurated in April 1922 along lines recommended in a report by Dr. Christen Jensen, Dean Melvin C. Merrill, and Dr. Hugh Woodward. Thereafter, a special committee consisting of Alice L. Reynolds, E. H. Eastmond, and Christen Jensen was appointed to design master's and doctoral hoods for BYU. These ceremonial hoods were used for the first time in the spring of 1923 when seven graduates received master's degrees. During the next few years there was a steady increase in the number of degrees conferred by BYU, as indicated in the following table:²

2. Taken from a document dated 29 November 1927, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Bachelor's</i>	<i>Master's</i>
1924	112	3
1925	108	4
1926	114	6
1927	143	8
1928	168	12

The Graduate Division slowly developed in the 1920s until it became the Graduate School in 1929 with Christen Jensen as dean, a position which he held for twenty years.

A Research Division was established on 28 April 1921. President Harris asked Dr. Harvey Fletcher to return to BYU to direct it, but because BYU could not offer him a salary anywhere near what he was earning at Bell Laboratories, Fletcher turned the offer down. Instead of looking for another appointee, President Harris administered the Research Division himself, since he was almost the only member of the faculty directly involved in research. This was primarily because the BYU faculty carried such heavy teaching loads that there was little time or energy left for research. Two notable exceptions were Thomas Martin, who had a special enthusiasm for agronomy experiments, and Lowry Nelson, whose Escalante Study attracted considerable public attention, including an editorial in the *New York Times*.

Religion classes received special attention under the direction of President Emeritus George H. Brimhall. Though this work was not given division status, it occupied a position of prestige because of the emphasis on spirituality and the development of student character in the school. Former President Brimhall, who had been awarded an honorary doctor of laws degree by BYU, continued to give occasional messages of inspiration at the devotional exercises and expressed great satisfaction in his assignment. He wrote President Harris in 1924, "My cup of BYU joy has simply been overflowing ever since you took charge. I am working at what I like, with those I love, and under a leadership in which I have perfect confidence. What more is there to wish for than just a continuance?"³

Alpine Summer School

Another area of unique specialization was the Alpine Summer School. This was located behind Mount Timpanogos on the north fork of Provo Canyon adjacent to Aspen Grove. It was described as an "open air summer school held 7,500 feet above sea level on the side of a twelve-thousand foot peak."⁴ Martin P. Henderson and geology professor Fred Buss directed the first summer school, which consisted of

3. George H. Brimhall to Franklin S. Harris, 4 January 1924, box 7, folder 29, Harris Presidential Papers.
4. Andrew M. Anderson, "The Brigham Young University Alpine School," *Improvement Era* 25(October 1922):1067.

six weeks of class work between 14 July and 19 August 1922. Since there were no buildings, both students and faculty resided in army tents. Various BYU professors spent a number of days at the Grove as special instructors and many of the classes dealt with the mountain flora and the natural formations of the towering Timpanogos cliffs. The students chose officers and daily devotionals were held. The Alpine Summer School proved popular enough to warrant the construction of a number of frame buildings to serve as dormitories, kitchens, dining areas, classrooms, assembly halls, and a library.

Upgrading the Curriculum

President Harris found that the limited facilities and lack of faculty worked against his plans for extensive improvement of the curriculum. Nevertheless, he upgraded class requirements and academic regulations. To strengthen BYU as a university, high school students were prohibited from enrolling in college courses without special permission. Upper division university classes were separated from the lower division courses. Stricter graduation requirements were inaugurated, and prior to getting a degree each student had to have the approval of a major faculty member, the dean of his college, the Committee on Graduation, and the University Council. It was further determined that no college student could register for more than sixteen hours of credit per term and students registering late would not be permitted to take a full class load. Entrance requirements were also stiffened: students were required to have fifteen units of course work from an approved high school or pass examinations in a sufficient number of subjects to cover fifteen units. Exceptions were made for students with only thirteen units of high school training who made up the deficiency of two units during their freshman year.

By the 1927-28 school year high school graduates were required to have sixteen credits and the requirement for the bachelor's degree increased from 183 to 186 quarter hours of credit. To insure adequate preparation for all students, a committee was appointed to standardize the university grading system and the number of *As* and *Bs* awarded in college courses was limited.

Administering without Administrators

When Franklin S. Harris came to BYU the school had a very simple administrative structure. In 1921 there were 74 people employed at the school, but only President Harris and the school's registrar, John E. Hayes, could be classified as administrative personnel. By 1930 there were 109 people working for the University — but Harris and Hayes were still the only administrators.

The chain of command was very simple. One faculty member who served under Harris recalled that "President Harris as a leader assumed most of the decision-making responsibility. He did not delegate

strategic decisions involving the people and policy to his department chairmen or deans. He did the employing, for the most part, and had the final say on salaries.”⁵ Another commented that “President Harris ran the school; there was one channel. The Dean wasn’t consulted, as I recall, when I was hired by President Harris. If we had problems, the chairman [of the department] would say, ‘Go talk to President Harris about it.’ ”⁶

President Harris was aware of what was going on in all the branches of the school, and his open-door policy made him accessible to the faculty at all times. Harris did delegate special tasks to members of the faculty, most of whom felt complimented to have administrative duties assigned to them in spite of their heavy teaching loads.

When serious administrative problems arose Harris usually reconvened the members of what President Brimhall had called the University Council. Under Harris the Council consisted of the deans of the various colleges, the department heads, and all assistant professors, associate professors, and full professors. Besides Council meetings, all employees of Brigham Young University participated in weekly faculty meetings, held each Monday at noon. It was primarily through these meetings that the staff was informed of administrative rulings and that Harris maintained contact with the pulse of the school. He established 23 standing committees, usually consisting of three faculty members who made regular reports on their respective stewardships when the faculty meeting convened each week. These standing committees were as follows:

- Admissions and Credits
- Aiding Graduates to Obtain Employment
- Alumni Directory
- Athletics
- Attendance and Scholarship
- Awards and Prizes
- Care of Girls’ and Womens’ Activities
- Catalog and Other Quarterlies
- Debating
- Divisions Classification
- Eligibility
- Graduate Work
- Graduation
- Health and Habits of Students
- Lecturers and Musicals
- Library Petitions
- Publicity
- Schedule of Classes

5. Reply to questionnaire sent to faculty members who taught during the Harris administration, January 1974, Centennial History files, BYU Archives.
6. Ibid.

Schedule of Events

Social Affairs

Student Accommodations

Student Aid and Employment

Supervision of Student Publications

Another group Harris relied on was the Council of Deans. The deans served many functions during the Harris years. Most of them taught an average of eight or nine hours per term, administered their respective colleges or divisions, registered all students in their colleges, and approved each candidate for graduation.

For the most part the deans were warm administrators and well-trained scholars, who did much to unify the faculty and students. During the Harris administration the deans of the various colleges remained practically unchanged, which contributed to the stability of the Harris regime. The most extensive turnover of deans occurred in the College of Education, where John C. Swensen served from 1921 to 1923, L. John Nuttall from 1923 to 1926 and from 1928 to 1930, John C. Swensen as acting dean from 1926 to 1928, and Amos Merrill as acting dean from 1930 to 1939 and as dean from 1939 to the end of the Harris administration.

Battling for Accreditation

Higher education in the United States followed quickly behind the population, and as governments, churches, and individuals established colleges and universities, it became important to set professional standards. For this purpose colleges and universities grouped together in voluntary accreditation associations. Certain minimum requirements were agreed upon, and as more institutions applied for accreditation, committees were sent to determine whether the new schools met those standards — which is still the practice today. Without accreditation, the degrees a college issued meant very little outside the school itself, which hurt the chances of graduates trying to get higher degrees.

By 8 August 1922 President Harris had reorganized and improved the structure of BYU to the point where he felt it would be possible to make application for recognition from at least four important agencies: The American Council on Education, the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools, the University of California, and the Association of American Universities.

The American Council on Education rejected the BYU application out of hand since there had not as yet been any preliminary recognition by the University of California or a regional association near BYU. However, the Northwestern Association was more responsive and in October 1922 Dean Frederick Bolton of the University of Washington visited the campus and was so pleased with the progress of the school that he gave it an unqualified recommendation as a college, since

President Harris had not applied for recognition as a university. At that particular time there were still several areas of weakness, such as the inadequate library and the unimpressive level of faculty education, which did not meet the university requirements of the Northwestern Association. Nevertheless, Dean Bolton wrote President Harris in November 1922, "You are already accomplishing excellent things and the vision that you have of the future augurs well for the development of still better things."⁷ On 7 April 1923 President Harris received the good news that the Northwestern Association had added BYU to its list of accredited schools.

Cheered by this first accreditation victory, President Harris pressed his application for recognition by the University of California and the Association of American Universities. Dean Charles B. Lipman, dean of the Graduate School at the University of California indicated to Harris a willingness to carefully evaluate each student coming from BYU for the purpose of admission to graduate study. However, Lipman pointed out a number of areas where BYU was below the standards of the University of California.

Meanwhile BYU waited anxiously for a response from the Association of American Universities, the most prestigious recognition agency of the time. Although application had been made in the fall of 1922, it was not until early 1924 that an inspection was conducted by this organization through Dr. David A. Robertson of the University of Chicago. Dr. Robertson made a thorough investigation of BYU's admission requirements, faculty scholastic standing, finances, buildings, library, laboratories, and curriculum, the general tone of the school, and the number of graduates and their individual accomplishments. Dr. Robertson noted a number of serious deficiencies at BYU but was nevertheless impressed with the quality of graduates which it produced. Twenty graduates of BYU were on the faculty of the University of Utah and fourteen were at Utah State Agricultural College. Five other graduates were faculty members at Chicago, Clark, Columbia, Northwestern, and Minnesota Universities. Thirteen BYU graduates were department heads. Both United States Senators from Utah, Reed Smoot and William H. King, were graduates of BYU, as was Utah Congressman Don B. Colton and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court George Sutherland. State superintendents of public instruction in Utah had been graduates of BYU in all but six of the years since statehood, and the "present City Superintendent of Schools of Salt Lake, Ogden, Provo and Logan, the four largest cities of Utah, are BYU alumni. In addition, 19 out of the 40 other superintendents of districts in the state of Utah are BYU alumni."⁸

7. Dean Bolton to Franklin S. Harris, 14 November 1922, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

8. Report prepared by David Allen Robertson of the University of Chicago for the Committee on Classification of Colleges and Universities of the

In spite of Dr. Robertson's favorable report there were still four deficiencies which prevented BYU from gaining recognition from the Association of American Universities. First, there was an inadequate course structure. Second, "the number of conditional students was too great." Third, the BYU faculty "did not quite meet the standards" of advanced training required by the association. Fourth, expenditures for research and laboratory work were not adequate for the number of students receiving laboratory instruction.

Although disappointed, President Harris felt the report was "absolutely fair in every respect" and set about to remedy the problems. The courses were restructured and conditional students were practically eliminated from future attendance. Harris also arranged for faculty members who were lacking in formal training to take a leave of absence to improve their academic status.

By December 1925 President Harris still felt there were three areas which definitely needed attention: improving the faculty, adding to the scientific equipment, and adding books to the library.⁹ Harris was distressed by the fact that BYU students were still having difficulty gaining admission to some of the major university graduate schools. Both the University of Arizona and the University of Oregon rejected BYU graduates and in some areas BYU teachers could not be hired because they had not matriculated from an accredited school. It became increasingly important for BYU to gain recognition from the Association of American Universities. Harris knew that one of the major roadblocks had been removed with the dedication of the Heber J. Grant Library in October 1925, and a continuous campaign to increase the number of books in the library proved highly successful. By 1928 the library contained 50,000 bound volumes and 45,000 pamphlets.

Between 1924 and 1928 five faculty members earned doctor's degrees and eleven earned master's degrees. Meanwhile President Harris had also hired five new instructors with doctor's degrees and eleven with master's degrees. This greatly improved the status of the faculty insofar as formal training was concerned, and President Harris felt he was finally drawing closer to his goal of full accreditation. One encouraging note came in October 1927 when a federation of undergraduate colleges known as the Association of American Colleges accepted BYU into full membership.

On 21 November 1927 President Harris told the faculty he was once more making application to the Association of American Universities. Eleven months later Dr. E. B. Stouffer, dean of the Graduate School of

Association of American Universities, 1 May 1924, Harris Presidential Papers, p. 2.

9. Franklin S. Harris to Adam S. Bennion, "A Program for Brigham Young University," 12 November 1925, box 13, folder B, Harris Presidential Papers.

the University of Kansas, made an inspection tour of Brigham Young University. President Harris waited anxiously to see if the improvements of recent years would be sufficient to give BYU the status it so urgently needed. On 20 November 1928 Dr. Adam LeRoy Jones sent the good news to BYU:

It gives me great pleasure to inform you that at its annual meeting on November 17, the Association of American Universities voted on the recommendation of the Committee on the Classification of Colleges and Universities to place Brigham Young University on its approved list of colleges.¹⁰

Brigham Young University had finally achieved recognition by the "highest accrediting agency in existence."¹¹ Although it had taken seven strenuous years, a jubilant President Harris was able to write, "We now have as complete a rating as far as accrediting is concerned as any university in the country."¹² An editorial in the *Y News* on 4 December 1928 triumphantly announced, "We have arrived!"

Fringe Benefits

Besides accreditation, the pressure to improve BYU provided the climate for a number of other improvements, which might be classified as fringe benefits. For example, a closer relationship was developed between the President of the University and the individual members of the faculty. President Harris's policy of interviewing each member of the faculty before sending out reappointment letters for the following year helped him keep well acquainted with the teachers.

Another fringe benefit was the standardizing of sabbatical leaves, which enabled many faculty members to go to other schools for advanced degrees. Harris made arrangements with the Church Board of Education to let faculty members with the rank of assistant professor, associate professor, or full professor take periodical one-year leaves at half salary in order to study and travel. Although there was no set schedule for academic leave, President Harris worked out a program with individual faculty members and it came to be understood that usually four of them would be granted sabbatical leave each year.¹³ When circumstances warranted it, President Harris sometimes extended the leave of absence beyond a year, although the school could provide no compensation after the first year of leave. Considerable

10. Adam LeRoy Jones to Franklin S. Harris, 20 November 1928, box 23, folder J, Harris Presidential Papers.

11. "'Y' Accepted by Association of American Universities," *Y News*, 27 November 1928.

12. Franklin S. Harris to Karl Harris, 27 November 1928, box 23, folder H, Harris Presidential Papers.

13. Franklin S. Harris to Willard Gardner, 4 January 1924, box 7, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.

recognition was given to professors who had been absent on sabbatical leave. They reported their activities in faculty meetings and sometimes spoke before the entire student body at the devotional assemblies.

Another wise policy initiated by President Harris in the administration of BYU was paying faculty salaries over a twelve-month period. Prior to this time the faculty had received pay only during the nine-month school year, and often the severely restricted income of teachers meant that they did not save enough to see them through the summer months. Though some had private farms on which they worked during the summer, the financial proceeds were not available until after the harvest. Others had jobs in the community to supplement their BYU income. Harris's twelve-month salary schedule helped each faculty member budget his BYU salary for the entire year and permitted President Harris to urge faculty members to spend their summers working for advanced degrees or teaching summer school at BYU. These suggestions caught on among the faculty, and by 1928 as many as 25 faculty members were reported to have spent the summer in special study, research, or travel outside of Utah for the purpose of broadening their academic background.

Still another fringe benefit of the struggle for accreditation was the initiation of a retirement fund at BYU. While President Harris was in the East in 1922 he made contact with the Carnegie Institution for the Advancement of Teaching and learned of the possibility of BYU faculty members participating in the Carnegie Foundation's Teachers Insurance Annuity Association of America. The BYU Board of Trustees approved the President's suggestion that members of the faculty be allowed to participate in the program on a voluntary basis. This remained the only BYU-sponsored source of retirement security for many years.

The Salary Squeeze

Probably the most critical problem throughout the Harris administration was the salary squeeze. This was nothing new at BYU, but it became a particularly sensitive issue to President Harris as he attempted to upgrade the faculty and meet the accreditation standards. The problem was further aggravated by the increased work load of the faculty. When Harris took over the presidency of BYU in 1921 there were 74 faculty and staff members. By September 1929 this had increased to over a hundred, an increase of about 35 percent, while the student body had increased from 438 students to 1,494, nearly 250 percent — a ratio of one to seven. During the same period the budget had increased from \$167,000 to \$200,000, about 20 percent. The financial problems facing the President seemed almost overwhelming. Obviously BYU's budget was not realistic if the school was to become the great university originally planned, but the Church was under such

severe financial pressure at the time that the General Authorities were seriously discussing the abandonment of all secular education by the Church. President Harris had to balance all his decisions on faculty salaries with the threat of BYU being closed down if it became too expensive for the Church to operate. Harris was also aware that the future growth of the school depended on the acquisition of land on the upper bench where he knew the expanding campus would have to be built. These land purchases came from the regular budget, and doubtless affected the salary schedule.

In spite of these problems, Harris consistently allocated between 75 and 80 percent of the annual budget to faculty salaries. Although there was occasional grumbling that the faculty was paying for many things that the Board of Trustees should provide, the faculty remained loyal.

In December 1973 the Centennial research staff polled twenty faculty members who had served under the Harris administration. Seventeen of the twenty still remembered low salaries as the most acute anxiety they experienced during the Harris administration. The salary squeeze affected all levels. The highest-paid dean during the 1920s never received more than \$3,800 per year, which was \$700 less than the compensation he would have received at the University of Utah, and the deans at the University of Utah felt that they were severely underpaid for the times.¹⁴

As President Harris negotiated with each member of the faculty and struggled to keep his budget within bounds, serious inequities developed. In attempting to recruit new faculty members he had to compete somewhat with the pay scale of other institutions even though LDS scholars were willing to sacrifice. The overall scale at BYU was so low that in attempting to become competitive President Harris sometimes found himself offering more to new professors than department heads were receiving. President Harris also had difficulty rewarding those who obtained higher degrees after great personal sacrifice. There was also very little opportunity to reward faculty members for longevity of service or increased responsibility.

The great spirit of the BYU faculty which kept the school intact during this extremely difficult period is typified in a letter from President Harris to William J. Snow, dated 23 May 1923: "I know in my own case, when I returned to Utah after my studies in the East, I did so with sacrifice of \$1,200. That is, I came and took the full responsibility of a department at \$1,800 while I was offered \$3,000 to stay in the department at Cornell, and I have never regretted one moment the decision I made."¹⁵

14. Ralph V. Chamberlin, *The University of Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1960), p. 403.

15. Franklin S. Harris to William J. Snow, 23 May 1923, box 6, folder S, Harris Presidential Papers.

In some cases, of course, the pressure was just too great, and some faculty members found it impossible to return to the school after earning advanced degrees. For example, in 1926 Fred Buss wrote,

We have struggled along so many years already, in debt, and trying to complete my scholastic preparation, that the task has grown very wearisome. . . . To tell the truth we have done very nearly if not quite as well here [on sabbatical] the past three years as we could have done at home while I have been able to devote nearly one half of that time to bettering my preparation. . . . I would like to return to the University next year but can hardly decide since, at the salary you named, it seems that it would be a loss of nearly a thousand dollars. I realize that life cannot be expressed in dollars and cents, but a man with a large family has an economic responsibility.¹⁶

Some faculty members survived during this period only because they were able to supplement their salary from other sources. Some idea of the ingenuity, sacrifice, and total commitment required of faculty members is reflected in a letter William J. Snow wrote while on sabbatical leave at the University of California:

Even a teacher has a stomach, feels it necessary to wear clothes, assumes it his privilege and joy to have a family, [and] has in consequence to . . . pay bills, or suffer humiliation. . . . I left a business, cattle and farm and range privileges to come to study, and teach at the BYU. That business I'm sure would have made me worth \$50,000 by now. I ate up all this capital for the luxury of studying and teaching. And here is my confession. There were times when my salary was not paying more than 50-75% of our actual living expenses. . . . Well, I simply write you this that you may know I have peculiar attachment to the BYU and that I mention salary only because of compelling necessity.¹⁷

Even the most loyal members of the faculty complained about the salary program at BYU. In a letter, Carl Eyring mentioned the serious personal and academic consequences if the school continued to follow what he considered a haphazard salary schedule:

Without making it appear that I wish to force an increase in salary, for I have never yet made such a request, let me tell you something of myself. Up until this year I have felt that I have been growing. . . . But why this feeling this year? As far as position is concerned I have reached the top except as I am able to push this position up. . . . How can my position be pushed up? As head of the Department of Physics, I may be a good teacher, may stimulate the students — this is a worthy ambition, I would not be without it —

16. Fred Buss to Franklin S. Harris, 26 January 1926, box 16, folder B, Harris Presidential Papers.

17. William J. Snow to Franklin S. Harris, 30 May 1923, box 6, folder S, Harris Presidential Papers.

but if I am to have any selling value I must become known among the men of science in America. When other folks want me I will be worth more to my school. . . . So you see here I am anxious to do research for the love I have for it and for the adventure I would like to make in the attempt to go higher in accomplishment, service and salary, if possible. . . .

I have not been able to do anything that *will make my selling power increase*. To be frank, I do not wish to be in an institution which by the nature of it does not offer me a chance to increase my selling power, outside selling power at that, especially if that institution has no definite policy of recognizing such an increase. . . .

How this institution reacts toward these feelings will determine my permanency here.¹⁸

In spite of all this, President Harris was able to help faculty members look upon Brigham Young University as a “school of destiny,” with great things in store as the future unfolded. He reminded the faculty of the privilege and satisfaction of being associated with the developing school, even though the present was difficult. The fact that the faculty shared Harris’s optimism is reflected in a letter written by Lowry Nelson to President Harris in 1929:

My problem all along has been analogous to that of an eligible young man attempting to choose between marrying for love or money. I mustered all of the arguments I could think of which might prove the virtue of the latter course, and most of them I expressed to you — for better or for worse. But all the blustering availed nothing against the more profound feeling I have for you, the institution and our people. Of course, I wavered when there was uncertainty as to the future of the school, but I do not think I can judge on that point nearly as well as you. . . .

Still I have never lost sight of the deep obligation which I owe you and the school for what you have done for me. This has been more binding on me than any legal contract ever could be. . . . I am happy to tell you I am coming back.¹⁹

The loyalty and quality of character of the faculty endured other strains. In 1924 most full-time faculty members had teaching loads of between thirteen and nineteen hours a week, and only a few teachers carried a load of less than twelve hours. In addition to classroom duties, most teachers served on two or three of the seventeen to twenty-five standing faculty committees and on special committees formed to meet temporary needs. Faculty members were also active in civic affairs and professional organizations. Harris’s ability to maintain faculty morale under the circumstances seems almost miraculous, and speaks well of the loyalty of his faculty.

18. Carl F. Eyring to Franklin S. Harris, 4 March 1926, box 17, folder E, Harris Presidential Papers.

19. Lowry Nelson to Franklin S. Harris, 12 April 1929, box 23, folder N, Harris Presidential Papers.

President Harris Goes to Russia

When BYU's survival was being challenged in 1929, President Harris seized an opportunity to bring national attention to BYU. Harris was aware that favorable recognition of BYU's president or of a faculty member meant favorable recognition for the University. When Harris attended — by invitation — the Third Pan-Pacific Scientific Congress in Tokyo in 1926 he carefully promoted BYU's image and credibility. Now in 1929 Harris had an even greater opportunity to perform significant service for mankind — which would also, as before, enhance BYU's reputation in the world.

In 1912 a small group of Russian Jewish immigrants established a colony in Sanpete County, Utah. Most of the colonists had been in the United States only two years. They had settled first in New York, then in Philadelphia, and finally in Utah, where they named their town Clarion. The leader of the colony was Benjamin Brown.

Mormons recognize Jews as having a prophetic destiny, an important tenet of LDS doctrine, and therefore President Joseph F. Smith welcomed the colony and wrote to Rabbi Charles J. Freund of Salt Lake City,

It is very gratifying to us to learn that the relations existing between your Utah colony and our people residing in the immediate vicinity thereto are of the most cordial and neighborly character, and we have very great pleasure indeed in believing that the spirit of good fellowship and neighborly helpfulness will always exist between you and us.²⁰

Rabbi Freund commented in his reply on how fortunate the Jewish colony was to be established on their own land, since for nearly 2,000 years they had been deprived of this privilege. He also expressed gratification that these refugees from Russia were finally enjoying freedom and self-government.²¹

The First Presidency of the Church made a small subscription of \$500 to the colony, explaining that the Church would have contributed more were it not for the Church's responsibility to care for the 4,000 Mormons who had recently been driven from Mexico.

By 1929 colony leader Benjamin Brown had become a member of the National Executive Committee of the Association for Jewish Colonization in the Soviet Union — ICOR.²² Wealthy American Jews had determined to help a large colony of Jews in Russia by purchasing virgin land in eastern Russia in hopes that Jewish people could live there unmolested on their own land. The major question was whether

20. First Presidency to Charles J. Freund, 10 October 1912, Joseph F. Smith Letter Books, LDS Church Historical Department.

21. Charles J. Freud, "Significance of the Jewish Farm Colony at Clarion, Utah," *Improvement Era* 16 (January 1913):107-9.

22. ICOR is also referred to by the name of "Jewish Colonization of Russia." The initials ICOR, however, do not conform to either of these names.

or not the land in Siberia would lend itself to agriculture. For this purpose ICOR appropriated funds to send a scientific commission to eastern Russia to determine whether the land was worth settling.

On 24 January 1929 Benjamin Brown approached President Franklin S. Harris and asked him to serve as chairman of this scientific expedition. They had become friends when Harris, then at the Utah State Agricultural College, made a special study of the lands in Sanpete County in connection with the Jewish settlement there. Harris had also conferred with Benjamin Brown about the Utah Poultry Producers Association, which Brown had since promoted into a very influential organization. Dr. Harris's interest in and sympathy for Jewish land colonization also went back to contacts with a number of Russians at Cornell with whom he discussed Jewish land colonization problems.

Upon receipt of Brown's invitation to head the expedition President Harris presented the matter to the Board of Trustees and the First Presidency. It was agreed that President Harris could render a genuine contribution as chairman of the commission and approval was granted for him to take a leave of absence for several months. Benjamin Brown was delighted to receive the news and he immediately telegraphed the ICOR Executive Committee in New York:

Succeeded in obtaining promise of most reputable American agronomist, University President, author of five scientific agricultural books, and two hundred scientific bulletins; also had practical experience in operating a large ranch of similar soil to Biro-Bidjan. He is now affiliated with twenty agricultural institutions, chairman of some such as Association of American Experiment Stations, etc. Was employed by Canadian Pacific Railway and by Mexican Government. Was chairman of Pan Pacific Congress in Japan nineteen twenty six and he investigated in person agricultural possibilities in Japan, Korea, Manchuria, Malaya, Burma, India, and all over Asia Minor and Europe. This man's name is Doctor F. S. Harris, now President of Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. He is willing to act as chairman of expedition to Biro Bidjan.²³

President Harris formally accepted the chairmanship of this commission on 9 February 1929. Reactions were favorable: Dr. John A. Widtsoe, member of the Quorum of the Twelve and president of the European Mission, wrote President Harris that this was "a magnificent recognition of our people as well as of your own outstanding abilities. I know of no man who is equal for such a task — in training, personality, judgment, leadership, spirituality and the other things necessary for doing big and lasting work."²⁴

23. Telegram from Benjamin Brown to Executive Committee of ICOR, 29 January 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

24. John A. Widtsoe to Franklin S. Harris, 13 March 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

During April and May as President Harris made preparation for his trip to Russia letters of commendation and introductions to government officials poured in. A typical letter of introduction was written by Senator William H. King of Utah:

This will introduce Dr. Franklin S. Harris. . . . Dr. Harris is the president of an important University in the State of Utah, and is an outstanding figure in the educational and intellectual world in the United States. He has been trained in the leading institutions of the United States and has had many contacts with educational institutions in other parts of the world. He is not only acquainted with Europe but has visited substantially all countries of the world, and quite recently spent a year in completing a tour around the world. Dr. Harris' executive work in connection with educational institutions in the West has given him a comprehensive knowledge of the problems of irrigation, the reclamation of lands, the building of homes and the organization of communities. . . . Dr. Harris is a man of integrity and ability. He has the confidence and esteem of all who know him.²⁵

In a personal note attached to this letter Senator King warned Dr. Harris of the economic chaos in Communist Russia, and stated, "The Jewish situation in Russia is quite unsatisfactory. There is developing, I fear, an anti-Semitic feeling which may grow stronger as the days go by. . . . I believe the Jews of Russia will experience many difficulties and hardships during the next few years. Their lot has been a hard one in the past and I fear that the future will see but little amelioration."²⁶

Formation of the Commission

President Harris had specifically requested that his secretary, Kiefer Sauls, be allowed to accompany him as secretary of the new commission. This was approved by ICOR. Several months of intensive effort were exerted to find other qualified men to accompany Dr. Harris on the expedition. Benjamin Brown wrote President Harris on 2 April 1929 that the final arrangements had been made —

yourself as chief agronomist and Chairman; Mr. Sauls as secretary; Professor [J. B.] Davidson [of Iowa State College], as agricultural engineer; Mr. Kahn, of Amtorg [a Russian trading company operating in the United States], as road engineer; Dr. [Charles] Kuntz [of Columbia University], who is at present in Biro Bidjan, as general advisor; Mr. Talmy, who is the general secretary of the ICOR, as official interpreter; and myself, as marketing specialist and general farmer. As far as a lumbering specialist is concerned,

25. Letter of introduction written for Franklin S. Harris by William H. King, 16 May 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

26. William H. King to Franklin S. Harris, 15 May 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

it was decided that we should wait with this question until after our first reconnaissance on the ground.²⁷

The ICOR officials advised that reservations had been made for the commission to sail on June 22 aboard the *Majestic*.

Preparation and Endorsement

It was not easy for Franklin S. Harris to break away from his responsibilities at Brigham Young University even for a few months. The entire administration was structured to depend upon his personal decisions and therefore there was considerable briefing before the school was turned over to E. H. Holt, veteran treasurer of the University. It was also necessary for the departing president to get ready for the launching of the 1929 summer school and initiate his drive for endowments which were so desperately needed to keep the University from financial disaster. As a member of the General Board of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association Harris also had obligations connected with the annual June Conference in Salt Lake City. However, all the problems were dealt with in turn, and on 12 June 1929 Harris and Sauls left Salt Lake City. Their work was more than professional: they had been advised by Church leaders that they were officially representing both the LDS Church and Brigham Young University on the ICOR Commission.

En Route to Russia: Pessimistic Forebodings

In Chicago President Harris and Kiefer Sauls stopped long enough to tour the Jewish ghetto on Maxwell Street, where they talked to Russian Jews to learn as much as they could about the culture and current situation in Russia. President Harris then proceeded to Washington, D.C., to confer with Agriculture Department officials and to study the Library of Congress's soil maps of the Amur section of Siberia where it was proposed that the Jews be settled. The next four days were spent in New York City conferring with Jewish leaders as well as personal friends such as Ernest L. Wilkinson, Harvey Fletcher, and Carl F. Eyring.

The ICOR Commission was viewed with the greatest enthusiasm by influential members of the Jewish community who entertained commission members at a lavish banquet in New York's Hotel Lincoln. Businessmen, professional men, members of the press, and representatives of the Russian government attended the banquet where Harris, as chairman of the commission, announced that the motto of the expedition would be: "Take plenty of time to be sure you are right, and

27. Benjamin Brown to Franklin S. Harris, 9 April 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

then go forward with all your might." In a report of their experiences Harris wrote the First Presidency:

As you will remember I am chairman of the commission and, therefore, have been the center of most of the activity, which has consisted of newspaper interviews, lunches, visits to headquarters of various Jewish organizations, and conversations with Jewish leaders.

They have taken us completely into their confidence and I marvel at the wonderful efficiency of the Jewish people in caring for their own. Long centuries of persecution have given them a unity and they have developed a wonderful technique to help each other out. . . .

Mr. Benjamin Brown, who is also on the commission, as you probably know, developed the Utah Poultry Producers Association which brings to Utah annually about ten million dollars for sales of eggs in New York City. With him, Brother Sauls, and I all from Utah, Utah seemed to be the center of discussion. The one who introduced us spoke of a number of visits to Utah with various Russian delegations and he made the statement that they had received better treatment in Utah than any other state. . . .

When I arose to speak the entire group rose and they also did when I had completed what I had to say. In my remarks I told of the traditional friendship of our people for the Jewish people and of our desire to see them reach their hope of gathering. Never in my life have I been given a greater ovation and I believe that our people have never been placed in a more favorable light than at this banquet. It makes me feel very humble in this great responsibility.²⁸

While in New York President Harris issued an official press release in which he stated:

The Soviet Government, being desirous of solving the economic problem of its Jewish citizens, has set aside a large tract of land on the Amur River in southeastern Siberia, known as Biro-Bidjan, for colonization purposes. This may lead to the formation of a Jewish autonomous state.

There is at present in the United States an organization called ICOR which is devoted to the welfare of the Jewish people in Russia. This is the only organization in the United States which is very much interested in the proposition offered by the Soviet Government.²⁹

When the *Majestic* sailed from New York on 21 June 1929 President Harris hoped that by October 16 they would have completed their assignment and returned home. In Paris the commission met with

28. Franklin S. Harris to First Presidency, 21 June 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

29. Press release, June 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

Rabbi John Tepfer and several other leaders of the Jewish community and press. Here they encountered their first note of pessimism concerning the ultimate success of the project. Rabbi Tepfer explained that they "were very enthusiastic when the plan was first proposed to put the Jews on the land in certain parts of Russia Proper," but that since then developments had occurred indicating that the whole project may prove a disappointment. He suspected ulterior motives on the part of the Soviet leaders and stated,

Only a comparatively few Jews are communistic in their political beliefs. They expected freedom to follow their own wishes after they had been placed on the land but they soon found that those not of the communistic point of view were discriminated against in the various phases of the land colonization program. They began to feel that it was really a plan for communists rather than Jews. It was felt, however, that this discrimination was not confined to the Jews but was practiced with people of all nationalities when it happened that they were not of the communistic faith. Another reason for discouragement on the part of the Jews was the fact that they had expected to be able to develop certain social institutions of their own and use their own language. In this they were disappointed. When the Biro-Bidjan project was announced it did not meet with enthusiasm on the part of the Jews in Russia or other countries because it was felt by them that the Biro-Bidjan project was a Jewish communistic project and it was felt further that there were Jews in the Communist Party fostering this program of land settlement who were even more communistic in their beliefs than the Soviet Government itself.³⁰

Rabbi Tepfer and the other leaders were of the opinion that if this project were to succeed it would have to be under the supervision of a committee appointed by the Soviet Government which included important people who were not communists. They also felt the new Jewish colony should be about 75 percent industrial and 25 percent agricultural.

In Berlin the commission obtained Russian visas and conferred with Jewish leaders who were well acquainted with conditions in Russia. Once more the commission heard Jewish leaders reflecting serious doubts concerning the potential success of the proposed project. The following valuable insight into prevailing conditions was held by Professor Boris Brutzkus:

Before the revolution the Jews in Russia were confined to certain sections known as Pales. Here only could they live and even in these places they were confined to certain occupations and were not permitted to own land. They were engaged mostly in commercial work, many becoming small shop keepers and traders. A

30. Franklin S. Harris, diary, as dictated to Kiefer B. Sauls, BYU Archives, June 1929.

considerable number were also engaged in such occupations as carpentry, tailoring, etc. With the coming of the new Government all the business was taken over by the State with the result that the majority of the Jews have been left without work; only about 36% in the trades. Colonization work has been accomplished with many difficulties and hardships in Russia proper and these, together with the great distance to Biro-Bidjan, made the project a very questionable one in the opinion of Prof. Brutzkus.³¹

Another of the leaders, Jacob Lestschinsky, warned the commission that the reluctance of the Jew to separate himself from family ties and traditions would work against the success of the Biro-Bidjan colonization project. Other experts also warned Harris and the others that previous attempts to promote Jewish colonization had not been successful. Twenty percent of the Jewish settlers who were placed on land near their former homes returned to the old settlement; 37 percent of those who went to Siberia to settle returned; while only 10 percent of those who went to the Volga District returned. Fifty-five percent of the settlers had returned from Biro-Bidjan.

Arrival in Russia

Traveling by train the commission crossed the Russian border on 4 July 1929 and arrived in Moscow the next morning. President Harris noted that a certain stillness pervaded the city. There were practically no travelers or visitors on the streets. He also observed the uniformly modest dress of the people and was "very impressed with the earnestness of everyone."

The commission was pleasantly surprised when it met Soviet Government officials and members of the scientific community and found that they were very enthusiastic about the possibility of a Jewish settlement in eastern Siberia. To encourage the project the Russian officials said the Government intended to make Biro-Bidjan a combination of industry and farming with favorable railroad shipping rates for needed materials. It was explained that the Government contemplated extensive development of coal deposits in the area for the industrial plants they planned to build and indicated that they expected to obtain machinery for their industry from America. The possibility of developing iron ore deposits was also mentioned. President Harris was favorably impressed with many of the officials and scientists. They seemed sincerely desirous of cooperating with the commission. President Harris learned that the Government hoped to have 60,000 people in Biro-Bidjan by 1933 and that already in various places they had "stations developing strains of seed, livestock, poultry, fruit trees, etc., adaptable to the various sections." The government promised to fur-

31. Harris, diary, 2 July 1929.

nish seeds to the settlers as they were needed for agricultural development.

On 8 July 1929 the commission was entertained at a banquet put on by the Scientists Club of Moscow. This turned out to be a session of many speeches and little food. Fifteen Russians representing various government scientific groups spoke. President Harris and his secretary returned to their hotel too exhausted to record many details of the evening's events.³²

Side Trip to the Crimea

The Russian Government seemed very pleased with its experiment in Jewish colonization which had already taken place in the Crimea, and asked the commission to visit that region. En route they made stops in Odessa where they "visited the poor Jewish districts and found whole families living in basements in one room without proper light or air and with the floor broken through in many places." They also visited a knitting works where all the machines were run by hand, and a shoe factory which employed 1,200 Jews was described as "very successful."

Benjamin Brown had the commission stop at Krijopol, where he was born. Brown's relatives and friends were very frank in discussing the Jewish situation in Russia at that time. They reported that some felt the spirit of anti-Semitism was growing, even though others felt it was dying down. Furthermore,

Some thought that the Government was very hard on them for taking such large taxes. . . . It was thought by some that the young Jews who are trying to court the favor of Government officials were a source of a good deal of the trouble of the Jews. Someone during the day made the remark that there were about eleven million in the trade unions and they had to be loyal to the Government no matter what the real situation might be. While we were out taking pictures in the street the local officers came along and had us go into a place where they questioned us very minutely.³³

When President Harris visited some of the Jewish colonies he noted they did not have a rabbi. Although the people said they desired a place of worship they seemed to be accommodating to the policy of the Government, which was not favorable to religion of any kind. These colonies demonstrated, however, that the urban-bred Jewish people were capable of adapting themselves to farm work and as a result were getting along fairly well.

32. Franklin S. Harris, "Surging Russia," unpublished manuscript in BYU Archives, pp. 26-27.

33. Harris, diary, 13 July 1929.

On to Biro-Bidjan

The commission returned to Moscow on 19 July and then started on a nine-day, 5,460-mile railroad journey across Russia to reach Biro-Bidjan. When they arrived, Khabarovsk, Siberia, became the ICOR Commission headquarters for the following two months. The Biro-Bidjan region is approximately 200 miles long and 100 miles wide, and the Government provided approximately \$2,500 for the commission's expenses as well as a special railroad car in which they could live as the survey progressed through the district.

The commission used its railroad car headquarters to reach the Volochnivka and then went by horseback to a Jewish community of twenty-two young men and three young women struggling to survive on a communal basis. President Harris noted,

Their place is on the site of an old experiment station. They have thirty-two dairy cows which give them their chief source of income. The crops observed were oats, wheat, buckwheat, cabbage and barley. While these young people seem to be struggling [valiantly] it is evident that they are working a good deal in the dark and the necessity for management is very evident. Their sanitary conditions are very poor and they have not learned to protect themselves against flies. On the way to the ICOR [colony] we found a number of wells which contained ice at a depth of ten to twelve feet. This ice was three to six feet thick. It was frozen during the winter at the place where the ground water seeped into the well and has not yet thawed out.³⁴

A little further on, in contrast to the Jewish commune, the commission observed that a colony of Korean farmers — the “best farmers we have ever seen” — were raising soy beans, millet, corn, wheat, oats, barley, cucumbers, watermelons, squash, tomatoes, peas, beans, peppers, sunflowers, beets, carrots, hemp, potatoes, buckwheat, and tobacco. When the commission made a four-day expedition down the Bira River, visiting a number of settlements on the way, they suffered a nightly assault of mosquitos which made it virtually impossible to sleep. This part of the excursion was no place for a city-bred tenderfoot. President Harris recorded that during the four-day journey he never removed his clothes except to change them when they became soaked. On 7 August a Russian took them into his home where “sixteen of us, including the family, slept on the floor of one room. Most of us took our one blanket and lay on the floor. In spite of the hard bed I had an unusually good sleep.”³⁵

President Harris was pleased to discover at one government experi-

34. Ibid., 1 August 1929.

35. Ibid., 6 August 1929.

ment station that the director had a copy of Harris's paper "Alkali and the Soil." He also had a copy of Dr. John A. Widtsoe's book on dry farming. That night the director spread a large Persian rug on the floor of his office. The commission members slept on it without taking off their clothes.

For six weeks the ICOR Commission continued its exploration of Biro-Bidjan and the surrounding districts extending to the Pacific Ocean. They even made a brief trip to the nearby Russian seaport of Vladivostok. Finally they felt they had accomplished everything they could in the time allotted and prepared to return to Moscow via Leningrad. On the long trip back the commission prepared an 85-page report. By and large the report was favorable to a major Jewish settlement. The commission felt that the soil of the district was fertile and that there was sufficient timber, iron ore, and other minerals in the vicinity to make the development of several new industries possible. The commission was realistic in pointing out the number of problems which would have to be overcome, but it felt these problems were not prohibitive. In the past, some 55 percent of those sent into this district for settlement had returned, which the commission felt was due to the colonists' lack of preparation and experience and to poor administration on the part of those in positions of leadership.

Recruiting an Opera Star for BYU

Benjamin Brown's nephew was a Moscow opera star with the stage name of Isador Belarsky. One of the incidental rewards of the expedition came when Harris waded through Russian government red tape to arrange for Belarsky to come to America under Harris's sponsorship to teach at BYU. Eventually, after teaching at BYU for several noteworthy years, Belarsky went on to join the Metropolitan Opera, the Chicago Civic Opera, and the Los Angeles Opera. He also toured extensively in the U.S. and Canada.

An Interview with Rykov

One of the highlights of the return visit to Moscow was an interview between members of the ICOR Commission and A. I. Rykov, a close associate of Stalin and prime minister of the Soviet Union. The Soviet leader favorably impressed the commission members. The meeting took place in the Kremlin, and President Harris remarked later,

After a brief word of explanation regarding the Commission by Mr. Tenumin, I outlined the work that we had done and gave a summary of our findings and recommendations. This was translated by Mr. Talmy. Rykov then led out in a discussion of the work. He seemed pleased at our findings and in his discussion showed a great friendship for the Jewish people and other minorities in the country. He also showed that he was well informed on colonization

matters generally. This whole question was discussed in a statesmanlike manner and he showed a wide grasp of international affairs. We were all impressed by the leadership and leisurely way in which he considered our problem and the geniality of his personality. We all left impressed by his skill in managing the affairs of Russia.³⁶

In later correspondence Premier Rykov officially informed Harris that “the settlement of Biro-Bidjan is included in the Five-Year Plan, which provides for the settling of 12,000 Jewish families, i.e., 60,000 people in Biro-Bidjan.”³⁷

A Moscow News Conference

Because the press was anxiously awaiting the report of the ICOR Commission, President Harris called a press conference which was covered by all of the major news services. This resulted in widespread favorable publicity for the commission and added to the image of President Harris and the institution he represented. The *New York Post* typically noted on 5 October 1929 that the ICOR Commission would submit a report encouraging American Jews to support plans for settling “60,000 of Soviet Russia’s 1,000,000 unemployed Jews in a Siberian region,” and that the commission members would

Report their findings to the “ICOR” membership in Jewish communities of 150 American cities and endeavor to raise \$1,000,000 to finance a program for settling upon land the urban Jews who have lost their employment through the suppression of private trading and other vocations in Russia.

A dispatch of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America reported:

The man chosen to head the Commission is F. S. Harris, President of Brigham Young University, Utah. It is evident that the sponsors

36. Ibid., 2 October 1929.

37. In 1928, one year before Harris’s expedition, Stalin had announced a five-year plan for governmental control of the economy of Russia based on forced industrialization and agricultural collectivization. Within two months after Harris’s interview with Rykov, he and other leaders of the so-called Right Opposition to this five-year plan, in accordance with Soviet practice, were publicly forced to confess their “mistaken views.” A year later, Rykov was dismissed from the party Politburo and from his post as prime minister. Molotov succeeded him. By 1932 it was recognized that the five-year plan was a failure, and Stalin’s leadership was seriously challenged. However, a number of factors, including, according to some authorities, the United States’ official recognition of the Stalin government in November 1933 and Hitler’s rise to power in Germany, made it possible for him to survive. In 1938, when Stalin felt he was strongly entrenched in power, he ordered the infamous purge trials. Following these trials, Rykov and others who were found to be political enemies of Stalin were liquidated.

of the project wish to rely principally upon persons familiar with the Mormon experience in land settlement. Dr. Harris was born in an agricultural colony in Mexico and has lived in colonies in Canada and Utah.³⁸

Homeward Bound

On October 4 President Harris and some of the commission members departed by train for Kharkov in the Ukraine, and the following afternoon they spent an hour and a half with President Petrolski of the Ukraine Republic. They then proceeded to Minsk where they met with acting president Hatzkevich of the Republic of White Russia. The commission continued west and on October 8 reached the Polish border, where their baggage was carefully inspected before they were allowed to proceed. While President Harris was in the railway station the train departed without any announcement and he had to sprint for a hundred yards to avoid being left behind. Of this experience he wrote, "Thus I left Russia on foot and on the run as many people had done before."³⁹

The train sped westward, stopping in Warsaw and Berlin where the commission made a brief report to the Jewish leaders. They went on to Paris where most of the commission remained. President Harris and Kiefer Sauls traveled to New York via London, arriving on 22 October 1929. They spent the next 13 days reporting their activities to Jewish groups in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago. Harris and Sauls were received with tremendous enthusiasm wherever they spoke.

By the time Franklin Harris and Kiefer Sauls arrived in Utah on 3 November 1929 they had traveled 34,611 miles. During their journey they had spent 69 nights in actual travel on railroads or boats followed by days filled with strenuous activity.

Press Coverage of the ICOR Commission

The news media gave wide coverage to all phases of the ICOR Commission expedition. On 7 July 1929 the *Journal of Education* reported that "Franklin S. Harris, president, Brigham Young University . . . is in Russia, chairman of the commission of seven specialists of the United States selected by the Russian Government to help settle a large number of Jews on land set apart for them in Siberia. It is one of the most interesting industrial adventures undertaken in modern times, and Dr. Harris is specially adapted to the leadership of such a unique experiment. There is keen interest in the success of this

38. *Information Service* 8(12 October 1929):4.

39. Harris, "Surging Russia," pp. 211-12. *See also* Harris, diary, 8 October 1929.

transportation of a racial group. If it succeeds it will lead to other racial ventures.”⁴⁰

Reporting the activities of the ICOR Commission to the audience of radio station WOL in Washington, D.C., on 29 October 1929, Harris said, “The commission is of the opinion that the settlement in order to be most effective requires the aid of American organization ability and also modern American equipment. The ICOR Society has taken upon itself the task of furnishing these, and it is believed that with this combined service the colonization should progress rapidly and it should aid in the solution of the Jewish problem in Russia.”⁴¹

National Jewish publication *B’nai B’rith* carried a picture of President Harris with the comment, “A million-dollar campaign to supply Jewish colonists in Biro-Bidjan with farm implements is now being held by the ICOR organization as the result of a report of an Expert Commission which has just returned to New York after a thorough investigation of agricultural possibilities of the new colony under the auspices of ICOR. Dr. Franklin S. Harris, President of Brigham Young University, headed the Commission.”⁴²

Fruits of the Labor

Harris’s return was big news in Utah. The morning after his arrival President Harris was welcomed by an assembly of BYU students and faculty where he reported that “the return trip had been a continuous ovation and that the Brigham Young University had been spoken of everywhere as one of the great schools of the nation.”⁴³

BYU continued to enjoy the prestige developed by President Harris during this four-month excursion to Russia. He received hundreds of invitations to speak on the subject of Russia throughout the United States. A few months after returning he wrote to a friend, “I am having to do more speaking about the country than I have ever had to in my life. Almost daily there is a call for me to speak somewhere, usually on Russia. The Russian situation is very much in the public eye just at present.”⁴⁴ Among his speaking engagements President Harris had occasion to speak to a number of prominent Jewish organizations and in 1936 he was made vice-president of the American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Biro-Bidjan.

As to the success of the commission in providing a place of colonization for the Jews, it was not until 7 May 1944 that Biro-Bidjan became an Autonomous Jewish Region of the Soviet Union. While the ICOR

40. “Personal and Professional,” *Journal of Education*, 7 July 1929.

41. Typescript of address, MS 340 box 20, folder 2, BYU Archives.

42. *B’nai B’rith* 44 (December 1929):120.

43. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 7 November 1929.

44. Franklin S. Harris to Ray Spilsbury, 17 February 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

Commission's expedition was only one of a number of factors that contributed to this, literature on the subject often mentions the work of the group headed by Franklin S. Harris.⁴⁵ By 1971 Biro-Bidjan had a population of 174,000, of which only about 15,660, or nine percent, were Jews.⁴⁶

Though the ultimate destiny of the Biro-Bidjan region may be very different from what Franklin S. Harris and other members of the ICOR Commission had hoped it would be, the Russian expedition nevertheless demonstrated the willingness of President Harris and BYU to look beyond the mountains for opportunities to serve mankind. President Harris's international outlook remained a hallmark of his administration at BYU.

On 9 November 1929 Harris wrote John A. Widtsoe, "Yesterday afternoon I went to Salt Lake and reported to the First Presidency, who seemed very much interested in Russia and what we had done. I told them of your service to the commission, and I had written them previously about it."⁴⁷ Harris later wrote to Widtsoe that he was still being asked to speak about Russia several times a week. He also answered President Widtsoe's question

about the feeling against religion in Russia. I think it is a little like Mark Twain said about [reports of his] death: "a great deal exaggerated." The Communist party, which constitutes less than one per cent of the population of the country, is rather definitely against religion, although they guarantee religious liberty. The great mass of the Russian people, however, are religious. . . . You see, Russia never had the Reformation, nor Puritanism, nor chivalry, and as a result it had to do in a short time what western Europe required several hundred years to do. Naturally, there are a lot of growing pains coming out of the situation.⁴⁸

The First Presidency of the Church was highly pleased with the contribution which Dr. Harris had made as chairman of the ICOR Commission. It gave occasion for thousands of people to hear favorable reference to the Church and Brigham Young University, which might not have happened otherwise. It also gave Church leaders an

45. See *Yearbook of the American Commission for the Settlement of Jews in Biro-Bidjan, 1936*; Ambijan Committee, *Report on 10th Anniversary of the Jewish Autonomous Region, 1944*; and *Soviet Union Review*, 8 (February 1930):23-25.

46. Handbook of the Soviet Union, 1971. There is a worldwide population of approximately 15,000,000 Jews, of which over 6,000,000 are in the United States, over 3,000,000 in Israel, and over 2,600,000 in the Soviet Union. New York City, with a Jewish population of over 1,800,000, has the largest Jewish population of any city in the world.

47. Franklin S. Harris to John A. Widtsoe, 9 November 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

48. Ibid., 31 March 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

opportunity to appreciate the tremendous advantages which accrue to the Church and its educational program when men of distinction such as President Harris represent the Church and its institutions to the world community. This became particularly significant as BYU moved into the depression era, when its survival once again was in question.

16

Ten Lean, Hectic, Eventful Years: 1930-1939

Just two days after President Harris arrived in New York on his way home from Russia the stock market came down with a crash. The Dow Jones Industrial Average dropped 120 points in a single day. That disastrous date of 24 October 1929 became known as “Black Thursday.” It was only the beginning. By April 1932 the Dow Jones average had plummeted from 350 to 60 and rail averages had dropped from 118 to 20. Investors lost over \$50,000,000,000 in stock values. Factories began to shut down and as unemployment skyrocketed bread lines and soup kitchens appeared in the major cities. No part of the country was immune.

Almost overnight these events had a tremendous impact on the revenues of the LDS Church and the finances available to support its various institutions. By 1930 President Heber J. Grant felt compelled to publicly announce that the Church was withdrawing from the junior college field and there was considerable talk that this would include the closing of Brigham Young University. President Grant’s announcement had a deeply depressing effect on the faculty and also had an impact on student enrollment. When it appeared that the University might lose some of its most talented faculty members, President Harris asked Anthony W. Ivins of the First Presidency precisely what the Church had in mind for BYU. No definite reply was forthcoming. Although President Harris remained optimistic, no concrete evidence of a serious intention to preserve the University came until 1935, when \$90,687 was appropriated to remodel the Mechanic Arts Building. Stephen L Richards interpreted this appropriation as an assurance of future Church support and a commitment to continue building BYU. He wrote President Harris,

It seems to me that the action taken in the meeting of the Board of Trustees may be looked upon as a very definite decision first, for the permanent maintenance of the institution, something perhaps that never should have been doubted; and secondly, for the build-

ing of the upper campus. At least I felt this significance attaching to the erection of the new building.¹

The Church Transfers Its Junior Colleges to the State

Although the depression deprived the LDS Church of the funds needed to support its junior colleges, the Church leaders did not want the communities they served to lose these educational facilities. Church leaders therefore offered to give the junior college facilities to the State of Utah, with the stipulation that if they were ever used for anything but educational purposes they would revert to the Church. The State Legislature responded by passing a bill in 1931 that authorized the transfer of Snow and Weber colleges to the state and provided for their maintenance as junior colleges under the supervision of the State Board of Education. Snow College was transferred 1 July 1932 and Weber College 1 July 1933. Dixie College in St. George also became a public institution in 1933.²

Gila College in Arizona was transferred to the county to become a junior college for the State of Arizona. Ricks College in Idaho barely escaped the same fate — it only survived as a Church institution when the Stake Presidency and other leaders of Rexburg offered to take over the financing of that institution. This they did, although some time later the Church again assumed the responsibility.

The Struggle to Survive

Although there were several years when President Harris wasn't sure Brigham Young University would not suffer the same fate as the Church junior colleges, he knew that the leaders of the Church had a strong affection for the school and hoped it could somehow survive. The favorable sentiments of President Heber J. Grant were shown by his personal gift of \$1,500 to BYU in 1929.

As the depression deepened, the pressures bore down on Brigham Young University from two directions. In 1924 the Church had fixed the annual budget of BYU at approximately \$200,000 and did not increase that amount for eleven years. At the same time, the enrollment at BYU rose from 1,009 in 1924 to 3,459 in 1934. These figures become even more significant when it is realized that all President Harris received to run the school in 1933 was \$177,500. Nevertheless, as soon as the Church had relieved itself of the junior colleges, additional funds began to become available to BYU. In 1935 the Church was able to assign \$230,000 to BYU, in 1936 \$280,000, and in 1937

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1. Stephen L Richards to Franklin S. Harris, 6 June 1935, Harris Presidential Papers.
 2. M. Lynn Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, p. 195.

\$320,000. By this time it seemed that BYU had weathered the storm of the Great Depression.

Almost miraculously, during the years of restricted budgets President Harris was able to add to the faculty to accommodate the mounting enrollment. In 1929 there were 85 teachers, and yet the number had grown to 115 by 1934 when BYU had its lowest appropriation in a decade. This was possible partly because the faculty had accepted a 10 percent salary cut in 1932 and partly because the Church reduced its contribution to the faculty retirement fund. President Harris wrote to Commissioner Merrill of the faculty's reaction to the salary cut:

While everyone, of course, regrets that conditions make re-trenchment necessary, they voted one hundred per cent to cooperate with the Church Board in the matter. I was really delighted with the spirit of the faculty in which they recognized the problems that confront the authorities of the Church in these days of financial depression.³

In 1933 an additional one-eighth salary cut was announced. President Harris was even advised that teachers' contracts for the coming years would be provisional and should not specify a commitment as to salary. Feeling that matters were rapidly reaching the breaking point, President Harris warned against further reductions. Commissioner Merrill wrote to him that the Board of Education was "sympathetic with you, and no one wants to cut your budget, at all, but the income of the Church is going rapidly from bad to worse, resulting in the First Presidency looking with very grave concern upon every item of expenditure."⁴ Salaries were raised by five percent in 1934, but that was the last general raise until 1942.

To get the greatest possible mileage from the BYU budget, President Harris invited the commissioner of education to investigate the manner in which BYU was being administered. A careful audit in July 1932 conducted by C. E. Hayes clearly vindicated Harris's financial management of the University. The only criticism was that the bookkeeping and accounting system was antiquated. Therefore, with the approval of President Harris, Hayes set up a new double entry system of bookkeeping.

Justifying the Existence of BYU

During the depression years it was necessary to emphasize over and over again the reasons why the Church should continue operating BYU. As early as 1930 President Harris invited the faculty to submit their thoughts on this subject. He presented some of them in a talk

3. Franklin S. Harris to Joseph F. Merrill, 7 March 1932, Harris Presidential Papers.

4. Joseph F. Merrill to Franklin S. Harris, 2 May 1932, Harris Presidential Papers.

before the Church Board of Education on 5 April 1931 at the request of Commissioner Joseph F. Merrill:

1. BYU is a concrete demonstration to the world that the Church believes in higher education.
2. The BYU library and museums are collecting and distributing centers for the entire Church.
3. BYU has a special capacity to conserve the spiritual values and truths that are neglected by secular institutions.
4. BYU is a place where effective missionaries can be trained.
5. BYU provides wholesome social contacts that result in worthy courtships and temple marriages for LDS youth.
6. The lists of leaders in the Church (bishops, stake presidents, teachers, etc.) demonstrate that BYU is the training ground for Church leadership.
7. BYU is an example to the world of the art and refinement to which the Church is committed.
8. BYU is needed as a center for scientific research coupled with the spiritual and moral philosophy of Mormonism.
9. BYU's function is to conserve the intellectual and spiritual life of the Church in the lives of the youth.⁵

Student Struggles during the Depression

The fortitude of the student body during the depression was as great as that of the faculty. While the students struggled to make ends meet, the school paper editorialized, "We can't let the depression . . . fasten itself upon us and make us irritable and unsocial, instead we spend less money and become more ingenious in our affairs. It really is possible to enjoy parties for little cost, if restraint, brains and cooperation are employed."⁶

It was indeed "restraint, brains and cooperation" which pulled most of the students through. A survey made during the 1937-38 school year found that almost half of the BYU students lived in apartments where they could "batch it," about 20 percent lived at home in Provo, and about 30 percent boarded in private homes. Amazingly, about 40 percent of the students were surviving on three to six dollars a month for food. Another 25 percent were spending only six to nine dollars, and 23 percent were spending nine to twelve dollars a month on food.⁷ As early as 1931 the students had succeeded in making frugality stylish, and President Harris commented that "since most of the students are running tight, there is no great embarrassment."⁸

5. "Reasons for BYU," box 84, Harris Presidential Papers.

6. "Great Prospects for the Units," *Y News*, 7 October 1931.

7. "A Survey of Student Expenditures in Provo, Utah, 1937-38," UA 47, BYU Archives.

8. Franklin S. Harris, "Economy Stylish This Year," *Y News*, 9 September 1931. See also Franklin S. Harris to Laval S. Morris, 4 November 1932, box 40, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

The morale among the students was described by President Harris in a letter to Rex Johnson, "We have had a successful year in spite of the fact that no one seemed to have any money. There has been the finest spirit that I believe I have ever known in the Institution, and the unity is rather remarkable. We are a great, happy family of faculty and students."⁹

President Harris told the student body "If your clothes fit, are clean and are up-to-date, you will be in style. Don't let your wardrobe bother you too much."¹⁰ Wilford Lee, a student at BYU during the 1930s and later a faculty member, recalled the following circumstances when he first registered at BYU in 1931:

The school was struggling. They were still accepting gallon jugs of black strap molasses from the Dixie [Southern Utah] students as part payment on the student's tuition. Since it was in the depths of the Great Depression, the most important struggle was for survival. When I was taken on the faculty in 1934, economic conditions had not improved.

I will always remember the Y as the poor man's school; and since I was one of the poorest of the poor, I will always remember those days as a real struggle for existence. Since I needed a job and no jobs were available outside the school, through the generosity and concern of Dr. Harris the Y became father and mother to me and my family. The President, because I had to have work, started me out at 25c an hour. When I started teaching Freshman English and they raised my salary to 50c an hour, I took the check back to Brother Holt [BYU Treasurer] and asked him if there wasn't some mistake. He said, "No, since you are doing professional work, we are doubling your salary." He had a twinkle in his eye.¹¹

In the fall of 1934 the Federal Emergency Relief Administration provided grants-in-aid to educational institutions in order to provide student employment. President Heber J. Grant was extremely concerned that the acceptance of such funds for improvement projects on campus might compromise the position of the Church and the University. President Harris justified the acceptance of the money on the basis that it was not a Federal "gift" to the University as such but was really a make-work program to provide employment for needy students. He reasoned that the money did not actually accrue to the University but to the students, although the labor of the students accrued to the advantage of the University in completing a number of school projects. Although President Grant felt that the acceptance of this assistance was a dangerous precedent, he did not forbid it.

9. Franklin S. Harris to A. Rex Johnson, 5 April 1933, box 39, folder J, Harris Presidential Papers.

10. Franklin S. Harris to Alice Louise Reynolds, 16 November 1932, box 41, folder R, Harris Presidential Papers.

11. Wilford Lee to James R. Clark, 23 January 1974, BYU Centennial History Faculty Survey Papers, BYU Archives.

By this means BYU was able to help between 200 and 400 students each year by paying them ten to fifteen dollars per month under the National Youth Administration of the FERA. President Harris wrote, "I believe this FERA arrangement is about the best thing that has ever happened to help out the poor person in getting a college education."¹² Students worked as janitors, construction assistants, typists, library assistants, trained readers, photographers, teacher's aides, waitresses, cafeteria aides, referees for intramural games, and other supervised positions.

The Government money was allotted directly to the University and then distributed at the school's discretion. Harris doubled the number of students participating in the program by paying each person half the normal allotment, and all were grateful for whatever they could get. The program gradually subsided as economic conditions improved in the early 1940s.

Maintaining Academic Standards

The depression years brought a number of significant pressures on the University which made President Harris particularly sensitive to the necessity of maintaining the school's academic standards. One of the first difficulties arose when Church commissioner of education Joseph F. Merrill asked BYU to liberalize its academic requirements so that seminary teachers could obtain master's degrees in religious education through correspondence courses. President Harris resisted this pressure even though Commissioner Merrill told him he shouldn't worry too much about accreditation in formulating a policy which would be favorable to the advancement of the Church seminary system.

President Harris's cautious policy paid off two years later when Brigham Young University temporarily lost its standing with the Association of American Universities and had to win back the lost ground. This came about as a result of admitting a transfer student from Utah State Agricultural College who had taken a number of courses listed as high school credits in the USAC catalog. A notation in the transcript said that investigation showed these credits to be on the college level even though the catalog rated them as high school courses. Nevertheless, BYU was removed from the Association's list of approved schools. President Harris made a personal trip to New York City to explain the situation, and even then a complete re-evaluation of BYU's academic standards had to be completed before the school was readmitted as a recognized and approved institution of higher learning.

To further improve the academic standards of the University, President Harris appointed a committee to study the academic require-

12. Franklin S. Harris to E. G. Peterson, 16 July 1934, box 51, folder P-Q, Harris Presidential Papers.

ments for each of the colleges. It was found that there was a striking discrepancy as to the number of hours required for a major in different areas of training. Zoology required 37 hours, modern languages 59 hours, physics 44 to 57 hours, music 43 hours, and foods and nutrition 30 hours, plus 23 specified hours in other departments.¹³ After careful study and much consultation, the school catalog for 1939-40 contained standardized requirements for academic majors and minors.

Increase in Student Enrollment

In spite of the depression a number of factors contributed to a rather remarkable increase in the enrollment at Brigham Young University. The closing of almost all Church junior colleges by 1933 led a number of students to come to BYU for their education. There was also considerable recruiting by members of the faculty throughout Utah, and the Extension Division conducted programs over radio station KSL which greatly increased interest in BYU.

During the 1933-34 school year full-time collegiate enrollment reached 2,000. Since enrollment at the University of Utah and other universities was substantially declining that year, it was felt that BYU had made remarkable progress in attracting additional student interest. Based on a statistical report of 555 colleges, universities, technical schools, and teachers colleges published in *School and Society*, only 87 of the institutions were larger than BYU.¹⁴ In spite of the depression, college enrollment at BYU increased over 50 percent during the 1930s, expanding from 1,494 in the 1929-30 school year to 2,375 in the 1939-40 school year. After 1935 the Church began to regain its financial stability, and as a result of its support the faculty increased to 142 by 1940, with 19 percent holding doctor's degrees.¹⁵

Academic Freedom and Church Doctrine

One of Franklin S. Harris's major objectives as President of BYU was to maintain an atmosphere friendly to independent thought and action. He believed that this goal would not conflict with the school's role of promoting the LDS faith. He trusted his teachers in the classroom because he believed they were "a fine lot of God-fearing men, men who have a thorough belief in Mormonism and men whose characters are above reproach."¹⁶ However, LDS religious education seemed threatened because BYU professors were so anxious to receive formal academic recognition that they turned away from innovative studies

13. "Reorganizational Materials," 1938, box 84, Harris Presidential Papers.

14. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 28 December 1933.

15. The figure of 142 includes staff members and teachers in the training school as well as college teachers.

16. Franklin S. Harris to Joseph S. Perry, 8 December 1925, box 15, folder P, Harris Presidential Papers.

within the Church and obtained their academic degrees from sectarian seminaries or other non-Mormon religious institutions.

Gradually Church authorities began to become alarmed by the tendency of BYU religion teachers to run after the “scholarship of the world” and give it precedence over some of the basic teachings of the Church. This concern was interpreted by some members of the faculty as being a restraint upon their academic freedom. Lowry Nelson later wrote,

During the 1920s and the early 1930s, the academic atmosphere at BYU was remarkably free of restraints. About 1933, however, the Church authorities became somewhat uneasy about what was happening. Partly, this unease was the result of an extraordinary Summer Session, in which four faculty members from the University of Chicago gave courses primarily for teachers in the LDS Seminaries at the high school level.¹⁷

Early in 1934 at the request of the First Presidency, Apostle John A. Widtsoe, who had replaced Joseph Merrill as Church commissioner of education, and Apostle Charles A. Callis spent some time at BYU to interview each of the faculty members and question them concerning their feelings toward the Church and its teachings. President Harris insisted on being present as each member of the faculty was interviewed. He later wrote to Sylvester Q. Cannon, “I am right on the trail of those who are talking against our faculty because if the faculty is teaching things they shouldn’t I want to know about it.”¹⁸ It disturbed President Harris that many people took their complaints against BYU to the General Authorities rather than to the administrators of the University. He even found his numerous talks on Russia providing ammunition for the rumor that he was an advocate of Communism.¹⁹ But in spite of the injustice of some of the rumors, it began to appear that at least some of the faculty did not have the kind of commitments to Church precepts which had been generally assumed. The Lowry Nelson investigation demonstrated some elements of the problem.

In the summer of 1934 Dr. G. Oscar Russell, a graduate of BYU and head of the phonetics laboratory at Ohio State University, wrote a letter to President Heber J. Grant about Lowry Nelson, who had taught at BYU for twelve years and was dean of the College of Applied Science. In the course of a visit he had made to BYU, Dr. Russell asked Dr. Nelson about his views on “immortality.” Nelson had replied that immortality was something he “did not know. It is something one can consider as an hypothesis, which cannot be tested by any method we know, whether it is true or not. Up to now, nobody has taken me up and

17. Lowry Nelson, “Eighty: One Man’s Way There,” p. 93.

18. Franklin S. Harris to Sylvester Q. Cannon, 11 August 1934, box 48, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.

19. Ibid.

shown me the pearly gates.”²⁰ Nelson apparently confirmed these views by letter.

Russell then wrote President Harris, Professor Guy C. Wilson, and members of the BYU Board of Trustees, giving details of the Nelson conversation and enclosing a copy of Nelson’s letter. President Grant read the letter in the weekly meeting of the Council of the Twelve Apostles the day after he received it. He could not understand a faculty member at BYU having doubts about such a basic doctrine of the Church. This was considered quite unlike the question of evolution raised during the administration of President Brimhall, which President Joseph F. Smith philosophically laid at rest by stating the Church had no doctrine as to the “modus operandi” by which the earth was made.

President Harris did what he could to ameliorate the situation and warmly defended the outstanding service which Lowry Nelson had rendered to Brigham Young University through the years. He accompanied Nelson to a meeting with President Heber J. Grant, and Nelson later sent a letter to President Grant reaffirming his faith in the restored Gospel. Although no direct action was taken by the Church, and Lowry Nelson was assured by David O. McKay that there would be no further investigation of the matter, Lowry Nelson decided to leave BYU.²¹ He obtained a supervisory position with the Federal Government in administering some of its emergency programs in four of the western states.

Soon after Lowry Nelson left BYU several other members of the faculty who had been criticized for “liberal” or unorthodox teachings resigned. Geologist Murray Hales obtained a position with the Federal Government in Washington, D.C. Botanist Walter Cottam went to the University of Utah. Hugh Woodward, who taught philosophy, found employment with the WPA educational program. Coach Ott Romney became athletic director at West Virginia University, and Grant Ivins, who taught animal husbandry at BYU, became price administrator for Utah during World War II.

Some of those who left alleged that BYU was stifling academic freedom, but the record shows that other members of the faculty were speaking on many controversial subjects without hindrance. Newspaper articles frequently reported discussions by BYU faculty members Wayne B. Hales, Sidney Sperry, and Carl Eyring on such subjects as “Science and Mormonism,” “True Evolution,” “Modern Science and How It Affects Religious Thought,” “Challenge to Scientists in the Church,” and “Harmonized Learning.”

Some members of the faculty who were reaffirming the climate of freedom at BYU felt that there might have been some undesirable

20. Nelson, “Eighty,” p. 96.

21. Ibid., p. 101.

restraints had it not been for Harris's determination to maintain an open arena of intellectual inquiry. For example, Russell Swensen, who obtained his training at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, said, "Without Harris's breadth of vision and erudite versatility and emphasis upon academic freedom, there would have been no tone of a real university at BYU."²²

Parley A. Christensen, an outstanding literature teacher, felt that Harris's most important contribution to the University was "the maintenance here of an atmosphere friendly to independent thought and action. A university which does not encourage the freely inquiring mind is not, of course, a university. Under circumstances not always congenial to untrammelled thought and expression, [Harris] helped us all to preserve the essential integrity of our minds and spirits."²³

Occasional incidents continued to occur however, which aroused the concern of the President of the Church and other General Authorities. For example, a speaker was invited to address the student body in 1936 who seemed to be highly supportive of the Soviet system and spoke on "Progress in Russia." President Grant immediately wrote Dr. Harris vigorously protesting the employment of a speaker who would praise collectivism as superior to the individual ownership of property. This was not an isolated incident. There was a growing sentiment among certain intellectual circles of the Church that the Communists should be supported because they were pioneering a type of socialized economy which would eventually culminate in the United Order or Law of Consecration described in LDS scriptures. President Grant wrote to Dr. Harris, "When the Lord establishes the united order it will be alright, and not when Communists do it, or try to do it."²⁴

The First Presidency and Communism

President Grant became sufficiently disturbed over the growing confusion in the Church concerning the whole subject of Communism and its alleged relationship to the United Order that he determined to issue a formal statement over the signatures of the entire First Presidency, including counselors J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and David O. McKay:

With great regret we learn from credible sources, governmental and others, that a few Church members are joining directly or indirectly, the Communists and are taking part in their activities.

The Church does not interfere, and has no intention of trying to interfere, with the fullest and freest exercise of the political franchise of its members, under and within our Constitution. . . .

But Communism is not a political party nor a political plan

22. Russell B. Swensen in *Friends and Associates* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1945), p. 98.

23. Parley A. Christensen in *Friends and Associates*, p. 53.

24. Heber J. Grant to Franklin S. Harris, 7 May 1936, box 55, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.

under the Constitution; it is a system of government that is the opposite of our Constitutional government, and it would be necessary to destroy our government before Communism could be set up in the United States. . . .

To our Church members we say: Communism is not the United Order, and bears only the most superficial resemblance thereto. Communism is based upon intolerance and force, the United Order upon love and freedom of conscience and action; Communism involves forceful despoliation and confiscation, the United Order voluntary consecration and sacrifice. . . .

The United Order will be established by the Lord in His own due time and in accordance with the regular prescribed order of the Church. . . .

Communism being thus hostile to loyal American citizenship and incompatible with true Church membership, of necessity no loyal American citizen and no faithful Church member can be a Communist.²⁵

At the beginning of the 1936-37 school year, President Harris addressed the faculty on the importance of supporting Church leaders and recognizing the specific mission of Brigham Young University as a religious institution. He pointed out that "The best measure of an educated man is the ability to discriminate between the chaff and the kernel, the evil and the good." He emphasized that each faculty member must develop a high spiritual quality in order to be able to discern the good from the evil. He added, "We have a special obligation to the Church. Let us have it known wherever we are that we are in the church, of the church, and for the church."²⁶

Paying Tithing

During this same period President Harris had to deal with another matter which was extremely sensitive and threatened to shake the confidence of Church authorities in BYU. That was the nonpayment of a full tithing. In view of the limited salary schedule of faculty members, it can be readily understood how some of them might rationalize that they were making a sufficient contribution to the Church without the additional payment of tithing. However, Church authorities felt that it was a matter of moral responsibility as well as divine injunction that each of them pay a full tithe and help support the Church in its struggle to keep its various institutions alive. Furthermore, many others were paying tithing on more frugal incomes than BYU teachers. It had always been a standard teaching of the Church that the payment of tithing was a fundamental manifestation of a member's sincere commitment to the upbuilding of the kingdom, and

25. Heber J. Grant, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and David O. McKay, "Warning to Church Members," *Improvement Era* 39 (August 1936):488.

26. Statement made to the first BYU faculty meeting of 1936, box 58, Harris Presidential Papers.

it was reiterated on a number of occasions that those who were employed by the Church in any capacity were expected to set an example in obeying this principle. As early as 1929 Commissioner Joseph F. Merrill had told the heads of the various Church schools that all employees of the Church School System “should be observers of the Word of Wisdom, as commonly understood, and honest tithe-payers. Those who cannot conscientiously do these things should not, we believe, be encouraged to remain in the employ of the Church School System.”²⁷ He reiterated this in 1931.²⁸

By 1934 President Heber J. Grant was most disturbed — in fact “dumbfounded” — when he learned that 25 percent of the teachers were nontithepayers, 39 percent were part tithepayers, and only 36 percent were full tithepayers. He said, “As far as I am concerned, the Church is paying these people. If they haven’t enough loyalty to the Church to do their duty and pay their tithing, I want it recorded right here and now that I want other teachers there.”²⁹ Written records do not indicate precisely what President Harris did to handle the tithing problem but living faculty members remember that Harris interviewed those who were not paying a full tithe and reported back to the First Presidency the extenuating circumstances under which some of the faculty were laboring. The President’s failure to take strong action in certain cases caused some members of the Board to believe that Harris placed more emphasis on scholastic attainment than on the building of testimonies or adherence to fundamental Church practices like the payment of tithing. Nevertheless, President Harris’s unquestioned personal dedication to the Church enabled him to maintain a warm and healthy relationship with the Board of Trustees. His integrity was never questioned.

Harris’s Efforts to Improve Salaries

Each year President Harris endeavored to improve the school by securing a larger percentage of the General Church Board of Education budget. In 1921 BYU obtained 13 percent of this budget, but by 1944 Harris successfully obtained 44 percent of the total educational budget.

However, despite Harris’s success in obtaining a large slice of the Church educational budget, some faculty members charged that he bought land and art objects for the University at the expense of faculty salaries.³⁰ The fact is that Harris consistently spent a high percentage of his budget on faculty salaries. Information taken from the minutes of the Board of Trustees shows that he never allocated less than 72

27. Joseph F. Merrill to presidents of LDS Church schools, 2 May 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

28. Ibid., 4 December 1931, Harris Presidential Papers.

29. General Board Minutes, 15 May 1934.

30. BYU Centennial History Faculty Survey Papers, BYU Archives.

percent of his budget to faculty salaries. By 1934 he was using 91 percent of his budget to pay faculty salaries. The average over the years was 76.7 percent for salaries.

Changes in Religious Education

During these eventful and hectic years a number of important changes occurred in connection with religious education. During the 1920s the Theology Department was not assigned to any college and the only faculty member considered a professor of theology was President-Emeritus Brimhall. The rest of the theology classes were taught by professors from the other departments. The first important change came as Brimhall's health declined, requiring him to retire from active teaching.³¹ He was replaced by Guy C. Wilson in 1930, who had received a Bachelor of Pedagogy degree from BYU in 1900 and thereafter studied at the University of Chicago in 1902 and Columbia University from 1912 to 1913. Wilson had taught at Juarez Stake Academy and the Brigham Young Academy, and had established the Church's first seminary at Granite High School in Salt Lake City in 1913. He was President of Latter-day Saints University from 1915 to 1926 and supervisor of religious education for the Church Department of Education from 1926 to 1930.

With the coming of Guy C. Wilson it was felt that the Department of Religious Education should have a staff of teachers who were specialists in their field instead of depending on teachers from other areas who had only an incidental knowledge of Mormon history and doctrine. In 1932 Dr. Sidney B. Sperry, who had studied Old Testament and ancient languages at the University of Chicago, was hired, and he was joined the following year by Russell Swensen, who had been trained in the New Testament at the University of Chicago.

Even before the arrival of these specialists with advanced degrees BYU had made an effort to provide graduate training for LDS seminary teachers. From 1930 to 1934 instructions were provided during summer sessions by such notable non-Mormon scholars from the University of Chicago Divinity School as Edgar Goodspeed, Jr., professor of biblical literature and noted American New Testament author and translator; William C. Graham, Old Testament scholar; John T. McNeil, professor of church history; and William Clayton Bower, professor of religious and character education. Because of economic restrictions and criticism pertaining to the concepts they taught, the

31. President-Emeritus George H. Brimhall, who had been directly associated with the spiritual tradition at BYU for half a century, died on 29 July 1932 just a few months before his eightieth birthday. His funeral was held in the Salt Lake Tabernacle because of the tremendous crowds of mourners who wished to honor him at his passing. Owen Smoot, William H. Boyle, Franklin S. Harris, Thomas N. Taylor, and George Albert Smith were the speakers who paid tribute to Brimhall at these memorable services.

Department of Religious Education did not bring visiting professors to summer school from 1934 to 1938.

Another change occurred in the Department of Religious Education in 1932. Since those who graduated from the department generally pursued teaching careers, and since the department's graduate work was geared to upgrading seminary teachers, the department was made a part of the College of Education. Also for the first time, beginning with the 1932-33 school year, returned missionaries were required to take religious education along with other students. Previously they had been considered sufficiently educated in theological matters and took religion classes on an elective basis.

It is now apparent that the Department of Religious Education was not nearly so strong during this period as some have supposed. For example, an examination of its curriculum reveals that training for seminary teachers was especially weak. The BYU catalog for 1935 lists nine lower division courses for seminary teachers, sixteen upper division courses, and eleven graduate courses, but there were absolutely no courses on the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and the Pearl of Great Price. This had been the case for a number of years. The 1932 catalog listed only two classes referring specifically to Mormon doctrine and these were called "The Mormon Community" and "Doctrine and Missionary Methods." In contrast, thirteen classes were taught on the philosophical aspects of religion and eleven on the Bible and Christian history, while various other courses treated such general themes as leadership, Church auxiliaries, anthropology, and seminary administration.

In 1936 the First Presidency appointed Dr. Franklin L. West from Utah State Agricultural College as the Church Commissioner of Education. West served for seventeen years — the longest term of any LDS commissioner of education to date. Commissioner West was very critical of the Department of Religion at BYU. He stated there was little unity or cohesion in the courses being taught because each professor was teaching his favorite course without reference to the overall structure of the department. He also pointed out that a number of Department of Religion courses belonged to other university disciplines.

President Harris promptly formed a curriculum committee, consisting of Guy C. Wilson, Carl F. Eyring, A. N. Merrill, Thomas L. Martin, Grant Ivins, Sidney B. Sperry, William H. Boyle, and Russell Swensen. This committee agreed that BYU was open to severe criticism by having a religion curriculum which offered no LDS-oriented courses dealing with any of the standard works of the LDS Church. It recommended that "Scout Leadership" and "Recreational Leadership," currently offered in the Department of Religion, be assigned to the Physical Education Department; further, that George Hansen's anthropology class, Wilford Poulson's class in psychology of childhood and adolescence, Russell Swensen's course on Christianity and Christian

religions (using sectarian texts), and Sidney Sperry's class on Hebrew archaeology should also be taken out of the religion curriculum. The committee pointed out that many of the other philosophical and ethical religion classes were using non-Mormon texts and recommended that orientation courses for freshmen should consist of *Brigham Young's Discourses*, *Gospel Doctrine* by Joseph F. Smith, and *General Conference Reports*.

In 1936 the first Book of Mormon and Church History classes were initiated. Professor Wilson wrote Harris, "I feel that we have this year laid a foundation for great progress in the field of religious training for the future. Special mention perhaps should be made of the great interest manifest in the study of the Book of Mormon."³²

President Harris publicized these changes in the religion curriculum as a means of restoring confidence in the integrity of BYU as a Church institution of learning. In 1937 and 1938 the religion curriculum tightened even more, and a deliberate effort was made, both in selecting texts and developing teaching outlines, to emphasize the LDS religion. Thus the freshman course entitled "Problems of Religious and Ethical Life," became "The Restored Gospel as a Way of Life."

President Harris Becomes a Candidate for the U. S. Senate

In August 1938 President Harris unexpectedly announced that he would be a candidate for the United States Senate on the Republican ticket. The *Y News* stated, "Because he has never shown a great activity in political affairs, President Harris' candidacy comes as a surprise to many members of his Brigham Young University family. His candidacy is the result of the pressure of a petition bearing over 1,500 names."³³ The incumbent senator from Utah at that time was another educator, Dr. Elbert Thomas, a Democrat who had been on the faculty at the University of Utah until a Democratic landslide helped him unseat Senator Reed Smoot in 1932. Since Utah had been traditionally conservative, it was felt by many people both in and out of the Church that a strong conservative candidate should be put in the field to represent Utah. Harris therefore campaigned on the Jeffersonian idea that public debt is "the greatest of dangers to be feared" and that if we are "to preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt." Harris felt that "The huge national debt which has accumulated under the excessive spending of the New Deal jeopardizes the security of all citizens of the country."³⁴

32. Guy C. Wilson to Franklin S. Harris, 28 May 1937, box 65, folder W, Harris Presidential Papers.

33. "President Harris Enters U.S. Senate Contest," *Y News*, 12 September 1938.

34. Franklin S. Harris, "Real Security," radio address to friends in southern Utah, Harris Presidential Papers.

Harris also lashed out against “attempts to center all functions of government in the executive branch,” which he urged “must be strongly resisted by all lovers of freedom and democracy. If these attempts succeed, our form of government is doomed.” In a radio address to the people of southern Utah he said, “Now is the time to halt that dictator ‘yes-men’ combination which is squandering the patrimony of our unborn grandchildren who must bear the burden of debt that is so rapidly carrying our country toward bankruptcy. The rugged virtues of thrift, industry, frugality, and reliability must not be destroyed. Many people have somehow obtained the idea that the government has unlimited wealth which it is distributing to its citizens and that they as individuals have a right and duty to get their share of the spoils. They fail to understand that the government itself has no wealth, and that which it gives to the people it must first take from the people through taxation.”³⁵

Prophetic of the future, he held that “the present group [in Congress] has speeded up a momentum of spending that it cannot stop without help.”³⁶ In an appeal to independent members of the Democratic Party, he observed, “The Democratic Party which has so long championed local self-government and economy has completely abandoned these principles and has thrown the nation into dangerous centralization of authority and an unheard [of] spree of spending.”³⁷

Though his support crossed party lines, Harris was soundly defeated: 102,353, to 81,071.³⁸ However, considering Harris’s late entry into the campaign — less than three months before the election — and the popularity of Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who supported his opponent, Harris’s strength at the polls was quite respectable. Since he had run ahead of his party, President Harris was philosophical about his defeat. He wrote his children, “It was a very interesting experience and I have learned a lot from it.”³⁹ His friend Ernest L. Wilkinson wrote, “As one who has been an independent Democrat, I recognize the merit of considerable of the criticism against the New Deal. I hope you are not disappointed in the outcome of the Senatorial race. Although you were defeated, I am glad that the defeat means that the Brigham Young University will still have the benefit of your services.”⁴⁰

35. Ibid.

36. Franklin S. Harris to George W. Middleton, 5 September 1938, Harris Presidential Papers.

37. Franklin S. Harris to “Community Leaders throughout Utah,” 10 October 1938, Harris Presidential Papers.

38. Records in office of Utah State Secretary of State, Salt Lake City, Utah.

39. Franklin S. Harris to his children, 11 November 1938, Harris Presidential Papers.

40. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Franklin S. Harris, 17 November 1938, Harris Presidential Papers.

LDS Church Auxiliary Organizations on Campus

In the 1920s a large portion of the BYU student body was from Utah County. On weekends many of them went home on the Orem electric train to attend church in their home wards while those living near the campus attended the nearest Provo ward. However, by the early 1930s, as enrollment increased to over 2,500, the classroom and activity facilities of the local wards could not accommodate all the students who needed to attend.

The newly organized Division of Religion was assigned to study the problem and suggested that the Church authorize BYU to organize a campus priesthood program, a Sunday School, and a Mutual Improvement Association specifically designed to meet the needs of college students. Feeling that intermingling the dignity and powers of the Church organization with the goals of the University would bring much greater commitment from LDS youth, the committee saw the new program as a means of “fostering a dynamic religious environment at the University,” for “maintaining a high scholastic standard,” and for “supporting a more effective social organization of the student body.”⁴¹

The idea required careful consideration. Never before had the Church given ecclesiastical powers to a university. After a year’s deliberation the Church officially authorized BYU to set up a Sunday School and MIA on the University campus. The completion of the Joseph Smith Building facilitated the launching of the program, and on 7 October 1941 President Harris conducted the first BYU Mutual Improvement Association meeting with 486 young people in attendance. J. Wyley Sessions was made superintendent of the new BYU Sunday School, while BYU religion teachers served as class instructors. The courses of study were quite similar to the religious education classes taught on campus.⁴²

The Role of J. Reuben Clark, Jr., in Church Education

By this time the debilitating effects of old age and illness had required President Heber J. Grant to rely extensively on President J.

41. Professors Sessions, Wilson, Eyring, Nicholes, Swensen, and Lloyd to Christen Jensen, 11 March 1940, box 89, religion folder, Harris Presidential Papers.

42. Classes taught during fall quarter 1941 were “The Doctrines of the Church” by Sidney B. Sperry, “Missionary Training” by J. Wyley Sessions, “Contributions of Modern Scripture to Present Living” by Thomas Broadbent, “Gospel Messages” by O. Meredith Wilson, “Church in Action” by Wesley P. Lloyd, and “The Cultural Contributions of Mormonism” by Russell Swensen. The “Gospel Messages” and “Church in Action” classes had the largest attendance. The average weekly attendance at Sunday School that quarter was 540; Walter Lewis, Theron Knight, and Phyllis Poulson to BYU Department of Religion, 18 January 1942, box 109, Harris Presidential Papers.

Reuben Clark, Jr., to monitor the interests of the Church in educational matters. President Clark had been a member of the First Presidency since 6 April 1933, and he had always exhibited a keen interest in education. As a young man he had served as assistant to University of Utah president James E. Talmage until he left to head the school that became the College of Southern Utah. Clark, a graduate from the Law School of Columbia University, later served as solicitor for the State Department. He was undersecretary of state from 1928 to 1929 and Ambassador to Mexico from 1930 to 1933. In the fall of 1930 President Harris visited Clark in Mexico City, at which time Clark expressed his opinion that Church education was becoming far too secularized. He expressed concern over the tendency of some Mormons to compromise the teachings of the Church in order to attain professional popularity and the acceptance of the world. Later, after becoming a member of the First Presidency, Clark found evidence that the sectarian training of many LDS scholars was influencing the manuals and textbooks used in LDS religious training. He especially noted terms, phrases, and precepts which seemed to him to be accommodating the popular idea of presenting Jesus as a teacher of ethics rather than emphasizing Christ's divinity. President Clark began making detailed studies to determine whether the Church was receiving true value from its extremely heavy investment in Church education. His papers contain voluminous notes and composite charts showing unit costs per student at BYU, Ricks College, and the various seminaries and institutes.

On 8 August 1938 President Clark delivered an address to employees of the LDS church school system at Aspen Grove that became one of the basic statements of LDS educational philosophy. This speech was included in the 1969-70 course of study for Melchizedek priesthood quorums of the Church. It was the foundation of instruction of the First Presidency at the inauguration of Neal A. Maxwell as Church commissioner of education in 1970, and was also used in the inauguration of Dallin H. Oaks as BYU President in 1971. President Clark wanted it clearly understood why the Church was investing millions of dollars in Church education:

In the first place, there is neither reason nor is there excuse for our Church religious teaching and training facilities and institutions, unless the youth are to be taught and trained in the principles of the Gospel, embracing therein the two great elements that Jesus is the Christ and that Joseph was God's prophet.

The first requisite of a teacher for teaching these principles is a personal testimony of their truthfulness. No amount of learning, no amount of study, and no number of scholastic degrees, can take the place of this testimony, which is the *sine qua non* of the teacher in our Church school system. No teacher who does not have a real testimony of the truthfulness of the Gospel as revealed to and believed by the Latter-day Saints, and a testimony of the Sonship

and Messiahship of Jesus, and of the divine mission of Joseph Smith — including in all its reality the First Vision — has any place in the Church school system. If there be any such, and I hope and pray there are none, he should at once resign; if the Commissioner knows of any such and he does not resign, the Commissioner should request his resignation. The First Presidency expect this pruning to be made.

For you teachers the mere possession of a testimony is not enough. You must have besides this, one of the rarest and most precious of all the many elements of human character, moral courage. . . .

An object of pity (not of scorn, as some would have it) is that man or woman, who having the truth and knowing it, finds it necessary either to repudiate the truth or to compromise with error in order that he may live with or among unbelievers without subjecting himself to their disfavor or derision as he supposes.

President Clark felt the urgency of keeping the study of the temporal and the spiritual in better balance. He said,

It is a vital and significant fact that Man's conquest of the things of the spirit has not marched side by side with his conquest of things material. The opposite sometimes seems to be true. Man's power to reason has not matched his power to figure. Remember always and cherish the great truth of the Intercessory Prayer: "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou has sent." This is an ultimate truth; so are all spiritual truths. They are not changed by the discovery of a new element, a new ethereal wave, nor by clipping off a few seconds, minutes, or hours of a speed record.⁴³

President Clark would not rest until he saw these goals and ideals of Church education begin to take tangible form.

Building during the 1930s

The number of students increased substantially even during the Depression, but funds to expand University facilities were nonexistent until 1935. However, the next several years brought a number of important additions to the upper campus of the University.

The first construction was the addition of two stories to the World War I structure called the Mechanic Arts Building. Up to 1935 it had been used primarily for vocational training in auto mechanics, blacksmithing, and woodwork. Although sorely pressed for funds, the Church leaders appropriated \$90,687 to expand this structure from 12,574 square feet to 41,673 square feet. President Harris proposed and the Board agreed to change the name of the building to the George

43. The Aspen Grove address was published in the *Deseret News*, Church Section, 13 August 1938; in the *Improvement Era*, September 1938; and in pamphlet form.

H. Brimhall Building in honor of his predecessor in office. The newly improved structure was dedicated by President Heber J. Grant on 16 October 1935.

Almost immediately afterwards, plans were completed for the erection of a stadium house designed to store athletic equipment and provide dressing rooms, showers, and lockers for both men and women. It was decided to locate this new building parallel to the running track on the west side of the football field where the Richards Building now stands. Architect Joseph Nelson was chosen to prepare the plans for the building, which was completed in 1936. To make this building possible contributions came in from the faculty, the student social units, the community, and the class of 1929. T. Earl Pardoe donated the proceeds from all school dramatic performances that year and a pledge of ten hours' work was solicited from each student, with a promise that names of contributors would be published in the *Y News*.⁴⁴

In 1937 President Harris reminded the Church Board of Education that the Jesse Knight Endowment fund contained \$200,000 and was drawing a very low rate of interest in the savings bank. He recommended that part of this fund be used to erect a cooperative residence hall which would accommodate 70 to 75 male students. This recommendation was approved and it was decided to erect the dormitory on the corner of 7th North and 1st East. The building was called Allen Hall in honor of R. E. Allen and Inez Knight Allen, son-in-law and daughter of Jesse Knight. Joseph Nelson was architect of the attractive \$75,000 building. A great deal of labor was donated by students. Allen Hall proved so successful that immediate steps were taken to construct a similar cooperative housing unit for women from the same fund. This building was named Amanda Knight Hall after the wife of Jesse Knight, and was built on the southeast corner of 8th North and University Avenue. The Hall was planned for 90 students. Professor of home economics Effie Warnick was appointed the first matron.

In July 1939 construction began on a new religious education building called the Joseph Smith Memorial Building. This most important addition to the campus was unique in BYU history. To begin with, it was built as a Church Welfare project, one of the largest attempted up to that time, and Harold B. Lee, director of Church Welfare, supervised the project. Twelve stakes participated, with all wards supplying large quantities of donated labor. Additional labor was furnished by BYU students. The construction of a religious education building showed the determination of Church leaders to emphasize a greater religious atmosphere on campus.

The architect was Fred L. Markham, who had graduated from BYU and later studied architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The Board of Trustees was so pleased with his design that he

44. "Students Begin Stadium House Construction," *Y News*, 27 March 1936.

was later commissioned to design many other buildings for BYU. Some time later he was designated the general architect for the entire campus and no new buildings could be approved for construction without first being cleared through him. At the suggestion of Stephen L Richards the Board of Trustees designated the new religious training center as the Joseph Smith Memorial Building.

The building comprises 67,703 square feet and was constructed on the upper campus at the site of the old athletic field. Its auditorium-chapel seats 1,044 persons, and it originally had many classrooms and faculty offices, a small library, a ballroom, a banquet hall, a cafeteria, and a number of other facilities designed to accommodate the social life of the students, though later remodeling has altered many of them. The Joseph Smith Memorial Building was dedicated 16 October 1941, at which time President McKay described the new edifice as “a place of worship, a temple of learning, and a place of spiritual communion” standing for the “complete education of youth — the truest and the best in life.”⁴⁵

Reorganization of the Board of Trustees

It had been the hope of Commissioner Franklin L. West to dissolve the local boards of BYU, Ricks College, and LDS Business College and integrate all of them under the immediate direction of the General Authorities of the Church. His proposal was further designed to integrate the entire Church school system to permit establishing a central budget and auditing system and a more complete unification of the educational agencies, policies, and administration of the Church school system. Looking with some favor on this plan, President Grant appointed Stephen L Richards and Albert E. Bowen to work with Commissioner West to analyze the possibility of centralizing the Church Schools. They found it necessary to consult with the living children of Brigham Young to obtain a waiver of their future rights to have three of President Young’s heirs on the Board as stipulated in the Deed of Trust. A satisfactory understanding was arranged.

In the course of their study it was found that President Harris was against having Brigham Young University placed directly under a centralized board of education. Though it was finally decided that BYU would have its own Board of Trustees, Stephen L Richards vigorously urged that BYU’s Board of Trustees be composed of General Authorities. This was agreed to and on 2 February 1939 the First Presidency designated the following to serve on the Board: Heber J. Grant, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., David O. McKay, Rudger Clawson, Joseph Fielding Smith, Stephen L Richards, Richard R. Lyman, John A. Widtsoe, Joseph F. Merrill, Charles A. Callis, Franklin L. West, Adam S. Bennion, Franklin S. Harris, and Arthur Winter. This BYU Board of

45. Proceedings of the Dedicatory Service, Founder’s Day Report, 16 October 1941.

Trustees was identical to the General Church Board of Education but functioned as a separate entity insofar as BYU was concerned. This was a great step forward, for it had the effect in the eyes of the public and in actual Church administration of making BYU a churchwide university instead of a Utah County college. President Harris was made an ex-officio member of both the Board of Trustees of BYU and the General Board of Education. This assignment placed President Harris in the most powerful position any President of the school had occupied since its founding in 1875.

Because of the reorganization, four stalwarts were released from long terms of faithful service to BYU: Thomas N. Taylor, president of Utah Stake; Stephen L. Chipman, at that time president of the Salt Lake Temple; J. William Knight, son of Jesse Knight and a strong financial supporter of BYU; and former U.S. Senator Reed Smoot. Smoot was the only one who seemed to have a deep personal disappointment in not being allowed to continue serving on the Board. At that time his health was failing, but it still troubled him that his family would not be represented on the Board of the University that he and his father, Abraham O. Smoot, had served so long and diligently.

Apostle Smoot, whom tradition records as the first student to enroll under Karl G. Maeser, served longer in the U.S. Senate than any other man from Utah — which is still true today. Before his defeat for a sixth term he had twice been offered by Republican leaders the Republican presidential nomination — if he would disavow his affiliation with the LDS Church or allow it to phase out and slip into the background. It is a measure of the man that he said, “If I had to take my choice of being a deacon in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or being the President of the United States, I would be a deacon.”⁴⁶ It is not surprising that he was disappointed at being released from his position on the Board of Trustees, in which position he had proudly rendered valuable service to both BYU and the Church.

James A. Farley, Postmaster General under Franklin D. Roosevelt and manager of most of his political campaigns, paid Smoot this compliment: “I am a Democrat of some national prominence, and Reed Smoot is a Republican; but I consider him to be the greatest diplomat in the United States Government. He knows more of what is going on, attends more meetings, and is a better authority on all that goes on than anyone else I know. I wish we had more men exactly like him.”⁴⁷ Just two years after the organization of the BYU Board of Trustees, 79-year-old Reed Smoot passed away on 9 February 1941 at St. Petersburg, Florida. With his death both BYU and the Church lost a valiant servant.

Meanwhile, one of the immediate advantages which accrued to BYU

46. Bryant S. Hinckley, *The Faith of Our Pioneer Fathers* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1956), p. 202.

47. Ibid.

under the new Board was increased financial support. Because of their direct involvement in the administration of BYU the General Authorities saw the necessity of applying additional funds to the building of the campus. The annual appropriation rose from \$320,000 in 1939 to \$433,252 by 1945.

President Harris's Mission to Iran

In May of 1939 President Harris was granted a leave of absence to make a trip to South America. He proceeded only as far as Grand Junction, Colorado, however, when a telegram from the Iranian Legation in Washington, D.C., asked him to go to Iran to reorganize that nation's Department of Agriculture.⁴⁸ President Harris spent a week in Washington conferring with the Iranian Legation and officials of the U.S. State Department. It was agreed that he would be paid \$14,000 a year — more than double his salary at BYU — plus travel expenses for himself and his wife, Estelle. He then returned to Utah to confer with Church leaders. It was felt that such an assignment was a great honor to both President Harris and BYU, and he was granted a leave of absence from six months to one year to fulfill this assignment in Iran. Christen Jensen was appointed acting president and the Board granted Jensen an additional compensation of \$100 a month and the privilege of occupying the presidential residence on the University campus.

President Harris and his wife left Provo 15 July 1939 and traveled across Europe at a time when it was teetering on the brink of World War II. However, the Harrises passed freely through Berlin, Warsaw, and Russia, and down the Caspian Sea to arrive at Tehran on 8 August 1939. On 29 August President Harris recorded in his diary, "Ten years ago I spent my birthday in the forests of Siberia. Here I am in the forests of Persia just south of the Caspian Sea. Am in the best of health and have as much vigor as at any time in my life."⁴⁹

The first few days were spent on an inspection tour of the various departments of the Ministry of Agriculture as well as the agricultural college. During a national holiday on 12 September 1939 President Harris met the Shah for the first time. The Shah instructed his aides to give President Harris everything he needed to make his work effective.

The following three months were a continuous series of surveys and conferences with government officials, until President Harris had completed his recommendations for the reorganization of the Department of Agriculture and the various colleges and schools where Iranian agriculture students were being trained. Dr. Harris also spent three months touring Iran, seeing many of the most famous sites of Persian history. At Christmas Harris and his wife received a bound volume containing greetings from more than 1,000 BYU students and

48. Franklin S. Harris, diary, 8 June 1939, BYU Archives.

49. Ibid., 29 August 1939.

115 faculty members, with the good wishes of acting president Christen Jensen.

Since President Harris expected to leave Iran in the early part of July he spent the last few months preparing his final report, which included numerous recommendations for the improvement of agriculture in Iran, with special attention to the olive culture and the tea industry. The Harrises then left Iran for India on 2 July 1940, and because of the war in Europe they returned to the United States via Bombay, Singapore, Hong Kong, Tokyo, Honolulu, and San Francisco, arriving in Provo 31 August 1940 — a little over a year since their departure. President Harris left a very favorable impression in Iran as illustrated by a letter from the director of the Department of Agriculture of Iran: “Though your stay in Iran and our contact in work was for a short period, yet short as this period was, it was enough to reveal your good character, the high standard of your knowledge, your nobility, your love for mankind and especially the keen interest you displayed in the service of my country and its improvement.”⁵⁰

Besides having a positive effect on the agricultural development of Iran, Harris’s mission was a great instrument of good will. This was apparent from a letter dated 1 May 1954 from Mr. Ardeshir Zehedi, ambassador from Iran, who began the letter, “To my Dear Dr. Harris, whom I really love as much as I do my father.”⁵¹ At the time of Dr. Harris’s death in 1960 a telegram was addressed to Mrs. Harris from the Iranian ambassador, one sentence of which read, “As his former student and later his colleague, I will always remember his outstanding personality and his love for human kind.”⁵² Twenty years later Ernest L. Wilkinson, who had by then become the President of Brigham Young University, visited Iran to confer with a BYU Agricultural Mission and Iranian officials, and learned that President Harris was still being praised for the outstanding contribution he had made.

Returning to BYU, President Harris was pleased to discover that acting president Christen Jensen had maintained the Harris policies and administered the affairs of the school with quiet efficiency. Harris arrived in time to participate in the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Building on 16 October 1941.

Student Government under Harris

Student government originated at BYU in 1909 and was encouraged by President Harris. Except for minor adjustments the structure of student government remained relatively unchanged during the Harris period. The 1924 constitution called for the election of a president, a

50. M. Ram to Franklin S. Harris, 25 December 1940, Harris Presidential Papers.

51. Karl Young in “Memorial Services for Franklin S. Harris,” 23 May 1960, p. 11.

52. Ibid.

first vice-president, a second vice-president, a secretary-historian, an editor of the *Y News* and the *Banyan*, and a cheerleader. Editors of *White and Blue*, the literary magazine, and *Y's Guys*, the humor magazine, were appointed by the student council, of which President Harris was an ex-officio member. The council included a representative from each class and one from the secondary training school, and a member of the faculty.

The student council also maintained a Lyceum Committee and a Public Service Bureau, organized in 1921 by Ernest Wilkinson while he was a student. As early as 1922 the Public Service Bureau produced 52 programs involving 460 persons, which reached audiences totaling 25,000. Later the bureau produced up to 200 programs per year throughout the Intermountain West. It featured programs from the departments of Dramatic Arts, Music, Art, and Physical Education. This Public Service Bureau was the forerunner of what became the internationally well-known BYU Program Bureau.

The student organization was officially known as the Student Body until 1933 when the title "Associated Students of Brigham Young University" was used for the first time. The student government efficiently administered the affairs of the small student body with relatively little supervision from the school's administrators because Harris felt that students could effectively manage their own affairs. Faculty members and school administrators participated as friends, not as superiors.

Counseling Services under Harris

Brigham Young University had an elaborate student guidance system during the entire Harris Administration. The system was decentralized but easily coordinated because of its small size. Guidance specialists included the dean of women, the dean of men (dean of students after 1937), and the Attendance and Scholarship Committee. Also available for counseling were the Student Personnel Committee, the Social Committee, the Social Unit Committee, directors and teachers of religion, the head professor of the student's major subject, and the faculty proctors of the cooperative clubs.

President Harris was always a significant factor in counseling and inspiring high student morale. He had a phenomenal memory and knew almost every student by name. Because of his extensive agricultural research work in rural Utah communities he knew the families and neighbors of many of his students; he was often able to call them by name years after they left the University.

President Harris diligently supported student activities. A former student wrote, "As a student, I never ceased to be astonished by his ability and willingness to find time to support university activities — not simply athletic events, but concerts, lyceums, plays, operas, recitals, exhibits, etc. As a participant in numerous plays and musical events, I

learned almost to expect that President and Mrs. Harris would be present.”⁵³

The Alumni Association under Harris

The Alumni Association of Brigham Young University was organized in 1893. During the Harris period it was rather small but contributed to many activities and events on campus. In 1923 the Alumni Association organized a series of chapters throughout Utah and the United States. All former students who had attended at least one term of regular work at BYU were eligible for membership in the local chapters. The president of the association functioned as the governing agent until 1926, when an executive secretary was added along with an alumni board. By 1940 the most active Alumni Association chapters were New York City, Denver, Ogden, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, and Idaho Falls.

Feeling that “the greatest service that could be rendered the Institution by the Association at this time [1933] was the building of morale for the University and assistance in increasing the enrollment,” the Alumni Association worked to recruit students.⁵⁴ It also collected money for the stadium and for general campus improvements.

Richard R. Lyman began the Emeritus Club as an affiliate of the Alumni Association in 1941. He was made president. Both Lyman and his wife graduated with the class of 1891, and he proposed that all living graduates from that era should be honored.⁵⁵ The school accepted Lyman’s proposal and chose commencement week 1941 to honor the class of 1891 and others who attended the Academy prior to that date. A large mail and radio campaign tried to reach every former student. During this same week, President Heber J. Grant was to confer an honorary doctor of laws degree upon Supreme Court Justice George Sutherland, a graduate of Brigham Young Academy. Sutherland was unable to attend the festivities, but his speech, paying glowing tribute to Karl G. Maeser, was read to the crowd.

Student Life under Harris

When Franklin S. Harris became President he discovered that the first major event of the school year was the traditional Handshake. The President headed a reception line which included prominent faculty members and student body officers while the students came by in single file to shake hands and then join the line to greet all the remaining students as they came through. The accumulation of greeters

53. Franklin S. Harris to “New York BY’sers,” 28 February 1931, box 31, folder O, Harris Presidential Papers.

54. BYU Alumni Association Board Minutes, 2 March 1931.

55. Harold W. Pease, “The History of the Alumni Association and Its Influence on the Development of Brigham Young University,” Ph.D. dissertation (Brigham Young University, 1973), pp. 144-46.

finally formed huge serpentine lines of happy students and adults which filled the Women's Gym. Everyone caught the "hello" spirit and helped build the reputation of BYU as "the most friendly university in the west."⁵⁶

Tuition and student body fees rose gradually from \$35 per year in 1921 to \$85 in 1929. Once classes began, students soon found themselves making frequent trips to the library, sometimes nicknamed the "Matrimonial Bureau." The library was a favorite evening gathering place where gallant male students could meet favorite girl friends whom they often escorted home by way of "Lover's Lane" on Maeser Hill, the "rendezvous for young people who were out late at night."⁵⁷

While BYU was known facetiously as "B. Y. Woo," only about one percent of the students in 1924 married during the school year. The question of whether a student should marry before graduating led President Harris to remark that it depended on the individual. But he added, "I think a person has a better show to make it himself than he would with a wife, but the right kind of wife should be a help; she could pitch in and keep boarders."⁵⁸ At the time, women did not usually work after marriage, so keeping boarders was about the only financial help a wife could give a student-husband. While many students married former classmates after graduation, most BYU collegians in the 1920s remained single until they finished their undergraduate careers.

During the fall semester upperclassmen enthusiastically initiated new students. Regulations varied from year to year, but freshmen were generally required to wear the prescribed green beanie for a certain period and to use only the rear and side doors of the Maeser, Education, and Grant Library buildings. Freshmen had to memorize the college song and school yells, which they were required to repeat at the request of upperclassmen at any time or place. Freshmen also ran errands, carried books, and otherwise demonstrated their subservience. Penalties included being forced to appear before a senior court, being required to carry a sign announcing "Freshman Law Breaker," and in rare cases, being paddled. At the end of the hazing period, all freshman students became official members of their class, eligible to enjoy the full benefits of student activities.

Gathering Goat Feathers

Students extensively involved in social activities at BYU during the 1920s or seriously involved in turbulent affairs of the heart were said to

56. "BYU Students Shall Not Belong to Frats — Harris," *Y News*, 19 March 1924.

57. Franklin S. Harris to Mayor O. K. Hansen, 10 January 1922, box 2, folder H, Harris Presidential Papers.

58. Franklin S. Harris to George J. Jarvis, 10 April 1924, box 8, Harris Presidential Papers.

be “gathering goat feathers.”⁵⁹ Social events were many and varied including the Autumn Leaf Moonlight Hike each fall, Y Day, Pep Vodies, dances, athletic events, the Winter Carnival, Big Sister events, the romantic ride on the Orem railroad to see plays from the peanut gallery in the Salt Lake Theater, hikes with Professor Buss to look at rocks or with Walter Cottam to observe flowers, and the all-important debating meets.

Matinee dances, including a program of entertainment, were held weekly at a charge of fifteen cents per person. Matinees were not date affairs. Evening parties were more formal. A girl’s popularity could be gauged by how rapidly her dance program was filled. Live orchestras played such favorites as “I’m Forever Blowing Bubbles,” “The Sheik of Araby,” “Dardenella,” “When You Come to the End of a Perfect Day,” “Peg O’ My Heart,” and “Yes, We Have No Bananas.” Cheek-to-cheek dancing was forbidden and after one warning Coach E. L. Roberts escorted cozy couples off the dance floor.

The year 1924 was one of innovation. The big Y on the mountain east of campus was completely lit for the first time in the fall for the incoming freshmen and in May for graduating seniors. The school also conducted its first Autumn Leaf Hike to Maple Flats on Y Mountain and a Winter Carnival of competitive snow sports was held at Vivian Park in Provo Canyon.

Debating, Basketball, Track, and Football

Debates were popular at BYU. They drew crowds large enough to occupy “practically every seat in College Hall.”⁶⁰ The school band nearly always accompanied the debating team to the train station when they departed for meets at other schools. Fiery discussions resulted from such topics as “Resolved: The best interest of the State of Utah could be served by grouping the Central Pacific Railroad with the Union Pacific rather than the Southern Pacific,” and “Resolved: The United States should immediately grant independence to the Philippine Islands under substantially the same arrangement as that enjoyed by Cuba.” History, sociology, and speech professors coached the teams, which opposed other Utah college teams and teams from such schools as the universities of Nevada, Wyoming, and Southern California.

Basketball, win or lose, was also a vital part of student life at BYU. Games were played in the Women’s Gym, and the noisy crowds shook the structure to its foundations.⁶¹ After joining the new Rocky Moun-

59. Helen Candland Stark, speech at the BYU Emeritus Club initiation of the class of 1924, 18 April 1974, Franklin S. Harris Source File, Centennial History Papers, BYU Archives.

60. “The First Time Since 1916 for ‘Y’ to Have this Honor,” *Y News*, 25 January 1922.

61. DeAlton Partridge, “Honors Wrested from Colorado Quintet in Final Game of Series,” *Y News*, 19 March 1924.

tain Conference in 1921 the University won the conference championship in 1924 and Coach Eugene L. Roberts continued the BYU basketball winning streak until 1928, when he left the institution. His successor, Ott Romney, led the team in 1929 to national prominence with a season record of twenty wins against ten losses.

Continuing a tradition established during the Brimhall years, BYU held annual high school invitational track meets under the direction of Charles Hart. The BYU college track team took its first conference championship in 1929. The school first participated in intercollegiate swimming and wrestling in the 1920s, winning a national collegiate swimming championship even though the school had no swimming pool.

Live mascots boosted school spirit during the twenties. Cleo and Tarbo, wild cougars, were brought to BYU in 1924. Their home remained on the south side of Temple Hill until 1930 when Tarbo died and Cleo pined away until she was sent to the Liberty Park Zoo in Salt Lake City. The school never owned its own mascot again, though live cougars were sometimes brought to campus on special occasions.

Football, which had been banned from the campus around 1900, was permitted in 1920 and became the struggling kitten of BYU sports. The stadium, constructed on the west slope of University Hill north of the Maeser Memorial Building, was dedicated in October 1928, and the public address system, the scoreboard, and the flagpole, all donated for the occasion, were ready for the first big game, which BYU lost to Utah State Agricultural College by a score of ten to nothing.

Fraternities vs. Social Units

Although BYU administrators encouraged the development of campus clubs, President Harris discouraged private fraternities. He had been the adviser of a fraternity at Utah State, and he shared the view of many other educators that private fraternities promoted idleness and sometimes class distinctions which were not conducive to a wholesome student body spirit. He had noted the factionalizing that occurred when fraternity members were required to give greater loyalty to their social organizations than to the school itself. Furthermore, students were admitted to fraternities by invitation only, and such a practice did not coincide with the BYU ideal of student equality. Church leaders also objected to LDS students joining organizations that practiced any form of secrecy.

Despite objections, however, many BYU students during the twenties insisted that they be allowed to participate in organizations that resembled fraternities and sororities. Striving for a compromise solution, President Harris came up with the idea of organizing social units which would permit students to interact in harmony with the ideals of the Church. The purpose of the social units was "to promote good fellowship and the spirit of democracy, and to provide broad, rich and

wholesome social contacts and experiences for all members of the student body.”⁶²

By 1933 President Harris decided to change his emphasis from social units to clubs, adopting the slogan, “Every student in at least one club.” Though there were over 40 student clubs by December 1935, one-third of the student body still had no affiliation with any kind of campus social organization. The desirability of social units was not questioned until much later, and Harris persisted in his efforts to insure proper social as well as intellectual growth for BYU students.

Homecoming Day and Y Day

The first Homecoming Day was celebrated in the fall of 1930. Prior to that time there had been frequent class reunions in the springtime, but never a general Homecoming Day. During halftime of the November 15 football game with the Montana State Bobcats, floats, costumed students, stunts, and people depicting various periods from 1875 to the year 2000 paraded past the stands. BYU alumni were special guests of the school for the occasion. The first homecoming queen was chosen in 1937 and the event grew into a traditional University celebration. Other events which continued to hold the interest of the students were Founder’s Day in October, the Sophomore Loan Fund Ball, the Snow Carnival, intramural sports, lyceums, and plays. Girls’ Day featured a fashion review and a dance which eventually became the Preference Ball.

Y Day, which originated in 1906, continued to be an important student event. In the fall of each year Freshmen students climbed the Y Mountain and removed brush from the area as part of their initiation activities. On Y Day in the following spring the men students met early in the morning for roll call, and after the faculty had cleared the trail, the freshmen hauled water from a spring, the sophomores carried up the whitewash and mixed it in wooden troughs, and the juniors and seniors poured it on the large letter. All participants worked to the music of the band boys, who kept school spirit soaring all through the day. While the men were on the mountain the women remained on campus to prepare lunch. Each year the Y Day activities became more elaborate. A matinee dance was always held after lunch, but by the late 1930s swimming, bowling, rollerskating, and other activities had been added.

In 1939 the girls organized some games and tournaments of their own in the stadium until the men returned. Following the dance the big block Y was lit in the evening as a final touch.

Swing and Sway

Dancing remained a favorite student activity throughout the Harris

62. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 31 October 1927.

period. The most sophisticated and decorative affair was the Junior Prom. Local tuxedo shops could not keep enough suits in stock for all who wished to escort a young lady to the event of the year, though such formal attire was not required. Themes and settings varied from the garden of a Southern colonial mansion with stars, floating clouds, gleaming pillars, garden gates, a profusion of magnolia blossoms, and real Spanish moss to a simulated Timpanogos Cave with glistening crystal formation and an illuminated "bleeding heart" suspended from the ceiling. Programs and favors were in keeping with the themes. Art professors contributed hundreds of hours helping students create beautiful decorations.

Football, Basketball, Track

Athletics continued to foster school spirit at BYU during the 1930s. Each fall the hopeful student body inaugurated the football season with a bonfire rally. In 1932 Ott Romney coached the team to its best record ever, with eight victories against a single defeat. The students prepared for games with the University of Utah with special enthusiasm, holding "Beat Utah" rallies throughout the week preceding the contest. However, BYU never did beat the University of Utah until 1942, though a tie was managed in 1929.

Ott Romney coached the BYU basketball team to a Conference championship in 1933 with its star player Elwood Romney becoming BYU's first all-American in basketball. Track teams also did well in the 1930s, taking the conference championship in 1935 and 1936, and the wrestling team won conference titles in 1931, 1932, and 1933. In 1938 BYU became affiliated with the newly organized Mountain States Athletic Conference. Commonly known as the "Big Seven," this conference included the University of Colorado, Colorado State University, the University of Utah, Utah State Agricultural College, Denver University, the University of Wyoming, and BYU.

The BYU Invitational Track and Field Meet continued to be one of the outstanding public relations events of its kind in America. The meet grew to involve thousands of young people and hundreds of officials. A sportswriter described the magnitude of the 1940 Invitational when 3,000 contestants participated:

All this work represents a tremendous expansion since E. L. Roberts, then Director of Athletics and Physical Education at the "Y," inaugurated this event in modest fashion back in 1911. Nevertheless, the proof of the pudding is in the eating and this gigantic program is a remarkable monument to the foresight and imagination of Director Roberts as well as a high credit to the energy of the men who have so enthusiastically put their shoulders to the wheel since that time.⁶³

63. *Salt Lake Telegram*, 9 April 1940.

17

World War II and the Closing Years of the Harris Administration

The Joseph Smith Memorial Building was dedicated on 16 October 1941. On 7 December 1941 the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, and on 8 December 1941 the United States declared war on Japan. By December 11 the United States had declared war on Germany and Italy. So many students enlisted or were drafted that many people assumed there would be no college graduating class for the duration of the war. Many other students who did not go to war took high-paying jobs in war plants or other areas of the rising economy. The remaining male students flinched uncomfortably when asked why they were going to college when there was a war going on, but, ten days after the attack on Pearl Harbor, President Harris urged students to avoid the hysteria that beckoned them away from their studies. Reporting Harris's feelings, *Y News* said,

since this is a technical war rather than a war of mere man power, it was thought that all students who are attending college, should endeavor to remain at their studies as long as possible.

It is inevitable that there will be a certain amount of hysteria and students will want to rush off and do something different than they are doing at the present time but certainly this would be unwise. The nation needs our students for years to come and preparation is the key that will unlock the door to real national service.¹

The War and Student Life

As the 1941-42 school year continued, many of the remaining students signed with the reserve forces. Fortunately athletics bolstered the school's morale that year. The new basketball coach, Floyd Millet, took his team to a record of seventeen wins against only three losses. In 1942 the football team not only defeated the University of Utah for the first time, but the basketball team won its way to the post-season tourna-

1. "Preparation Is Vital in Present Crisis — Dr. Harris," *Y News*, 18 December 1941.

ment in New York's Madison Square Garden. Because of gasoline rationing football was suspended after the 1942 season, but basketball continued on a limited basis.²

In spite of the war students insisted on holding their traditional Junior Prom. At the studentbody assembly a committee of girls unfurled a huge satin banner bearing the theme "Invitation to Dream" as four pianists played "I'll See You Again." That night a national radio hookup featuring Arnold Burgner and his band substituted for a live orchestra, and students danced in the Women's Gym decorated to resemble a sunken garden.

Not long after the Junior Prom, nineteen of the top men on campus were called up for Navy training at the University of Chicago. Since this group included most of the student leaders, the student government structure was left "near calamity." In April 1943 army reservists were called into active service.

By the fall of 1943 there were so few men on campus that the Associated Men Students made no attempt to function. Women students accepted the shortage of men philosophically, suggesting that dates should be rationed like gasoline and food stamps.³ In 1944-45 women students outnumbered men by a margin of six to one. There were no Homecoming activities, no football, no leadership week, and no Alpine Summer School, but the Associated Women Students "rolled up their sleeves and arranged a record-breaking calendar of fun and frolic for the 1150 women students."⁴ In 1943 the Associated Men Students organization revived its efforts to provide for the needs of the 210 men on campus. They sponsored beard-growing and pie-eating contests and the traditional "Smokeless Smoker," consisting of a rowdy day of stories, piano playing, tumbling, wrist wrestling, dunking, tug-of-war, boxing, and eating.

Though the war had dimmed school spirit in 1944, the students resisted any attempt by the administration to cancel Y Day. They protested, "We need Y Day more than we ever did before. There is a very real need for some activity that will unite ALL the members of the studentbody."⁵ The Administration reversed their earlier decision and Y Day 1944 became Y Day-Girl's Day. However, the Y on the mountain had to remain slightly gray for another year because the work of whitewashing the school emblem was considered too strenuous for the ladies to handle.

Military Service for Faculty and BYU Military Training Programs

One month after the beginning of World War II the Executive

2. "History of the Student Body," unpublished manuscripts in BYU Archives, 1942-43, pp. 74-75.
3. Arlene Andrew, "Effects of Rationing Described by Andrew," *Y News*, 27 May 1943.
4. "History of the Student Body," 1944-45, p. 174.
5. "Why No Y Day?" *Y News*, 27 April 1944.

Committee of the Board of Trustees, on recommendation of President Harris, authorized absence to University staff members called into military service.⁶ Thus faculty members followed students in the exodus from the University. Every meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board recorded an increasing list of leaves of absence and resignations.⁷

On 13 March 1942 the school began Civilian Pilot Training with 28 students enrolled for 240 hours of instruction in ground school and 35 hours of flight training at the Provo and Spanish Fork airports. The ground school included instruction in civil air regulations, meteorology, navigation, service and operation of aircraft, physics, and mathematics. In October 1942 and February 1943, 35 first-year and 10 second-year students enrolled in these programs. Upon completion of these courses the students went into the Air Force for advanced flight training. Dr. A. C. Lambert served as chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Administration program on campus. Dr. Wayne B. Hales coordinated the ground school and was assisted by members of the faculty.

On 1 July 1942 a group of 300 army privates arrived on campus to undertake the Army Specialized Training Program. These men were given a rigorous schedule of work in chemistry, physics, mathematics, English, history, geography, and physical education which totaled 25 hours of recitation per week. They were divided into eight groups of 25 to 40 students for efficient instructional purposes. A term of twelve weeks was extended to a second and third term, upon completion of which graduates were transferred to a university offering advanced engineering courses. In March 1944 the program was phased out and the men were assigned to active duty. Professor Joseph K. Nicholes supervised this work with assistance from other BYU faculty members.

The third military program offered through the spring quarter of 1942 was a training program in radio engineering for about 30 students. Ninety-eight hours of class and laboratory instruction were given by Dr. Milton Marshall and Dr. Wayne B. Hales.

Social and Curriculum Adjustments to Wartime Needs

The cadets created some social dilemmas on campus. BYU girls, who

6. BYU Board of Trustees Minutes, 16 January 1942, BYU Archives.

7. Clarence S. Boyle, A. Smith Pond, H. Grant Ivins, Edwin R. Kimball, Wayne Soffe, Wilbur L. Allen, David Crowton, and Ione Christensen were granted leaves on 21 August 1942; BYU Board Minutes. Others granted leaves included Carlton Culmsee, Dean A. Anderson, Ernest Reimschissel, Morris Snell, and Rodney Kimball (BYU Board Minutes, 24 February 1943); Golden Woolf, Paul Rose, Gladys Kotter, and Elden Beck (BYU Board Minutes, 2 July 1943); Alva J. Johanson and Verla Birrell (BYU Board Minutes, 14 January 1944); Sanford Bingham, Carl F. Eyring, and Wayne B. Hales (BYU Board Minutes, 27 April 1944); Harold T. Christensen, Ariel S. Ballif, and Kenneth C. Bullock (BYU Board Minutes, 1 September 1944). *See also* "Y Grants Leaves to 28 Teachers," *Y News*, 26 October 1944.

outnumbered men students at least three to one, were anxious to include the cadets in the BYU social events. After one year of consideration, Dean Wesley Lloyd announced in October 1943 that strict rules had been revised to permit "certain of the Student Army Trainees to participate in order to alleviate the shortage of men students in the Civilian enrollment."⁸ The army students were grateful for the new ruling, and Major Charles E. Powell, in charge of the Army Student Training Program on campus, "expressed the desire to cooperate with us in having the men under his jurisdiction maintain the usual high ethical standards expected of the civilian personnel."⁹ The cadets cooperated quite willingly with BYU regulations, though many of them persisted in their habit of smoking on campus.

To provide BYU with needed space for training cadets and students, Provo City sold the National Youth Administration Building to BYU for \$15,000. This building, which has since been remodeled several times, was the central core of what eventually became Knight Mangum Hall. The money to purchase this building was made available by the savings made when the U. S. Government paid the salaries of many BYU faculty members for teaching cadets on campus.

The war brought the opening of the Geneva Steel Works near Provo, which resulted in a great many employees of this project flocking to town for rooms and apartments. Since the soldiers occupied most of the regular University housing, the students had difficulty finding a place to live. Temporary housing had to be set up in Room D of the Education Building and every available attic was transformed into a sleeping room. Nevertheless, the escalating of wartime industrial technology brought its blessings as well as its problems. A modest donation of \$1,000 from the Utah Copper Company revived President Harris's dream of having a Division of Research, and this project was substantially encouraged a short time later by a \$25,000 grant for research from the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company. By November 1944 President Harris was able to report substantial progress in three areas of research: the effect of copper on plant growth, the rate of seeding of sugar beets, and the effect of commercial fertilizer on sugar beet yields.

The school also made a substantial contribution in the physical sciences, and the number of technical courses was increased. Training in mechanical arts and drafting was offered, with special emphasis on training of women who were being recruited for employment by industrial plants around the country.

By May 1944 the University was even making plans to offer its first doctoral program. At that time the Board of Trustees felt that the conferring of a Ph.D. should be limited to those doing graduate work in the field of religion, where BYU was competent to offer such a

8. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 11 October 1943, BYU Archives.

9. Ibid., 29 November 1943.

degree. However, in May 1945 the doctoral program was postponed by the Board of Trustees.¹⁰

Planning for a Student Union

In 1944, prompted by the enthusiasm of faculty members and students and looking forward to the end of the war, President Harris proposed to the Board of Trustees the construction of a building to house student and alumni activities. The Board of Trustees approved the project in April, and Harris expected construction to begin as soon as conditions permitted. Dean Herald R. Clark was appointed general chairman of the project, which was expected to cost around \$250,000. Eight months after the building was approved, Harris wrote Lynn Taylor that “The mere announcement of this project brought almost magic response from a group of enthusiastic friends who have contributed more than \$28,000 toward the fund for the building.”¹¹ Long lists of contributors appeared in successive issues of the Board of Trustees minutes.

President Harris considered this project to be of utmost importance to the morale of the school. He wrote to the building committee,

I believe that you are taking up one of the most important projects ever launched in the history of this University. If we are able to erect the right kind of a building, this will have a tremendous influence on the spirit of the school and the intimate life of the students who study here. It should also be a great aid to the faculty in carrying on their work of reducing disciplinary problems and increasing the social opportunities of the school.¹²

The new building was planned with full enthusiasm, although the plans were not to be carried out until the Wilkinson administration.

BYU Wartime Faculty and Salaries

The low faculty salaries of the Depression were continued through the early war years. As of May 1942 the faculty pay scale was

	<i>low</i>	<i>high</i>
Deans	\$2,800	\$4,000
Professors	2,300	3,300
Associate Professors	2,100	2,900
Assistant Professors	1,800	2,600
Instructors	1,200	2,000

By this time the faculty was under financial pressure because of

10. Ibid., 7 May 1945.
11. Franklin S. Harris to Lynn Taylor, 20 December 1944, box 103, folder T, Harris Presidential Papers.
12. Franklin S. Harris to Herald R. Clark, Franklin Haymore, and Emel Mor-ton, 20 November 1944, box 90, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.

wartime rises in the cost of living and in taxes. Many members of the faculty had left for higher-paying jobs in government or industry, which aggravated the anxieties of those who remained to teach. The first relief came in October 1942 when the Church Department of Education authorized a salary bonus of \$100 per year for those making less than \$2,000 and \$160 for those who were in the higher income brackets. The situation became so critical during the following year that the Church finally appropriated \$17,000 for salary increases. Additional adjustments continued until in 1945 BYU faculty salaries were only \$500 or \$600 lower than salaries at other colleges in Utah.

As salaries improved President Harris was able to obtain new faculty members of the caliber he had been seeking throughout his administration. In 1945 there were 40 faculty members with doctor's degrees and 17 with master of science degrees.

The Dispute over Administrative Jurisdiction

Throughout the war years friction between commissioner of Church education Franklin West and BYU president Franklin S. Harris over the administrative jurisdiction of BYU continued. On 8 January 1941 the General Church Board of Education approved an *Administrative Code* which placed BYU under the supervision of the General Board of Education and authorized the commissioner of education as its "chief executive officer" to "enforce, by personal inspection and consultation with the various institutional heads . . . the policies and actions of the Board."¹³

President Harris chafed under this arrangement. It not only deprived him of considerable independence but made him subject to decisions of the Church commissioner that ran contrary to his past policies. On 19 February 1943 a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees was called to consider the problems which had arisen from this relationship. A special committee appointed to investigate the matter ruled in favor of Commissioner West. A short time later West wrote President Harris that BYU was not following the salary formula adopted by the General Board. He instructed President Harris that "Inasmuch as the General Board, after considerable discussion, adopted the formula earlier given to you for the establishing of salaries, it becomes mandatory that we conform to the same."¹⁴

The contest became sufficiently heated during 1944 that Stephen L. Richards finally wrote President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., that it would probably be best to limit the commissioner's jurisdiction over BYU to recommendations on the school budget and the inspection of the BYU

13. General Board Minutes, 8 January 1941.

14. Franklin L. West to Franklin S. Harris, 14 July 1943, box 99, folder W, Harris Presidential Papers.

religious education program.¹⁵ On 21 February 1945 the entire issue was finally resolved when the First Presidency decided it would no longer be wise to place the entire Church educational system under the “direction of one man.” It was determined that henceforth the individual units of the Church school system — Brigham Young University, Ricks College, LDS Business College, the Juarez Stake Academy, and the Institutes and Seminaries — should each be treated as separate entities operating independently of each other, “and with supervision only from the Church Board of Education.”¹⁶

This decision left the President of BYU completely autonomous, operating directly under the President of the Church. At the same time, two subcommittees were established under the direction of the General Board, one to deal with curriculum problems and the other to deal with personnel in the Church schools. It was felt that these new arrangements would greatly facilitate the administration of the various Church school units, especially Brigham Young University.

Resignation of Franklin S. Harris

However, this arrangement came too late to be of use to President Franklin S. Harris. He had already tendered his resignation to become the new president of the Utah State Agricultural College.

Harris had been offered the presidency of other schools several times before, including a proposal from leading members of the University of Utah in 1942 to head that school. However, when President Grant wrote to Harris at that time about his plans, Harris responded,

In every case I told them I should much prefer to remain in my present position at Brigham Young University because I considered there was greater opportunity to do good here. I asked that my name should not be presented as a candidate for that position.

I am very sincere in my belief that Brigham Young University offers the best educational opportunities found in any school of the nation. We have here a student body coming from the finest people of the land. They are actuated by the high ideals of our Church and most of them respond very well to the situation. We have just enough exceptions to prove the rule.

The doctrines and practices of the Church are so superior to anything else found in the world and the quality of the young people who grow up in the Church is so fine that when you get this combination with the right kind of education, we are sure to get some of the leadership which the world needs so much just now.¹⁷

15. Stephen L Richards to J. Reuben Clark, Jr., 16 March 1944, First Presidency Papers, LDS Church Historical Department.

16. First Presidency to General Board Executive Committee, 21 February 1945, CR 102, LDS Church Historical Department.

17. Franklin S. Harris to Heber J. Grant, 22 June 1942, box 90, folder F-G, Harris Presidential Papers.

However, during the following eighteen months the struggle to improve faculty salaries, the friction with the commissioner of education, and the opportunity to be president of an institution dedicated to agriculture, for which he had been trained, all seemed to combine to make President Harris susceptible to an offer from USAC.

As early as 28 October 1944, C. G. Adney, non-Mormon president of the Board of Trustees of Utah State Agricultural College, told Harris that the Board of Trustees wanted him “to become the next president of the College to succeed Pres. E. G. Peterson.”¹⁸ On November 20 a member of USAC’s Board phoned Harris to inform him that the Board had voted unanimously to offer Harris the presidency of the college.¹⁹ On November 23 C. G. Adney officially extended the offer, and later that same day Harris conferred with President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and Dr. John A. Widtsoe “regarding the offer to go to Logan.”²⁰

Harris spent the next day in conference with authorities of the Church and members of the BYU Board of Trustees. He recorded, “They showed a very fine spirit. They said how much they would regret our leaving the BYU, but they could see the unusual opportunity to serve the state needs at the A. C. The decision was left to me and I finally decided that the challenge offered at the A. C. was reason for making the change in spite of the fact that we are so perfectly happy at BYU.”²¹ On November 25 Harris met with the USAC Board of Trustees “at which time they elected me as President of the College, and I accepted.”²² On November 27 he officially resigned from the presidency of Brigham Young University. In his letter of resignation he explained, “I am sure that I shall never find any place where I shall be so completely happy as in the present position; but when all things were considered, the call of duty seemed to point to the new assignment.”²³

On the same day President Harris informed his faculty that he had accepted the position of president of Utah State Agricultural College as of 1 July 1945. He recorded in his diary for that day, “It was a very sad meeting with a few tears in evidence.”²⁴ Letters, telegrams, and telephone calls poured in from all over the country, congratulating him on his new position.

Although the administrative difficulties which President Harris had encountered at BYU during the war years were being corrected, it is doubtful he would have accepted the new position had he not received considerable encouragement from certain of the General Authorities

18. Franklin S. Harris, diary, 28 October 1944.

19. Ibid., 20 November 1944.

20. Ibid., 23 November 1944.

21. Ibid., 24 November 1944.

22. Ibid., 25 November 1944.

23. BYU Board Minutes, 15 January 1945.

24. Franklin S. Harris, diary, 27 November 1944.

of the LDS Church. Though they regretted to see Harris leave BYU, they were happy to see such a qualified person become president of the state's agricultural college. John A. Widtsoe, former president of USAC and one of Harris's closest personal advisers, told Harris that because of his great expertise in agriculture his work at Logan would provide a fitting climax to a distinguished career.²⁵

This opportunity to return to USAC undoubtedly stimulated his yearning to become more deeply involved in the field of agricultural research. The importance he attached to scientific agriculture and his dedication to the pursuit of academic excellence in that field are reflected in his inaugural address as president of Utah State Agricultural College:

If a person is to become free intellectually he must have the point of view of the investigator. In the same way, spiritual understanding can be achieved only by the open, seeking mind. The Master said, "Seek and ye shall find." In that first garden of which we have record man was enjoined to subdue the earth and to have dominion over it. How can this injunction be followed without a knowledge of the materials of the earth and the laws that govern them, and how can this knowledge be obtained without investigating these things? In scientific research man has the best known technique for discovering the real truth concerning his environment — the truth that will make him free indeed. I fervently hope that [the Father of us all] will give us the wisdom that will lead us to discover the truth, and that we may use this truth for the welfare of mankind.²⁶

From December 1944 through June 1945 Harris was virtually president of two universities. On 29 June 1945 he wrote in his diary, "Finished a few items at the office. Said goodbye to the office staff. At 3 P.M. we drove off from the campus to make our home at the Utah Agricultural College in Logan. The twenty-four years we have been at Brigham Young University have been most happy. It is with heavy hearts that we depart from the grand old school from which we and our family have received so much."²⁷

Harris's Appraisal of His Years at BYU

Standing on the campus where as a country boy from Benjamin, Utah, he had dreamed of the future, President Franklin Stewart Harris said on Founder's Day 1923, "Behold the greatest university campus in all the world — in embryo. More students will come, the faculty will be enlarged, new colleges will be added, and there is no end to the improvements which can be made. Truly the campus is the setting of

25. James R. Clark interview with Dean A. Peterson, who was Harris's personal secretary at the time.

26. A copy of Harris's inaugural address is on file in BYU Archives.

27. Franklin S. Harris, diary, 29 June 1945.

what will undoubtedly be the greatest university in the world, a place to train for leaders.”²⁸

In 1953, after 24 years as President of Brigham Young University and five years as president of Utah State Agricultural College, Harris, by then a mature, experienced educator with an international reputation, wrote the following summary of his accomplishments at Brigham Young University:

Recognition: During the period from 1921 to 1945, BYU was recognized as an accredited college by all the leading college accrediting agencies of the nation. In order to bring this about, much improvement had to be made in the staff and the facilities of the institution.

New Colleges: During this period new colleges were organized. The College of Fine Arts included the departments of Art, Music, and Speech. The College of Applied Science included the departments of Agronomy, Animal Husbandry, Horticulture, Landscape Architecture, Home Economics, and various branches of engineering and mechanic arts. The Extension Service and Research Division, each with a Director, were launched as definite entities during the school year 1921-22.

Land Purchase: During the period from 1921 to 1945 all the land on the hill except Raymond Park and the tip of the hill was purchased. This was done from contributions of alumni and friends, from earnings of the bookstore, and from other sources of funds which the University was able to secure. . . . Hundreds of purchases of small tracts of land had to be made to consolidate the large acreage which is now available for University growth. Very few institutions in the land are so fortunate as BYU in its location and in the ample acreage of its campus.²⁹

Buildings: The following buildings were erected during the period from 1921 to 1945:

1. Heber J. Grant Library
2. George H. Brimhall Building (completed)
3. Joseph Smith Building
4. Allen Hall, Men's Dormitory
5. Amanda Knight Hall, Women's Dormitory
6. First Building of dormitories on hill. Several residences used as dormitories.
7. Stadium House
8. Stadium
9. President's Residence

28. "President Harris Outlines Future Plans for Young," *Y News*, 24 October 1923.

29. Dean Peterson, his secretary, asked him one day why he was purchasing so much land for the University. He replied: "I can never purchase enough land to provide for the future growth and development of this campus"; conference of Ernest L. Wilkinson on 26 September 1974 with Dean A. Peterson.

Art Collections: During the period between 1921 and 1945 about 700 paintings were acquired for the University. This gave it one of the finest collections of art of any educational institution in the country.

Scientific Collections: Much attention was given to improving the scientific equipment and collections of the institution. The acquisition of the old Deseret Museum of Salt Lake from the Church gave a foundation of material in geology, zoology, and botany that was most unusual. All scientific departments were given support in building up equipment and collections.

Sabbatical Leaves and Retirement System: It was during this period that the University established a regular system of sabbatical leaves which enabled the members of the faculty to secure at regular periods leaves for study and travel during which part of their regular salaries was paid and their academic rank maintained. A system of retirement for faculty members was also established in cooperation with the Teachers Annuity and Retirement Association of America.

Social Unit System: In order to obtain the advantages of social organizations for students, and at the same time avoid as many as possible of the disadvantages usually found in the ordinary college fraternities and sororities, a system of social units was set up. This worked well while the student body remained at less than about 2,500, but it had its limitations when the number of students was greatly increased.

Contributions: There was never a year when contributions were not of importance to the University. For the purchase of the Athletic Field and the erection of the Stadium, more than 3,000 persons made personal contributions. The largest contribution to this fund was made by John Firmage. The Jesse Knight Family made large contributions throughout the period, the largest being the Endowment Fund. . . . President and Mrs. Thomas N. Taylor, through the years, made many substantial contributions for the purchase of expensive pianos. During the years thousands of donors have made contributions of cash, books, or other things to assist the work of BYU.³⁰

This list of developments during the Harris administration needs to be augmented by additional comments on the progress of the colleges organized by Harris.

College of Applied Science

The College of Applied Science, organized in 1922, was designed to provide instruction to students in scientific principles and technical operations relating to the farm, the home, and the shop. The instruction was to prepare students to apply scientific techniques in their

30. Franklin S. Harris to LaVieve H. Earl in connection with Alumni Day, 1953.

chosen trades. In line with this purpose, the major departments in the College of Applied Science were Home Economics, Agronomy, Animal Husbandry, Mechanic Arts, Bacteriology, Horticulture, and Landscape Architecture.

In the early twenties Harris recruited Melvin Merrill as dean of the College of Applied Science, but he only remained until 1924. LaVal Morris took over the teaching of horticulture and President Harris had Christen Jensen, who during his tenure at BYU had filled many administrative positions, assume the responsibilities of dean. He acted as dean until 1929, when Lowry Nelson, who had a doctorate in rural sociology from the University of Wisconsin, was appointed dean of the college. Nelson instituted a Department of Rural Social Economics, but budget problems and his other assigned duties forced him to abandon his work on the new department.

After Nelson resigned in 1934 as dean of the College of Applied Science, Thomas Martin of the Agronomy Department took his place as dean. Martin added bacteriology and landscape architecture to the college's curriculum in 1936. Renowned as a soil agronomist, "Tommy" Martin almost single-handedly managed the agricultural work at BYU for many years. As enrollment increased, George Stewart joined the faculty of the Agronomy Department in 1932.

The Animal Husbandry Department functioned throughout the Harris period, and Clawson Y. Cannon was appointed head of the department. When he received his doctor's degree in 1928, Cannon was made dean of the Summer School, and between 1927 and 1929 he initiated graduate work in animal husbandry. At the end of the 1928-29 school year, Cannon left BYU for a prominent position at Iowa State Agricultural College at Ames, Iowa. After Cannon left, Grant Ivins and C. Lyn Harward carried on the work in the Animal Husbandry Department.

Several departments taught domestic skills at BYU during the 1920s. Vilate Elliott headed the Clothing and Textiles Department until her marriage in the early 1940s. Elizabeth Cannon headed the Foods and Nutrition Department until she married Keifer Sauls, President Harris's secretary. Effie Warnick ran the Household Administration Department until 1950, when the three departments that were teaching domestic science merged to form the Department of Home Economics. By 1945, 69 courses were offered in home economics, 17 of them graduate classes.

During the Harris period the school offered courses in auto mechanics (which developed into the Mechanic Arts Department), drafting (until 1931), iron work (discontinued after two years), and woodwork (from 1922 to 1926). When the Mechanic Arts Building was remodeled in 1935, woodwork, drafting, surveying, and auto mechanics shared the main floor of the structure with the bacteriology laboratory, classrooms, and offices. William H. Snell, an expert in

drafting and woodwork who had joined the faculty in 1917, headed the Mechanic Arts Department. His son Morris R. Snell joined the faculty in 1936. Besides serving the school as carpenter, P. P. Bigelow taught auto mechanics until his retirement in 1943, when classes in auto mechanics, machine shop, and welding were temporarily discontinued.

The Mechanic Arts Department provided practical help to the University during the Depression. Industrial Arts students designed and built entrance steps and walks on the upper campus, besides building and remodeling equipment and furniture for the various campus departments and offices. They also helped construct the Stadium House and supervised and did most of the major remodeling of the President's residence and the Iona House. By 1941 the Mechanic Arts Department offered 22 courses in drafting, 21 in woodwork, three in surveying, and six in auto mechanics. This college generally enrolled around 15 percent of BYU college students and awarded an average of over 20 degrees per year during the 1920s and 1930s. Between 1921 and 1945 it awarded 15 master's degrees in agronomy, bacteriology, and horticulture.

College of Commerce

The College of Commerce and Business Administration, which became the College of Commerce, was housed in the Maeser Memorial Building. Dean Harrison Val Hoyt directed the college successfully until he left in 1932 to pursue his business interests. Herald R. Clark replaced him and remained as dean of the college until 1951. This college had a small faculty — Val Hoyt and Herald R. Clark were the only two full-time professors in 1922, assisted by three office practice instructors. A. Rex Johnson, Elmer Miller, and Clarence S. Boyle joined the faculty during the 1920s.

About 20 percent of BYU college students enrolled in the College of Commerce during the Harris years. Some years in the 1930s saw over 50 students graduate from this college. Val Hoyt returned to the college in 1937, and A. Smith Pond and Weldon J. Taylor joined the faculty to help meet the demands of increased enrollment.

College of Education

Brigham Young University considered its College of Education to be one of the strongest units within the University. It was accredited by the Utah State Board of Education in 1921, insuring that BYU graduates would not have to pass special examinations to qualify as teachers in Utah.³¹ The college was made up of two constituent divisions — the academic departments and the training schools. A student could major

31. *BYU Catalog*, 1921-22, p. 74.

in education or could choose a teaching major from any department in the University.

During 1920, John C. Swensen, a BYU faculty member since 1898, was acting dean of the College of Education. When Franklin S. Harris became President, he recruited from Nebo School District L. John Nuttall, Jr., who held a master's degree from Columbia University, to head the training school division of the School of Education. Nuttall was appointed dean of the college in 1924. While Nuttall acted as president of the University during Harris's world tour in the 1926-27 school year, John C. Swensen again acted as dean of the College. Nuttall resumed the deanship in 1927, but he took a leave of absence during the 1928-29 school year to work on his doctor's degree at Columbia University. Afterward he became superintendent of schools for Salt Lake City, and never returned to BYU. When Nuttall left the University, Harris asked longtime faculty member Amos N. Merrill, who held a doctor's degree from Stanford University, to become acting dean of the College of Education. He remained in that position until 1939 when he was officially made dean of the college at the age of 64. He served for six more years in that position.

Though there were frequent changes in the deanship of the College of Education, the faculty of the college remained quite stable during the Harris years. In 1925 the college had 18 professors and instructors. Not including the seven Training School teachers, the 1925 faculty of the College of Education was composed of Amos N. Merrill (secondary education), Hugh M. Woodward (psychology), L. John Nuttall, Jr., (educational administration), M. Wilford Poulson (psychology), Mary J. Ollorton (elementary education), Ida Smoot Dusenberry (psychology), William Boyle (elementary education), Emma Brown (elementary education), Hermese Peterson (elementary education), Joseph Sudweeks (educational administration), and A. C. Lambert (educational administration). Edgar M. Jenson was hired in 1927 to teach educational administration, and Golden L. Woolf began teaching secondary education in 1934. By the 1935-36 school year there had been only two changes in the college faculty: L. John Nuttall, Jr., left the school, and Mary J. Ollorton resigned.

The 24 years of the Harris Administration saw Physical Education develop into a major department in the University. It was first recognized as a department of instruction in 1922. Eugene L. Roberts, who joined the faculty in 1910, was the only professor of physical education in 1921.

As the Physical Education Department grew larger, it seemed out of place in the College of Arts and Sciences. Consequently, it was transferred to the College of Education in 1932. By 1937 the growth of the department was so significant that Leona Holbrook was appointed director of women's physical education. From the nine physical education courses offered in 1921, the curriculum grew to 53 courses in

1945, with 12 additional courses in health and recreation. The first bachelor's degree for work in physical education was awarded in 1942. Before that time, students who studied physical education had to earn degrees in education. That same year the Physical Education Department became the Department of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation under Charles J. Hart.

The College of Education introduced the concept of composite majors in the 1943-44 school year. As the school catalog explained, "Experience has shown that teachers on the secondary level are more qualified to serve the needs of the average high school when they are trained in several related subjects, rather than when they are trained in a single subject."³²

The College of Education enrolled approximately 20 percent of the BYU college students during the 1930s and early 1940s. In 1924 the college awarded 43 normal certificates and only 16 bachelor's degrees. By 1941, 125 bachelor's degrees and 55 normal certificates were awarded. After 1932 students were required to study three years for the normal certificates as opposed to the previous requirement of two years. Normal certificates were no longer offered after the 1941-42 school year.

College of Arts and Sciences

The College of Arts and Sciences handled all subjects not directly related to business, education, applied science, or fine arts. As stated in the school's catalog, this college worked "to meet the needs of students who desire a broad and liberal education that will enable them to find and take their places in the complex civilization of today."³³ Because of its broad scope, the College of Arts and Sciences included more departments than any other college in the University. This college was always directed by scientists. After Dean Martin P. Henderson died in 1923, Carl F. Eyring served as dean until his death in 1951. From 1929 to 1931, while Eyring was on leave at the Bell Telephone Laboratories, and when he was away from campus in 1934, 1935, and from 1937 to 1939, George Hansen, a specialist in oil and gas development in Utah, served as acting dean. Harris always kept the deanship open for Dr. Eyring, knowing that he would return to BYU.

The faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences grew slowly during the 1920s and 1930s, and the structure of the college remained quite stable. In 1925 the Biology Department was divided into the Botany Department under Walter Cottam and the Zoology and Entomology Department under Vasco Tanner. Chemistry, the most popular of the physical sciences at BYU, held a strong position in the College of Arts and Sciences under Charles E. Maw, who was department chairman

32. *BYU Catalog*, 1943-44, p. 48.

33. See *BYU catalogs* during the Harris years.

from 1921 to 1945. Maw received his doctor's degree from Stanford University in 1924. The other prominent men in the department were Hugh W. Peterson, Lorin C. Bryner, Delbert A. Greenwood, and Joseph K. Nicholes. The Chemistry Department awarded from four to 20 degrees during each of the Harris years.

For years the Chemistry Department was housed in the basement of the Education Building on lower campus. Harris always wanted a modern, well-equipped science building, but it was not until the interim administration of Christen Jensen that the Eyring Science Center was completed.

During the Harris period geology and geography were included in the same department. Fred Buss maintained the department until 1925 and then turned it over to Murray O. Hayes. George Hansen joined the geology faculty in 1927 and ran the department until the 1940s, when W. Elmo Coffman and Kenneth C. Bullock were hired to supplement his work. The geology division slowly built up its rock collections during the Harris period.

Dean Eyring took charge of the physics and mathematics work with the assistance of Dr. Milton Marshall, who did considerable research in electricity and magnetism. Wayne B. Hales, trained in physics, astronomy, and meteorology, joined the faculty in 1930.

The social science departments of history, sociology, and political science were also a strong part of the College of Arts and Sciences. John C. Swensen chaired both the Sociology Department in the College of Arts and Sciences and the Economics Department in the College of Commerce until his official retirement in 1942 after 44 years of service, though after he officially retired he still taught some classes. In 1935 Elmer Miller took over as head of the Economics Department. Ariel Ballif was hired in 1938 to teach in the Sociology Department. Harold Christensen became head of the Sociology Department when Swensen retired.

Political science was Christen Jensen's forte. His doctoral dissertation, "The Pardoning Power of the American States," completed in 1921, was the first among the BYU social science faculty dissertations to be published. The curriculum of the Political Science Department included studies in United States, state, and local government, citizenship, commercial law, comparative European governments, international law, international relations, and the U. S. Constitution. J. W. Robinson and George Ballif, both practicing lawyers in Provo, assisted Dr. Jensen in the political science coursework.

The History Department was closely allied with the Political Science Department. Christen Jensen headed the History Department and taught classes in American history. The class offerings in history slowly increased in the 1920s. The department was strengthened in 1923 when William Snow received his doctor's degree from the University of California. Thomas C. Romney joined the faculty that same year. The

faculty increased during the 1930s to include Russell B. Swensen, O. Meredith Wilson, and Arthur Gaeth. Wilson later became president of the University of Oregon and then of the University of Minnesota. By the end of the Harris period the history curriculum had increased from 16 courses in 1922 to 52 in 1945. Probably because of the small demand for history teachers, the History Department never awarded more than nine bachelor's degrees in any year during the entire Harris Administration.

When Harris became President none of the teachers in the English Department held a doctorate. But without terminal degrees many of them were very competent teachers, such as Alice Louise Reynolds, Alfred Osmond, J. Marinus Jensen, Harrison R. Merrill, Ed Rowe, Elsie C. Carroll, and Reinhard Maeser, who died in 1926. In 1927 Harris hired Parley A. Christensen, who had a doctorate from Stanford, as a promising scholarly addition to the English faculty. Karl E. Young, with a master's degree from Oxford University in 1930, was made director of freshman English, and Gladys Black, Ralph A. Britsch, Orea B. Tanner, and Leonard W. Rice were recruited to strengthen the English Department forces. The department graduated at least ten students a year during the Harris period.

The Department of Modern Languages and Latin was greatly strengthened when Gerrit de Jong, Jr., joined the faculty, for he was able to carry the German and Spanish load while department head B. F. Cummings taught French and Latin. In 1925 the name of the department was changed to Modern and Classical Languages. Many other instructors were hired during the 1930s and 1940s to assist with language teaching, including Bertha Roberts, Thomas L. Broadbent, Irene Osmond, Harold W. Lee, and Lee B. Valentine. Russell Swensen and Sidney Sperry of the Religious Education Department added their knowledge of Greek and Hebrew to the courses in classical languages. Italian, Aramaic, Syriac, Russian, and Akkadian were added to the language curriculum in the 1930s and 1940s.

The College of Arts and Sciences was large in terms of faculty members and student enrollment. Students who could not decide on professions, premedical students, prelaw students, students interested in politics, and many who desired to become teachers enrolled in the college. In 1934, 650 of the 2,176 BYU daytime college students — 30 percent — were enrolled in the College of Arts and Sciences.

College of Fine Arts

Brigham Young University was proud to patronize the fine arts. The 1925-26 catalog stated that "A constantly growing desire to offer greater opportunity to those whose inclinations and talents lead them into this field resulted in the organization of the College of Fine Arts."³⁴

34. *BYU catalog*, 1925-26.

The college included the departments of Art, Music, and Speech. Gerrit de Jong was dean of the College of Fine Arts from its organization in 1925 until 1960. Though he was dean of the college, de Jong did very little teaching in fine arts; his specialty was languages, and he taught many language courses in the College of Arts and Sciences. De Jong restricted his activities in the College of Fine Arts to administrative matters.

The Art Department featured Bent F. Larsen, who received his master's degree from the University of Utah in 1922, and Elbert Eastmond, a faculty member since 1904. Verla L. Birrell, Lynn Taylor, and J. Roman Andrus joined the art faculty during the Harris period.

The Department of Public Speaking and Dramatic Arts was headed for years by T. Earl Pardoe. Pardoe joined the BYU faculty without a degree during the later Brimhall years, but earned a doctorate by 1936. With the help of his wife, Kathryn, May Billings, and Morris Clinger, Pardoe built a strong dramatic arts program. The University became known for the excellent plays it presented every year. Alonzo Morley successfully headed speech correction work after 1928.

The Graduate School

Dr. Christen Jensen, who was named dean of the Graduate School in 1929 when the name was changed from Graduate Division to Graduate School, remained in that position throughout the rest of the Harris administration. The graduate work progressed slowly prior to 1930. Of 53 master's degrees awarded, over half were in some phase of education.³⁵ The remaining degrees were given by the Botany, Chemistry, Zoology, Psychology, Sociology, Political Science, History, English, and Religious Education departments.

Graduate enrollment increased with undergraduate enrollment during the depression. The Music Department first offered graduate work in 1931, Geology and Geography in 1931, Physical Education in 1932, Art, Agronomy, and Physics in 1933, French, Economics, and Speech in 1934, German in 1935, Bacteriology and Marketing in 1936, Accounting and Business Management in 1939, and Horticulture in 1943. Some departments, such as Horticulture, Political Science, Marketing, and Elementary Education, awarded only one master's degree during the 24 years of the Harris administration, while the Department of Education Administration awarded 36 master's degrees during that same period. In 1934, 32 students earned master's degrees from BYU. However, because of World War II the school granted only four master's degrees in 1944 and 1945.

35. Master's degrees in education were awarded in the areas of educational administration, philosophy of education, elementary education (only one), and secondary education.

The Lyceum Series

One of the special goals of Brigham Young University during the Harris years was to “develop within our institution an atmosphere of refinement and culture in which our students may have the opportunity of becoming genuine ladies and gentlemen.”³⁶ The Lyceum Series was designed specifically to meet this objective by bringing cultural figures to the BYU campus each year. Prominent figures who participated in the program included philosopher Will Durrant in 1929, poet Carl Sandburg in 1937, pianist Sergei Rachmaninoff in 1938, and poet Robert Frost in 1940. The program brought many other poets, dancers, novelists, singers, and performing groups to Utah Valley.

Herald R. Clark, who was in charge of the Lyceum Series, made himself one of the leading experts in the country on cultural and musical professionals. He read the *New York Times* daily to know where performers and troupes were traveling. When they were within range of Provo he engaged them for a performance, generally at a rate under half their regular price. As Gerrit de Jong expressed it, “H. R. Clark . . . has accomplished the seemingly impossible in booking world-famous artists and organizations at extremely low fees.”³⁷

Many visitors were surprised by the spirit of culture permeating the atmosphere of such a small school in the Rockies. M. Leide-Tedesco wrote Gerrit de Jong in 1943,

Somehow your University had made on me the greatest impression. In my own thinking I always visualized a University as a center of culture. I had not anticipated the possibility of finding it in Utah. Truly, a Mecca of Culture! From the beginning it must have been a vision, and through the years men and women of vision carried on and will carry until the end of time that purpose and ideal.³⁸

The Library

Through the 1930s and into the war years Harris continued to squeeze out of his budget every penny he could for the library. He spent from \$4,095 to \$6,573 a year between 1930 and 1934 on library improvements. A lover of books and libraries, while a student at Cornell he had spent one day each week browsing through the stacks of the

36. Christen Jensen to Parents and Friends, December 1939, box 78, folder N-Q, Harris Presidential Papers.

37. Gerrit de Jong, Jr., to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 18 February 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. Two Chatauqua managers told Ernest L. Wilkinson in the 1940s that BYU and the University of Indiana had the best lyceum programs in the country.

38. M. Leide-Tedesco to Gerrit de Jong, Jr., 1 March 1943, CR 102, uncatalogued Department of Education Papers, LDS Church Historical Department.

library. Harris added books to the Heber J. Grant Library as rapidly as he could, and by 1930 the collection included 57,000 volumes.

From 1929 to 1933 the school obtained several thousand volumes from the old LDS College library in Salt Lake City. Harris also worked to obtain publications of other colleges on an exchange basis. In 1921 the only periodicals index at BYU available to students was the *Reader's Guide*, which catalogued only general periodicals. Under Harris the library successfully acquired specialized indexes covering such fields as agriculture, home economics, commerce, and business. This greatly extended the usefulness of the periodicals, though the library still lacked some important specialized indexes and professional journals.

Anna Ollorton took over as head librarian from Annie L. Gillespie in 1923. Because undergraduate and graduate enrollment grew and the size of the library increased dramatically during Ollorton's 25 years as librarian, her job became much more complex. When Ella L. Brown, a former teacher at Brigham Young Academy, was hired in 1922, the librarian had only two full-time assistants. N. I. Butt joined the staff as a research assistant in 1926, and Julia Smith, formerly of the Utah Genealogical Society Library, began working at the library in 1934. When Julia Smith left the library after her marriage in 1938, James R. Clark, a seminary teacher at Lovell, Wyoming, took her place.

In November 1940 President Harris approached the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees for an addition to the library. The Heber J. Grant Library, equipped to handle 100,000 books, was full. Harris was given authority to draw plans for the addition, "the plans to be in readiness for such time as funds may be available for the project." This never occurred in Harris's time, but efficient use of available resources and generous book endowments overcame financial limitations that otherwise might have curtailed the growth of the library. From 17,000 books in 1921 the BYU library grew to 138,750 hard-bound volumes in 1945. As in other areas, Harris's work to promote the library proved that dedication and persistence could overcome financial hard times.

Evaluation of Harris by Those Who Worked With Him

While President Harris did not see BYU become the great university he had envisioned in his inaugural address, he did lay a very solid foundation for the accomplishment of his goal.

Most faculty members have been very warm in their praise of the work of Franklin S. Harris as President of Brigham Young University. In surveys conducted independently in 1945, 1960, 1965, and 1973, BYU faculty members pointed out that Harris achieved the following during his tenure at BYU:

He upgraded the faculty and the curriculum, obtaining accreditation for the University.

He took a great personal interest in his faculty and in the students as individuals.

He was always available to talk about faculty or student problems. This included frequent personal visits to faculty offices and classrooms.

He successfully promoted the growth of the University on an extremely meager budget.

He was an efficient and effective administrator.

He enhanced the prestige of the University throughout the Church and the world.

He purchased property for the future expansion of the University, demonstrating his vision of the destiny of the institution.

He had a keen appreciation for all fields taught at the University. He was as interested in the fine arts as he was in his own scientific specialty.

He was loyal to the doctrines of the Church which supported the University and expected every faculty member to be the same.³⁹

Dr. Wayne B. Hales, longtime BYU faculty member and former president of Snow College, wrote, "As President of Snow College, 1921-1924, I was conscious of a profound new leadership that permeated the whole Church school system when Dr. Harris was made President of Brigham Young University. . . . There resulted an upgrading in faculty and student scholarship, curricula, accreditation, and greater and better community services and relationships."⁴⁰ Dr. Hales further noted that Harris

brought to the Church education system, and to the Intermountain States, a spirit of youth and enthusiasm and wholesome professionalism that motivated higher education for good in our state. Some say he did more to encourage higher education and advanced degrees than any other person in his professional generation. He had a high sense of public responsibility. He often said he would rather have a graduate of Brigham Young University have a dedicated feeling of public service and responsibility than to know his differential equations or the theories of science.⁴¹

Dr. Weldon J. Taylor, dean of the College of Business under later administrations, wrote that Harris

made a great pioneering contribution in establishing the "university" environment of the scholar on the campus. To those of us academicians, this scholarship emphasis provided foundations for deeper and richer spiritual lives. Although, to those not conditioned to the academics point of view, there was some

39. Centennial History Research Staff Survey, 1973, on file in Centennial History papers, BYU Archives.

40. Wayne B. Hales to James R. Clark, 9 January 1973, Centennial History Papers, BYU Archives.

41. Wayne B. Hales, "History of the College of Physical Sciences," BYU Archives, p. 64.

conflict. . . . As might be expected in a new program that was pioneering, President Harris as a leader assumed most of the decision making responsibility. He did not delegate strategic decisions involving the people and policy to his department chairman or deans. He did the employing, for the most part, and had the final say on salaries.⁴²

Dr. Parley A. Christensen, chairman of the English Department for eighteen years, described the personality, friendliness, and professional strength of President Harris:

To associate with Franklin Stewart Harris was to feel the vitality, the dynamics that made his whole life a growing and a becoming, not a having and a resting. To be near him was to feel a tremendous zest for life, for life more abundant. In him knowledge was always increasing, interests were always widening, understanding, appreciation, and sympathy were always deepening. He was a divinely restless Ulysses dreaming of lands beyond the horizons, and eager to set sail. To us [faculty] he was always a gentleman and a friend.⁴³

Dean Gerrit de Jong, Jr., who served as dean of the College of Fine Arts throughout the Harris Administration and beyond, wrote of Harris's 24 years at Brigham Young University:

It will probably take many years before we get the complete picture of Dr. Franklin S. Harris's contribution as a leader in education. One thing, however, is clear now: his expressions and example of firm faith in Brigham Young University's importance at that time and in its future greatness inspired the entire staff to work, to struggle if necessary, toward laying permanent foundations for a truly great university.⁴⁴

Other Appraisals of President Harris

Of Harris's international travels, Ernest L. Wilkinson wrote,

Of all the presidents of Brigham Young University during its first 100 years of existence, Harris, by all measurements, was more of an internationalist and the greatest traveler. Of those preceding Harris, Dusenberry did no traveling abroad; Maeser, although he came from Germany, never left the United States after his naturalization except for his mission to Germany; Cluff, after he

42. Weldon J. Taylor to James R. Clark, 10 January 1974, Centennial History Papers, BYU Archives.

43. Parley A. Christensen in "Vignettes from the Life of Franklin Stewart Harris," BYU Archives, p. 13.

44. Gerrit de Jong, Jr., "Twenty-Four Years at BYU," p. 28. At the time of Harris's resignation an extensive collection of appraisals and tributes was made by the Alumni Association. The collection is on file in the Harris biographical folder in the BYU Archives.

became President, confined his international travels to Mexico, the Northern part of South America, and Hawaii, where he represented the Government in connection with certain annexation problems; Brimhall, except for rehabilitating from illness in Canada, never set foot on foreign soil. Some of us who succeeded Harris traveled to foreign soil largely to take care of University business. But none of these foreign trips were of anywhere near the importance of the Harris trips around the world to scores of universities and educational systems and to Russia, Iran, Japan, and Mexico for extended service to the world community. These trips and investigations added immeasurably to the status and prestige of the University.⁴⁵

President Harris was also very active in community affairs. All during his career at BYU he was engaged as an industrial consultant. Clayton Jenkins praised Harris's work with the Provo Chamber of Commerce:

He participated with other business and civic leaders in making decisions of first importance that have had a vital and beneficial effect on our community for the past fifty years.

The Utah Valley Hospital was made possible by a large cash contribution from the Commonwealth Fund of New York City after five years of preliminary work by the Chamber. Dr. Harris took an active part in the preliminaries, and, because of his wide acquaintance and popularity with the people of the area and his known ability as an administrator, he was chosen first president of the hospital, thus getting it off to a good start and a long, successful career.

At the time the U. S. Steel plant was nearing completion at Geneva it became apparent that it could not operate successfully unless reduced, competitive freight rates from Provo to market points on the Pacific Coast could be obtained. Dr. Harris, therefore, headed a large delegation of businessmen and other leaders to appear before the United States Interstate Commerce Commission at the Nevada State Capitol in Carson City to plead for a reduction in rates. The request was granted, thus ensuring operation of this great industry.

45. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Centennial History staff, 11 July 1974, Centennial History Papers, BYU Archives. Wilkinson himself visited Europe a number of times to evaluate tours of BYU troupes, such as the International Folk Dancers, and BYU education centers, such as the one at Salzburg, Austria. He also visited Iran to appraise the work of a contingent of BYU faculty members laboring there. He visited BYU archaeological teams in Central America and traveled to Vietnam to investigate invitations to supervise the work of certain educational institutions in that country. As President of BYU, Dallin H. Oaks has so far traveled to Europe and the South Pacific.

During most of his 24 years at BYU, Harris was also a member of the General Board of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association of the LDS Church.

The deep respect and affection which was held by the General Authorities for Franklin S. Harris is reflected in a letter written by Stephen L Richards just after Harris had announced his resignation: "I should advise you in advance that you have a job on your hands to reconcile me to your retirement from the Y, so come prepared but in the assurance that it is hardly conceivable that you could do anything to destroy my admiration for you, my confidence in you and my love and friendship that abound for you and yours."⁴⁶

Writing in his book *In a Sunlit Land*, published just before his death in 1952, Dr. John A. Widtsoe, lifelong friend and educational adviser to President Harris, wrote of the Harris administration at Brigham Young University: "Under the Presidency of Dr. Franklin S. Harris, the academic standing of the faculty has become comparable to the best in the land, and such has been maintained under succeeding Presidents."

A fitting climax to this review of the accomplishments of Franklin S. Harris as President of BYU is the letter of appreciation written by Heber J. Grant, President of the LDS Church and of the BYU Board of Trustees, in behalf of the Board of Trustees on the occasion of Harris's resignation:

We are deeply grateful to you for . . . your long and distinguished incumbency of the Presidency. . . . You have advanced the University to a place among the leading institutions of the nation; you have fostered the attendance so that increasingly more and more of the youth of the Church are taking advantage of the opportunities the University offers; you have, with far vision, added to the acreage of the campus so providing for its growth for years to come; you have inaugurated a plan for dormitories which, in the course of time, will care for the institution in that respect; you have added an upper campus, have secured the erection thereon of splendid buildings, and have projected others under a plan that will make the campus one of the finest and most useful in the country; you have so worked that the secular scholarship and training of the school has been raised to a point where its graduates are recognized as in very fact among the ablest scholars in the nation; you have seen to it that a clean, wholesome, and spiritual atmosphere has always rested on the campus; . . . you have done all this with a minimum of expense that is a marvel to school administrators generally, that has given to the tithepayers of the Church a feeling of gratitude for your careful expenditure of their hard earned funds . . . and that has always afforded the

46. Stephen L Richards to Franklin S. Harris, 1 February 1945, Harris Presidential Papers.

First Presidency and the Board of Trustees a complete confidence in your integrity and honesty in the performance of your duties. . . .

We thank you for your devotion, your loyalty, your uprightness, and for your distinct ability as head of the Brigham Young University, which, having both its opportunity and its purpose in view, we appraise as the greatest institution of learning in the world.⁴⁷

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47. BYU Board of Trustees to President Franklin S. Harris, 7 February 1954, Harris Presidential Papers.

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Howard S. McDonald: Leader at the Crossroads

When Franklin S. Harris resigned as President of BYU, the superintendent of Church schools considered a number of LDS educators as possible replacements. Many friends of the institution made suggestions. Dr. Edgar Brossard, president of the Washington, D.C., Stake and chairman of the U.S. Tariff Commission, was anxious to see a spiritual leader chosen as president.¹ Franklin Harris himself suggested a scholarly professor on the faculty of another university in the field of business education.² Nominees included two professors from Stanford, one from Princeton, and several from Brigham Young University. "Not a few persons, according to various and sundry reports, had been or would be selected as our President," quipped Dean Carl Eyring.³ However, the spotlight finally came to rest on Dr. Howard S. McDonald, the tall, handsome, articulate, and vigorously impressive superintendent of Salt Lake City schools. His appointment came as a distinct surprise to many because he had never been previously associated with the administration of a university. Nevertheless, he had achieved an impressive record as a school superintendent and also had considerable administrative experience in the Church, including service as San Francisco Stake president.

McDonald's Early Years

Howard Stevenson McDonald, the fifth child and the first son of Francis McDonald and Rozella Stevenson McDonald, was born 18 July 1894 in Salt Lake City. His father joined the Church in Scotland and immigrated to America aboard a leaking sailship — which sank on its

1. Edgar Brossard to Franklin L. West, 11 December 1944, box 1, folder 9, Franklin L. West Papers.
2. Franklin S. Harris to Franklin L. West, 20 December 1944, box 1, folder 9, Franklin L. West Papers.
3. "Remarks to Howard S. McDonald on His Leaving BYU," 19 October 1949, Carl Eyring Papers, UA 507, BYU Archives.

return trip to Europe.⁴ His mother, Rozella Stevenson, came from an illustrious family of eastern Latter-day Saints who had been personally acquainted with the Prophet Joseph Smith. Grandfather Stevenson had served as a member of the First Council of Seventy.

McDonald grew up on a farm in the Salt Lake City area and attended Granite High School. While there he enrolled in the first Church seminary class. McDonald's teacher was Guy C. Wilson, who had a deep and abiding effect on his life and thinking.⁵

After serving a mission to the eastern states, McDonald met Ella Gibbs of Brigham City and married her in 1917. That same year he matriculated at Utah State Agricultural College in Logan, where he studied agricultural engineering with special emphasis on irrigation and drainage. He interrupted his education in 1918 to serve in France with the 163rd Artillery Brigade from Utah.⁶ After the war ended in November 1918 McDonald resumed his agricultural studies at Utah State. He was a bright student, especially successful in upper-division mathematics. Toward the end of his undergraduate studies he took courses in psychology and education, indicating a possible change of direction in his professional plans. Following his graduation in 1924 McDonald taught in the General Science Department at USAC when A. J. Saxer, department chairman, took sabbatical leave. He taught all the mathematics courses from trigonometry to differential and integral calculus.⁷

During that year, Franklin Harris offered McDonald a position at BYU as head of an Engineering Department. McDonald declined because, he later said, "I was not qualified to head an engineering department. I needed more training."⁸ In April he was offered a part-time position as a high school physical education instructor at Mission High School in northern California. He immediately accepted the position to support his family while he earned an advanced degree from the University of California at Berkeley.

McDonald enjoyed his teaching experience at the high school and soon his interest in education surpassed his interest in agriculture or engineering. He taught both football and mathematics, and became deeply involved in the lives of his students. Though he started teaching part-time, within a few weeks his salary was raised to \$2,300 per year, which was more than he earned as a full-time instructor at Utah State

4. Howard S. McDonald, "Brief Autobiography," unpublished typescript in BYU Archives, p. 9.

5. Ibid., p. 13.

6. For descriptions of McDonald's military activities, see his "Brief Autobiography," pp. 27-33; Earl S. Paul to Eugene Thompson, 15 January 1974, 1919 file, Centennial History Papers; and "Four Soldiers of 1918 Meet Again," *Deseret News*, 18 April 1942.

7. McDonald, "Brief Autobiography," p. 36.

8. Howard S. McDonald, oral history, 7 August 1973, BYU Library, p. 19.

Agricultural College. He found a great sense of self-fulfillment in working with youth, and spent much of his free time on excursions or in counseling sessions with his students.

Howard McDonald was a man of deep religious convictions and his work with young people correlated closely with his personal philosophy of service both at school and in Church assignments. He stressed the principles of work, trial, and patience. Like Emerson, he advised his students to "Make the most of yourself for that is all there is to you."⁹ In his Church talks he often stressed the Word of Wisdom, the LDS Church health code, and spoke vigorously of the need to be good citizens and uphold the U.S. Constitution.¹⁰ Amicable and open, he soon became a prominent local Church leader. A member of the San Francisco Stake high council, he suggested that when the stake was divided all of the stake officials be released and replaced by new people.¹¹ McDonald was released but only to become first counselor in the new stake presidency.¹² In a 1934 meeting of priesthood leaders he acknowledged, "Since coming to San Francisco, I have tried to evade Church duties, but it appears I am in them deeper today than I have ever been."¹³

McDonald's life was characterized by incessant activity. His young daughter referred to him as "that man who sleeps here Saturdays and Sundays."¹⁴ He progressed rapidly in his career as an educator. By 1928 he was vice-principal and dean of boys at Balboa High School. In 1935 he became personnel director in the San Francisco School District and within two years was promoted to deputy superintendent. In 1941 McDonald was called as president of the East Bay San Francisco Stake.¹⁵ However, the burden of serving as deputy superintendent and stake president while trying to finish his doctoral dissertation proved too much. In 1943 he was released as stake president in order to complete his doctoral work.¹⁶

Moving to Utah

After he obtained his doctor's degree in May 1944, McDonald was interviewed by the Salt Lake City Board of Education for the position of superintendent of schools, which had become vacant at the death of L. John Nuttall, Jr. In part because of his salary demands, McDonald felt quite confident that he would not get the position, and he returned

9. San Francisco Stake Historical Record, 27 October 1935, 3 November 1935, 19 January 1936, and 11 and 26 October 1936, LDS Church Historical Department.

10. Ibid., 16 April 1936, 11 October 1936, and 8 November 1936.

11. Ibid., p. 188.

12. Ibid., 2 December 1934.

13. Ibid., 16 December 1934.

14. McDonald, "Brief Autobiography," p. 41.

15. San Francisco Stake Historical Record, 22 March 1941.

16. Ibid., 16 October 1943.

with his wife to California “happy with our present position in San Francisco.”¹⁷ To his surprise the Board of Education met in a special session, authorized a higher salary, and offered McDonald the position. Although the McDonalds regretted leaving California, they returned to Salt Lake City with great enthusiasm. Lorin Wheelwright, one of his colleagues who later became dean of the College of Fine Arts at BYU, remembered that “Howard had expansionist ideas for the town. He put himself right into the problem. . . . He was not about to be told, ‘Look, you can’t do that,’ and he got support — he said some things they didn’t like, but he was doing the job.”¹⁸

In his opening address to the Salt Lake Board of Education, McDonald outlined his basic philosophy of administering public schools. The Board had its role and he had his: “You are laymen and not educational people. You are a policy-making body and I think businessmen are a better policy-making body than are educational men. Twelve men can make policies for the Board of Education better than one man; one competent, well-trained person can administer those policies more efficiently than can twelve men.”¹⁹ He also raised a number of penetrating questions concerning budget, salary increases, new policy to be established, half-day sessions for elementary school children, and postwar employment of veterans. McDonald was successful in reinstituting the twelve-year system in the city schools, and it wasn’t long until his influence had spread throughout the entire state school system.²⁰ He urged teachers to teach pupils the three *R*’s, but “above all, teach them to use their knowledge in life that they may become better citizens.”²¹

During the course of his year as superintendent McDonald headed a campaign for greater tax support for education in Salt Lake City. In the struggle to win this support for the badly underfinanced schools he gained a reputation as an indomitable fighter. When opposition faced him he proclaimed, “If we lose this fight, we will start another.”²² His commitment to a cause occasionally proved stronger than his sense of decorum. While a bill was being discussed in the state senate, “Somebody said something against the bill which McDonald didn’t like. Up he stood, hand in the air. ‘I beg to differ,’ he said. We couldn’t get him to sit down.”²³ Lorin Wheelwright said, “That was the kind of man he

17. McDonald, “Brief Autobiography,” p. 51.

18. Eugene Thompson, personal interview with Lorin Wheelwright, 28 January 1974.

19. Salt Lake City Board of Education Minutes, 11 July 1944, Office of the Board of Education, Salt Lake City.

20. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 and 30 November 1944.

21. “Increased Duties Seen for Schools,” *Deseret News*, 5 September 1944.

22. “BYU Gets a New President,” *Deseret News*, 15 March 1945.

23. Eugene Thompson, personal interview with Lorin Wheelwright, 28 January 1974. Wheelwright was then director of music for Salt Lake City schools.

was; when he got an idea that something was right, he went right ahead.”²⁴ The president of the senate held his gavel until McDonald had finished his speech, then brought it down with a sharp reminder that the superintendent was out of order. Speaking on the senate floor was reserved for senators. Nevertheless, the Salt Lake schools got a major increase in tax support. With the help of the Board of Education McDonald achieved a great deal in a short time, placing the cause of education ahead of party affiliations and other political considerations.

Accepting the Call to Move to BYU

McDonald recalled, “About the first part of March, 1945, President J. Reuben Clark of the First Presidency invited me to his office the following Saturday.”²⁵ McDonald “wondered all weekend about what in the sam hill he wanted me for.”²⁶ President McKay and President Clark had been highly impressed with McDonald’s educational work, and President Grant approved their recommendation that McDonald be offered the presidency of BYU.²⁷ McDonald’s reaction to the appointment was mixed. While in California he had mentioned to Apostle George F. Richards that some day he would like to be President of Brigham Young University.²⁸ But when the opportunity came, he hesitated.²⁹ He explained his deficiencies to President Clark and then asked for a week to make a decision. With Clark’s encouragement, he visited the Provo campus to talk extensively with the deans and members of the faculty. Finally McDonald told his wife, “We’ve been called by the First Presidency. Let’s go and do it.”³⁰

On 1 July 1945 Howard S. McDonald moved his family to Provo and took over the presidency of Brigham Young University.³¹ At his request the salary was boosted to \$7,000 and the Church agreed to help bear the expense of getting him established in the President’s residence on the Provo campus.³²

Though McDonald was not a university professor the Board preferred him to several prominent college educators as one who could give the University the leadership it needed at that time. The Board thought that as a former stake president and a man of mature faith he could bring a strong religious emphasis to the school. His spiritual

24. Ibid.

25. McDonald, “Brief Autobiography,” p. 57.

26. Howard S. McDonald, oral history, p. 21.

27. See J. Reuben Clark, Jr., desk calendar entries, 4, 5, and 11 February 1945, BYU Archives.

28. Stephen L. Richards to Howard S. McDonald, 14 April 1945, box 1, folder 1, Howard S. McDonald Presidential Papers, BYU Archives.

29. Howard S. McDonald to Governor Herbert Maw, 27 March 1945, box 1, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

30. Howard S. McDonald, Oral History, pp. 21-22.

31. McDonald, “Brief Autobiography,” p. 59.

32. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., desk calendar entry, 12 March 1945, BYU Archives.

attitude and dedication were primarily responsible for his appointment. In a statement to the Church Board of Education only a few days before McDonald's appointment, the First Presidency affirmed that the Church schools "must be brought under the intimate control of the General Authorities of the Church, since from them only can come the authoritative determinations and pronouncements that must guide and control all spiritual instructions given in the system."³³

President J. Reuben Clark emphasized the ascendancy of "spiritual truths" over "secular truths":

These, President McDonald, are your navigating orders. They are not sealed; they are open to the world. The world will expect you to follow them.

We shall expect you to build into the minds and hearts of the youth and the mature who come here all the Christian virtues. We shall expect you to teach the students to follow the commandments of God, for God never demands obedience to error.

We shall expect you to recognize that science and worldly knowledge must question every demonstration, every experiment, every conclusion, every phenomenon that seems a fact, for only by this method may the truths of the natural law become known to us, save by specific revelation.

But we shall also expect you to know that in matters pertaining to our spiritual lives, God's revealed will, his laws, his commandments, declared not only directly by himself, but by and through his servants, must be taken unquestioned, because they are the ultimate truths that shape and control our destinies.

We look confidently forward to an increased spirituality in this school, for spiritually we move onward or we recede; we never stand still. We must go forward every day, becoming a little stronger, a little more certain, a little nearer to perfection.³⁴

Working with the Board

McDonald's work with the Church Board of Education and the Board of Trustees presented new challenges in both procedure and personal relations. He was accustomed to a public school board which merely made policy and then left details of administration to the administrator. He assumed that BYU would function in a similar manner. Having learned that the President of BYU had often been required to work through the commissioner of Church schools, McDonald insisted that he be allowed to bypass that officer and work directly with the Board of Trustees.³⁵ The First Presidency accommodated this request, giving him direct access to the committees which were to decide on his proposals.

33. First Presidency to Executive Committee of the General Church Board of Education, 21 February 1945, CR102, LDS Church Historical Department.

34. "Charge Given by President Clark," *Deseret News*, 14 November 1945.

35. Howard S. McDonald, oral history, p. 1.

The Board of Trustees, however, insisted on having an active role in the administration of the University. Some of them had a background in educational matters almost as extensive as McDonald's own. President McDonald also found that all economic policies had to clear a number of Church committees, all of which were sensitive to total Church needs and very concerned about the expenditure of Church funds. The task of moving within such profound and deliberate circles of fiscal scrutiny was new to McDonald.

McDonald faced the common perplexities that would confront any new university president. Therefore in the summer of 1945 he traveled to other universities, attempting to acquaint himself with the difficulties and obstacles likely to face him in the autumn. McDonald also had to worry about the survival of the school. The First Presidency was apparently still considering whether or not Brigham Young University ought to continue as a university, for in his first interview with President Clark the latter questioned "whether BYU should go on or not. They were going to establish institutes at various universities and colleges where LDS students were sufficient to justify it. BYU was on the road out. They asked me at the first interview to go down to the BYU and look it over and come back with a recommendation."³⁶ To one who was about to become president of BYU, this was most disheartening. It looked like he had been hired to work himself out of a job. It was probably fortunate for McDonald that he did not know how this question had tortured Brimhall and Harris. After profound attention to the matter he recommended that the University not only be continued but that it be made into one of the great universities of the country.³⁷

The Beginning of the Postwar Boom

The college daytime enrollment at BYU for the last quarter of Harris's 1944-45 school year was a little over 1,500. With the war over, more than 2,700 students swarmed into the school for the first day of class in the fall of 1945. Almost overnight BYU changed from a dormant wartime campus, dominated by women, to a busy, crowded school bustling with veterans. Students seemed to be everywhere. President McDonald remarked, "With this influx of students came the bulging of classrooms, the bulging of laboratories. Every facility for instruction was inadequate."³⁸ Enrollment by veterans climbed from 134 in the autumn quarter to 946 in the Spring.³⁹ The *Y News* editor complained, "Our rooms are crowded. . . . Our little hill is filled to the

36. Ibid.

37. Howard S. McDonald to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 6 July 1975, historical files, BYU Archives.

38. Howard S. McDonald, oral history, p. 6.

39. "Number of College Students Registered, 1945-46," box 4, folder 4, McDonald Presidential Papers.

brim with cars and people, students can't get seats [in assemblies], dances are so packed you can't dance; no parking places, not enough reserve books [to go around], no seats in the library."⁴⁰ Students were sleeping in makeshift quarters, in unheated garages, and even in coal bins.

Few perceived the serious problems attending the boom. An administrator working closely with President McDonald observed, "I sometimes think it is difficult for the faculty, the Provo community, and the Church as a whole to realize what a healthy, expanding university we have on our hands. Older methods and physical equipment just will not work."⁴¹ It was difficult to assess in advance what the students would be like or even how many of them there would be. Some faculty members were anxious about the impact of the war and had misgivings about the general reaction of the veterans. Some were suspicious of the effects of the G.I. Bill. Others were hopeful, contemplating the beginning of a new era of expansion for the University.

While other schools were reevaluating their curriculum, McDonald chose to learn more about the capacity of the students and their needs outside the classroom. His decisions demonstrated his professional orientation and acquaintance with research being done in the field of educational psychology and university administration.⁴² In anticipation of the enrollment boom McDonald had announced a sweeping reorganization of student affairs:

During the past few weeks I have made rather thoughtful study in regard to the organization of student activities. While in California, I also studied the organization and proposed organization of student affairs on the various university campuses. . . . I feel that all student activities and special services . . . should be organized under a definite head known as the Dean of Students and Director of Special Services. . . . At the present time, other universities are interested in what we are planning to do and are most anxious to see our plan put into operation.⁴³

McDonald selected Wesley P. Lloyd of the Education Department to be dean of students.⁴⁴ Lloyd suggested that the dean's control be extended beyond student activities into a number of extracurricular academic areas that had previously been controlled by faculty commit-

40. *Y News*, 21 February 1946.

41. Harold Glen Clark to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 18 December 1946, box 6, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

42. The Department of Education Psychology at the University of Minnesota was conducting an extensive study of the administrative organization of universities; see Edmund Williamson, "Student Personnel Work at the University of Minnesota," *Student Personnel Services in Colleges and Universities*.

43. Howard S. McDonald to BYU faculty members, 6 September 1945, *BYU Faculty Bulletin*.

44. BYU Board Minutes, 12 September 1945.

tees. This innovative idea had been tried by very few universities.⁴⁵ The plan adopted by President McDonald placed Dean Lloyd in charge of a number of special services, including admissions and credits, athletics, attendance, awards and scholarships, orientation, public services, student employment, student health services, student housing, student loans, student organizations and publications, student personnel testing and counseling, women's activities, and veteran's education. Sixteen faculty committees were abolished and new committees organized under the dean of students.⁴⁶

The growth of the administrative organization and the reorganization of committees, programs, budgets, and policies were perhaps the most obvious changes from the Harris period to the McDonald period. In addition, the employee benefits program was strengthened to deal with postwar inflation, along with a number of lesser developments such as a cooperative mercantile association⁴⁷ and a faculty housing program.⁴⁸

To McDonald the most urgent needs of the campus were physical. Academic programs and student activities could do nothing unless the inadequate physical plant could be expanded to meet the needs of the new population. These needs were made more manifest by the avalanche of students, but even before the fall of 1945 he wrote an associate, "I think now is the time to go after the building program, not only just after the student union, but more dormitories, physical education and recreational facilities and various educational buildings." He confided that prospects were improving and he was "most hopeful."⁴⁹

Temple Hill, long envisioned as the site for the main campus, contained only four academic buildings: the Maeser Memorial, the Heber J. Grant Library, the Brimhall Building, and the Joseph Smith Building. Some local citizens still considered the hill as a spot hallowed for a temple, but McDonald hoped to see the area become a temple of learning studded with serviceable university buildings.⁵⁰ He held a special meeting with the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees on campus, conducting the trustees through existing facilities. By the early part of September he had conceived a general plan of building expansion which he reported to Clayton Jenkins, executive secre-

45. Wesley P. Lloyd, "Administration of Student Personnel Services," *Association of American Colleges Bulletin* 32(December 1946):511.

46. McDonald to faculty, 6 September 1945, *BYU Faculty Bulletin*.

47. Howard S. McDonald to H. T. Christensen, 18 May 1946, box 3, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers.

48. Howard S. McDonald to Alvin C. Eurich, 18 September 1946, box 5, folder 4, McDonald Presidential Papers.

49. Howard S. McDonald to L. W. Oaks, 18 August 1945, box 2, folder 4, McDonald Presidential Papers.

50. Howard S. McDonald, oral history, p. 15.

tary of the Provo Chamber of Commerce. It was an assessment of what he expected to have for the first year, which included two residence halls to house 500 students each; a student union financed by the Alumni Association at a cost of \$250,000; a science building costing about \$300,000; and facilities for physical education and recreation to cost around \$300,000.

Besides the buildings listed above, he told the Board of Trustees of his plans for a fine arts building, a library addition, a training school, a dairy farm, an education building, and a renovation of lower campus.⁵¹ In September 1945 the Executive Committee appointed a special campus planning committee.⁵² The committee commissioned Fred Markham to prepare a master plan which was published in the spring of the 1945-46 school year.⁵³ McDonald took the plan with him on trips, showing how the University was beginning to take shape.⁵⁴

Construction of the Science Center

McDonald submitted a request to the Board of Trustees for a badly needed science building to house the departments of Chemistry, Physics, and Geology. The proposed 214-room building had more floor space than the five biggest academic buildings on campus combined. It was to hold as many as 2,500 students at a time.⁵⁵ Plans were drawn only after Dean Carl Eyring had extensively researched the design of science buildings throughout the country. Because the building combined special lecture rooms and centralized demonstration areas with commodious laboratories, it became the school's first real university classroom and research facility. The science center was one of McDonald's most controversial and ambitious proposals. Some Board members resisted the construction of the building, but Joseph Fielding Smith, then chairman of the Executive Committee, made a strong appeal in favor of the proposed building.

In 1945 the cost of the new building had been projected at between \$250,000 and \$300,000.⁵⁶ In June 1946 the Board approved \$950,000 for the building.⁵⁷ It was intended "to be the finest of its size in the

51. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 5 September 1945; agenda for same meeting, box 1, folder 5, McDonald Presidential Papers.

52. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 5 September 1945; Howard S. McDonald to Joseph Fielding Smith, 13 September 1945, box 2, folder 5, McDonald Presidential Papers.

53. Howard S. McDonald to Joseph Fielding Smith, 1 October 1945, box 2, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers; BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 8 October 1945; Fred Markham, oral history, 1 November 1973, BYU Archives, p. 3; *Y News*, 23 May 1946.

54. McDonald gave credit to Harris for his early outline of the building program, as did Fred Markham; Fred Markham, oral history, p. 3.

55. *BYU Daily Universe*, 17 October 1950.

56. "Budget Estimate for the Physical Science Center," 1945, BYU Archives.

57. BYU Board Minutes, 28 June 1946.

country.”⁵⁸ Postwar shortages and other difficulties pushed up costs to shocking dimensions but construction continued. Ultimately the building’s cost rose to almost \$2,000,000.

Though some of his building projects were delayed, McDonald’s aggressive program for the first year was quite successful. Administrative reorganization made coordination of student activities more effective, and faculty members appreciated his open and approachable manner. His greatest trials came in sessions with the Board of Trustees, where the need for his programs had to be lucidly demonstrated and tactfully defended. The catapulting costs of the science building didn’t help matters.

Filling Faculty Ranks

BYU could not offer impressive salaries or lavish research facilities, but McDonald persuaded a number of distinguished scholars to join the faculty. Over twenty new teachers joined in 1946, ten of whom held doctor’s degrees. Hugh Nibley, whom John A. Widtsoe termed “a bookworm of the first order,” came from California with extensive training in ancient history, languages, and religion.⁵⁹ Widtsoe also recommended Dr. Wells Jakeman, an archaeologist trained at the University of California at Berkeley. Jakeman was the school’s first professionally trained archaeologist. Reed Bradford, a sociologist with a degree from Harvard, and Harold Glen Clark, an administrator and educator from Washington, D.C., were recruited by McDonald on his eastern trips. H. Smith Broadbent, Raymond Farnsworth, Henry J. Nicholes, Mark Allen, LeRoy Bishop, and Briant Jacobs strengthened the Chemistry, Agronomy, Zoology, Psychology, Education, and English departments. All of these professors were well-trained and reputable scholars, and most of them are still with the University.

McDonald also added a number of faculty members who did not yet have doctor’s degrees, including Hugh B. Brown, former president of the British Mission of the LDS Church, Alma Burton, poet Clinton Larson, William E. Berrett,⁶⁰ Ray Canning, Clarence Robison, and Dale West. In all, over eighty teachers joined the faculty during the McDonald Administration. While he hired faculty members without doctorates when necessary, McDonald continued to press for higher salaries that would attract more qualified personnel.

Academic Review

The postwar interest in science affected BYU’s entire curriculum.

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- 58. “McDonald Tells Expansion Plans for University,” Provo *Daily Herald*, 3 July 1946.
 - 59. John A. Widtsoe to Howard S. McDonald, 14 March 1946, box 3, folder 7, McDonald Presidential Papers.
 - 60. Berrett had an LL.B. Degree, considered by many to be the equivalent of a Ph.D.

Carl Eyring explained that nuclear research had not led BYU to a curriculum revision, but “the discussion of nuclear fission has become a part of courses in physics and chemistry. The uranium ore deposits now take on a more significant aspect in the courses of geology and geography.”⁶¹

McDonald and his associates attempted to alleviate congestion in the Education Building by moving some of the departments housed there to the Brimhall Building. Student radio station KBYU began daily broadcasts at the end of October 1946. In 1946 McDonald wrote a number of letters to reputable LDS scholars asking for suggestions for the organization of an LDS institute of scientific research. He received several enthusiastic replies but could not crystallize an actual research program because the school received only \$2,000 a year for research.

McDonald had a warm and eager concern for every aspect of the school’s operation. He often visited faculty members in their offices to discuss their problems, seek counsel, or receive special requests, which McDonald diligently pursued.

Religion teachers continued an active role in writing for the Church. In addition they undertook separate scholarly investigations which resulted in publication of studies on the Book of Mormon and the New Testament. Faculty members from the College of Education held a number of round-table discussions treating the various plans for university education in America. Others published articles in educational journals concerning school administration and school counseling. Science professors published monographs in such scholarly journals as *Proceedings of the Utah Academy of Arts, Sciences, and Letters*; *The Journal of the American Chemical Society*; and the *Iowa State College Journal of Science*. In all, the faculty published more than 150 books and professional articles during the four years of the McDonald administration. These were notable accomplishments, especially considering that teaching loads often exceeded thirteen hours of coursework per term. Indeed, some teachers taught more than twenty hours of classes per term.

The school’s new administration reflected the influence of educators trained in psychological methods. Professor Mark Allen was the psychometrist in the Counseling Department. Headed by Antone Romney, the counseling service was established to give the student “a clear picture of his own previous scholastic record” and “a clear picture of his opportunities.”⁶² The batteries of aptitude, preference, and intelligence tests developed during the war aided the counselors, who also developed a more efficient advisement procedure. Incoming students registered with the counseling service, and each had the opportunity to discuss his academic program with a personal counselor.

61. Carl F. Eyring to John D. Russel, 19 October 1948, box 14, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

62. “Complete Student Counseling Program Set Up for 1946-47,” *Y News*, 13 August 1946.

After a study of his own aptitudes and performance the student selected a major and moved into a corresponding college. Though this removed the younger students from direct contact with advisers in the different colleges, administrators apparently felt that students needed a broad base of experience before they concentrated on a major.

Financial Perplexities

Since McDonald's major concerns for the University revolved around the lack of physical facilities, his major hopes and exasperations were monetary. When he undertook to expand academic and related programs like the proposed center for scientific research or an institute for the study of the Book of Mormon, he inevitably encountered financial roadblocks. The library, which was confessedly weak in many areas, could only be built with large appropriations.

McDonald had hoped that the Church would immediately respond to the University's needs with a number of new buildings. Instead there were continuous delays. Construction costs increased monthly and building materials were in critically short supply. The escalating building costs dampened the enthusiasm of the Board as they contemplated revisions and modifications. During 1946 McDonald expended a great deal of his time in planning a campus which he felt would answer the needs of a fine University, but during the 1946-47 school year only a few temporary buildings were erected.⁶³

McDonald had supported the construction of the science building in preference to other projects. His decision proved especially painful in 1947, when physical education instructors began to resign because of unfavorable working conditions.⁶⁴ The same year BYU athletic teams suffered another dismal year, and these losses were inevitably ascribed to "the inadequate set up."⁶⁵ The BYU basketball team had to travel to the Springville High School gymnasium to play its games. To alleviate this situation the construction of a field house was contemplated, but the project ran into immediate trouble. Initial cost estimates were low but they rose drastically with each new study until the future of the project looked uncertain. Some Board members, seeing little utility in supporting an expensive athletic program, called for a reevaluation of BYU's entire athletic program.⁶⁶ "Brigham Young University is now at the crossroads," McDonald reported. "I hope that within the next

63. See Kiefer B. Sauls to Frank Evans, 25 April 1947, box 8, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers; Leland Perry, "Consolidated Report of Physical Plant, 1947-57," UA 491, box 3, folder 1, BYU Archives.

64. Lois Ensign to Howard S. McDonald, 27 May 1947, box 3, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers; Florence Henriksen to Howard S. McDonald, 2 June 1947, box 3, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers.

65. *Y News*, 4 December 1947.

66. *Y News*, 12 February 1947.

couple of weeks I can present the problem of athletics before the executive board for their serious consideration.” He confidently added that “the school would continue to participate in college sporting circles.”⁶⁷

Such lesser projects as the heating plant boilers and equipment, stadium seats, tennis courts, and remodeling of the National Youth Administration Building were in the final stages of planning, but the delay between approval of the plans and the start of construction was frustrating. Only McDonald’s enthusiasm for a total building program to meet BYU’s critical needs carried him through frequent disappointments and frustrations.

Ernest L. Wilkinson, president of the Alumni Association chapter in Washington, D.C., wrote to President McDonald suggesting that the University double tuition in order to support the development of both facilities and faculty. He added,

I appreciate that you may feel some families would have a difficult time paying twice as large a tuition fee as that charged at present. I suggest, however, in the present economic situation the average family will not have anywhere near as difficult a time in paying double the present tuition as they had some twenty-five years ago paying the present tuition. Then, of course, you will realize that you will have a large number of returning veterans who will have their tuition paid by the Government and the Government will, of course, be willing to pay the larger tuition just as readily as the present tuition.⁶⁸

McDonald agreed with Wilkinson, but explained, “I have suggested to the First Presidency that we raise the fees, but at the present time they do not feel we should.”⁶⁹ The Board did not grant the tuition increase because it did not wish to burden the students. But the retention of the low tuition — \$96 per year — forced an additional burden on the Church’s budget, which had skyrocketed the previous year. According to McDonald, the presentation of this budget provoked sharp resistance from the Board: “I presented the 1946-47 [budget]. It jumped from 690 odd thousand dollars to over a million. The Board called me ‘the spendthrift from California,’ saying, ‘We can’t spend that money here. Just get that out of your mind.’ It kind of weakened my feelings a bit. But we kept on plugging ahead.”⁷⁰ The overall increase from 1945-46 was more than \$340,000. Church participation was over

67. Ibid.

68. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Howard S. McDonald, 27 February 1946, box 5, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

69. Howard S. McDonald to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 4 March 1946, box 5, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

70. Howard S. McDonald, oral history, p. 6; BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 21 February 1946.

\$82,000 higher. The balance was to be obtained from “anticipated student fees from a greatly increased enrollment.”⁷¹

The Board of Trustees was aware of the school's needs and the President's plans, but they were extremely concerned about the Church's growing financial commitment to BYU. Church participation in the school's budget was rapidly increasing. In 1945-46 the Church paid 46 percent of the school's total expenditures, while in 1946-47 it paid 57 percent. The government provided welcome assistance to veterans, but that did not diminish the overall expense to the school or the Church. With enrollment continuing to rise,⁷² Board members feared that Church assistance would have to increase even more. Several Board members recommended a cautious analysis and appraisal of the school's direction before committing itself to even larger investments.

As the school became increasingly complex, expenditures per student rose dramatically. During the years from 1938 to 1944 yearly cost to the school for each BYU college student was only \$195. In 1946-47 the cost was \$250 per student. BYU spent much less money per student per year than any other college in Utah, but cost trends alarmed Board members. To complicate matters, postwar inflation continued throughout 1947, working great hardships on BYU employees reminiscent of the Harris period.

A. C. Lambert wrote President McDonald in May 1947, “The curve is still up and probably going higher. . . . Do any of the Board eat meat these days?”⁷³ Another teacher, recently returned from doing graduate work at Stanford, wrote feelingly, “I cannot deny my children the Christmas gifts and birthday gifts that other children enjoy. I cannot deny my family all recreation and entertainment. I cannot deny my family proper medical care as I have had to do this month during the illness of my children.”⁷⁴ One department chairman complained, “I know from their own lips that six men who have been teaching . . . will listen with great interest to bids from outside unless they receive certain assurances” about salary increases.⁷⁵

As also occurred in the Harris years, the dynamic growth of the faculty had created some inequities in the pay scale, and some of the teachers — especially those of longer tenure — felt unjustly treated in

71. BYU Board Minutes, 21 February 1946.

72. “National Trends in College Enrollment,” *Utah Conference Journal*, 1946; Kiefer B. Sauls to Frank Evans, 24 March 1947, copy in Centennial History files.

73. Lambert to McDonald, 20 May 1947, box 11, folder 4, McDonald Presidential Papers.

74. R. Max Rogers to Howard S. McDonald, 19 February 1947, box 7, folder 7, McDonald Presidential Papers.

75. B. F. Cummings to Howard S. McDonald, 20 March 1947, box 7, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

their wages. In January 1947 the President obtained a ten percent salary increase for higher living costs, which was not to be considered a raise.⁷⁶ In April of the same year McDonald asked for and received an average yearly increase of \$180 in base salary, but this was still not enough to overcome the effects of inflation.⁷⁷

In April 1948 McDonald proposed a general 25 percent increase in salaries, but the Board was hesitant, apparently fearful of the impact such an adjustment would have on the entire Church school system.⁷⁸ Teachers in the seminary and institutes program were also carrying on a vigorous campaign for higher wages.⁷⁹ The Board felt that salary increases for all Church educators would cause too much of a drain on Church resources.

The Question of Religion Degrees

Of all the ways BYU served the LDS Church, its program for training seminary and institute teachers was one of the most important. No secular university could so effectively train and strengthen Church teachers, and as the need for trained teachers grew, the Church Board of Education approved the establishment of a doctoral program in religion that was to begin in September 1945. John A. Widtsoe, who first proposed the program, explained that its primary purpose was “to train teachers for the seminaries, institutes and other educational institutions of the Church.”⁸⁰ The program was to be administered by the Division of Religion, drawing courses from several colleges. Preliminary work for the degree was offered in 1945, and five students enrolled.⁸¹

McDonald postponed the complete organization of the proposed program for a year in order to give it more careful consideration.⁸² During 1945 and 1946 he studied the plans for the new degree and invited comments from faculty members. Carl Eyring, an articulate defender of the notion that BYU was, above all, a liberal arts university, challenged the new program on the grounds that it would injure other scholastic endeavors. In Eyring’s opinion, with the graduate degree in religion as the focal point of the academic program the school would become “nothing more than a Latter-day Saint Institute or Seminary.”

76. General Board Minutes, 22 January 1947.

77. General Board Executive Committee Minutes, 23 May 1947.

78. BYU Board Minutes, 29 April 1948.

79. General Board Minutes, 28 May 1947.

80. *Ibid.*, 28 April 1944.

81. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 4, December 1944.

82. For background on the proposed Graduate School of Religion, *see* memo of 13 February 1946 in McDonald Presidential Papers. *See also* Heber J. Grant and David O. McKay to Howard S. McDonald, 2 May 1945, Joseph Fielding Smith Papers. LDS Church Historical Department.

If such a degree were established, Eyring added, it must be placed within the setting of a liberal arts program.⁸³

Joseph F. Merrill and John A. Widtsoe both suggested that there were fears among some of the General Authorities that a too-scholarly Religion Department could create a faction of unorthodox Church intellectuals. Doctoral studies, in Merrill's view, did not mix well with a religion program.

You may remember that I have previously objected to the BYU giving the Ph.D. in religion. Instead, I have suggested the degree of Doctor of Religious Education. The BYU could give the latter and no one could object because the University would have the right to prescribe its own conditions . . . but it is different with the Ph.D. degree. The standard of this degree has been set and the conditions are well understood in all university circles, but this standard and these conditions cannot be maintained in the BYU in the Division of Religious Education.⁸⁴

In November of the same year John A. Widtsoe proposed that religious work be instituted fully within the range of the Graduate School, except for a few specialized courses:

As I have pondered the matter, and I have given it serious thought, I have come to the conclusion that to establish a graduate school of religion apart from the regular graduate school of the University would probably not be the wisest course to pursue.

We do not believe in Divinity schools since our people, all of them, are trained in religion from their earliest youth throughout life. We are not untrained in religion. Far from it, but we are not trained for paid positions in the Church. Thank the Lord for that. Therefore, a man who is to become a seminary principal or an institute director and who seeks the training that education can give, and does give, may follow any one of the several disciplines offered by a university. . . . All of this can be done in your regular graduate school and does not need a separate school of religion, which might lead us into any number of difficulties.

We shall need men more and more properly trained to assist in our educational work in a field beyond the BYU. As I view it, we are already suffering a little because of the lack of such trained men, and heaven forbid that we shall send our men away again to Divinity schools for training. The experiment, well intentioned, did not work out to the full satisfaction of us all.⁸⁵

83. "Plans for BYU," memorandum of personal opinions, 1945, box 3, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

84. Joseph F. Merrill to Howard S. McDonald, 18 February 1948, box 15, folder 6, McDonald Presidential Papers.

85. John A. Widtsoe to Howard S. McDonald, 19 November 1948, box 13, folder 6, McDonald Presidential Papers.

Church authorities finally decided that a high-powered religion program would act more to the detriment than to the benefit of the school's moral objective, and the doctoral program in religion was not instituted. In March 1949 the Board of Trustees approved a master of theology degree for BYU. Students of religion were encouraged to take their degrees in secular subjects and supplement this work with courses in religion, or to take the master's degree program in religion and go elsewhere for their doctorate. While this did not give doctoral candidates all the religious instruction they needed, it did relieve BYU of the problems associated with offering a doctor's degree in religion.

19

Postwar Student Deluge

By the fall of 1946 the flood of veterans on campus became a deluge. Over 3,900 veterans registered at the University of Utah, and at BYU over 2,200 enrolled as freshmen, amounting to more than one-half the school's enrollment. Thirty percent of all BYU college students were veterans. For the first time in years there were more male students than female students at BYU, and more than 1,500 of the students were at BYU for the first time. Dean Lloyd proudly announced that "student personnel now represents the entire church with prospects that students will come from every state in the Union next year."¹ At that time three-fourths of the students at BYU were from Utah, but out-of-state enrollment was increasing and BYU was training many Mormon students from California and other western states, giving the school an ever-widening circle of influence.²

The veterans were objects of universal concern. Some worried about their lack of academic background. Others worried about the effects of military life on their study habits, morals, and character. In general, however, their performance banished misgivings. They were older and more stable than other students. Many were married and had mature vocational objectives. Most were adapted to hard work and seemed vitally interested in getting on with their education. The BYU freshman class president of 1946, a veteran, proclaimed, "Life is short," and added,

At no other time has there been so determined, yet, in a profound, quiet way, so humble and so appreciative a group searching after the truths of eternity — and these with good cause. We are still in the midst of salvaging what we can from the devastation of the war. . . . Our part in that salvage job is the absorption and organization of the truths presented at this institution. . . . If you are still without that determination to utilize to the utmost the tools at

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1. "University Enrollment Points to Broader Geographical Scope," *Y News*, 26 February 1947.
 2. *Ibid.*

hand — then step aside and make room for those who are aware of their responsibilities in life. Life is short. Time is now more precious than ever.³

In 1946 Dean Lloyd announced that the grade-point averages of veterans were above average,⁴ though grade-point averages had declined dramatically the year before.⁵ Faculty members agreed that veterans were industrious, earnest students, the best they had seen at the University. Over 20 percent of the veterans planned to get their terminal degree.⁶

Student Activities and Attitudes

Hello Week, whistling contests, wiener roasts at the Iona House, student firesides at Allen Hall, and freshman initiation ordeals all demonstrated that student activities were back to normal. In keeping with BYU's reputation as a friendly and romantic school, 150 BYU students planned weddings for June 1947.⁷ But in spite of the school's return to social normality, the war had left its mark on BYU students. The editor of the *Wye Magazine* suggested the veterans' "feelings and reactions will determine in a large measure the future of the university, and in a fuller sense, of the nation."⁸ Student publications recorded both the dramatic experiences of the war and the difficulties and opportunities of readjustment to student life. They were concerned about Soviet intrusion into Europe, socialistic trends in world politics, rising divorces, juvenile delinquency, labor strikes, and the potential devastation of a nuclear war. There was a sense of urgency to serve humanity in every way possible. Of the 215 missionaries who left BYU for the mission field in July 1946, 102 were veterans.⁹

Postwar students generally respected the school's regulations, but they were also anxious to have a voice in the school's administration. They urged the implementation of an honor code.¹⁰ They called upon the faculty to recognize the tremendous changes wrought by the war and pointed out that BYU was a cosmopolitan school:

Teachers, this is the University of all the saints of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. We come from Utah, true, but also from all over the United States, and the world. We are men,

3. "In Appreciation," *Y News*, 10 October 1946.

4. "Grade Averages Show Coeds Best Men in Scholastic Rating at Y," *Y News*, 26 February 1947.

5. "Scholarship and Attendance," undated, UA 183, L2, BYU Archives.

6. Madge Ellertson, "Vets Abhor Segregation, Favor Russia as Ally, Dislike Military, Survey Shows," *Y News*, 14 November 1946.

7. "150 Students at BYU Pair Off in Marriage," *Y News*, 4 June 1947.

8. "Once Ax Service Man," *Wye Magazine*, spring 1946, p. 21. *Wye Magazine* is the BYU student literary magazine.

9. "Y Students Leave for Mission," *Y News*, 11 July 1946.

10. "On Your Honor," *Y News*, 20 November 1947.

women, and veterans, young and some not so young. Will you henceforth not take so much for granted our backgrounds and opinions to be the same as your own?¹¹

Interested students used campus publications to editorialize their concerns. "One world or none," one student writer sloganized. "There will be no second chance. . . . We must go forward with the calling of a world constitutional convention by the governments or the peoples. All else offers war."¹² Another student editor warned that BYU remained "firmly encroached in the limbo of mediocrity."¹³ Another said, "BYU needs additional facilities right now if any good is to come" of the students. "In ten years the school will have already passed the cross-roads and will be a 'great' university or merely, as some have accused us of being, 'a graduate seminary.'"¹⁴ Other student writers, such as the talented Edith Russell from England, examined the idiosyncrasies of college-age Americans and wrote,

I do like Americans, though they are alarmingly infectious. Their vocabulary — or lack of it — disregards the most stolid British attempts at immunization. . . . I suppose all the best democrats prefer everything to be frightfully palsy-walsy. My only cause for apprehension lies in the fear that when I return to London I shall probably forget myself and slap the Lord Privy Seal on the back with a chummy "Hi, Herbert."¹⁵

Student government was characterized by active concern: over 40 percent of the student body voted in the student elections of 1947.¹⁶ Student groups felt free to request better administrative services, better housing, and more active representation in student government. Few traditions were considered sacrosanct. The University's summer musical festival, for instance, which had long been hailed as one of the finest classical music festivals in the West, was openly criticized by some students who desired to see the festival include popular music.¹⁷ When Provo City delayed road repairs around the University, members of the student government marched into a city council meeting. When they encountered further delays they threatened to repair the roads themselves.¹⁸ The BYU football team did passably well in 1946, but when the football and the basketball teams were both beaten miserably

11. "The Y, a Cosmopolitan School," undated, box 5, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

12. "One World or None," *Y News*, 12 December 1946.

13. "Building a Great University," *Y News*, 23 October 1947.

14. "Editor's Slushbox," *Y News*, 19 February 1947.

15. "English Coed Lashes Out at Over Usage of 'Cute,'" *Y News*, 23 April 1947.

16. "Vote Today and Tomorrow," *Y News*, 16 April 1947.

17. "We want Pop," *Y News*, 27 June 1946.

18. "Road Building Main Topic," *Y News*, 20 November 1947.

the next year, the student newspaper was deluged with complaints and editorials.

Studentbody activities were suffocatingly crowded. The *Y News* said, "Every seat is filled [in assemblies] and every nook and corner occupied." In dances, "outside a few jitter buggers who batter their way through the crowd, the dancers have to be content to rock back and forth in one spot."¹⁹

New Health Services

In 1946 McDonald set up a new health program which superseded the student health service carried on under President Harris. McDonald believed that the school needed a good medical facility and that "nursing education properly belonged in a collegiate setting." An energetic supporter of health services, he was "anxious to strengthen the program by expanding it by the training of nurses at the University level. I felt that through cooperation with the LDS Hospital training program a much better health service could be offered the students attending BYU."²⁰ Though some influential alumni criticized the program on the grounds that it constituted "socialized medicine," McDonald successfully instituted the service.²¹ During the Harris years several doctors had served as consultants for the school, including Hardy Carroll, H. G. Merrill, Weston Oaks (uncle of President Dallin H. Oaks), and Lloyd Cullimore, who gave health and physical examinations. McDonald's new program was administered by a committee chaired by Dr. Vasco Tanner under the general supervision of Dean Wesley Lloyd. It employed full-time doctors and nurses and was financed by an annual fee of ten dollars collected from each student. Seth Smoot, a qualified medical doctor, was hired to direct the program. The health services were housed in a barracks just east of the science center construction site. During the Wilkinson administration the health services were moved to a new medical building named in honor of President McDonald.

Temporary Student Housing

Along with health services, student housing was a major concern to President McDonald. While general campus planning was in process McDonald vigorously pushed for immediate construction of a cluster of student residence halls to house 1,000 students.²² The Board of Trustees quickly approved the construction of a "test" dormitory for

19. "The Crowd Pinches," *Y News*, 24 October 1946.

20. Maurine M. Harris, "College of Nursing History," unpublished typescript, BYU Archives, p. 5.

21. Howard S. McDonald, oral history, p. 19.

22. "Proposed Residency Halls for BYU," undated, box 3, folder 6, McDonald Presidential Papers.

50 students,²³ and advised McDonald to wait on construction of major units until building costs lowered and materials were more readily available.²⁴ Pushed to desperation, McDonald obtained 26 temporary buildings from the Ogden Arsenal. The structures, complete with sewage system, utilities, and roads, were soon in place.²⁵ Twenty of the buildings were converted into 200 apartments for married couples, and six were set up as residence halls for 300 men students. These temporary buildings, designated Wymount Village, were installed in a gravel pit at the approximate location of the new law school building.²⁶

Later, President McDonald obtained an additional dormitory building from the Ogden Arsenal. It was used briefly as a girl's residence hall until the completion of Heritage Halls, and then was used as a men's dormitory, bringing the total number of temporary buildings used by men to seven.

Later in the school year the Board authorized funds to remodel the National Youth Administration Building and place in close proximity to it the previously approved test dormitory, now expanded to 150 units.²⁷ Cinderblock houses were to be built on separate lots,²⁸ where they would be supervised by married students. In the spring of 1946, 350 more government houses were brought in.²⁹ Students in Wymount Village formed a 19-man community council to supervise housing regulations, grow a tomato garden, and run a cooperative grocery store.³⁰

Notwithstanding these additions the committee on housing under Wesley Lloyd reported seriously inadequate and sometimes over-

23. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 18 January 1946.

24. BYU Board Minutes, 18 January 1946.

25. Howard S. McDonald to Irene Mensing, 6 November 1946, box 5, folder 6, McDonald Presidential Papers; Howard S. McDonald to the First Presidency, 12 September 1946, box 5, folder 5, McDonald Presidential Papers.

26. *Editor's Note*: This Wymount Village should not be confused with Wyview Village, consisting of 150 temporary homes for 150 married couples — 35 for faculty and 115 for married students — which were obtained in 1957 from Mountain Home Air Force Base in Idaho. They were located in the area of the Marriott Center parking lot. Nor should either of these temporary housing facilities be confused with Wymount Terrace, constructed in 1962 as permanent married-student housing for 462 couples and located in the northeastern part of campus east of Ninth East. Both Wymount Village and Wyview Village were either demolished or sold and moved off campus during the Wilkinson administration to make way for permanent buildings and parking lots on campus.

27. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 21 February 1946.

28. Howard S. McDonald, oral history, p. 3.

29. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 26 April 1946; "Housing for 500 Veterans Secured," *Y News*, 25 April 1946.

30. "Wymount Village Organized with Thomas, President," *Y News*, 28 May 1947.

priced housing in Provo. President McDonald feared that some of the people of Provo were taking advantage of students, charging them exorbitant prices for poor accommodations. He wanted to be able to house all BYU students on campus.³¹

However, not all of the people of Provo were capitalizing on the students. Prior to the Harris Administration most out-of-state students roomed at very reasonable prices in the homes of public-spirited citizens who were loyal to the school. Of course, with the increased attendance during the Harris Administration and the deluge of students during the McDonald Administration, demand so exceeded the supply of housing that some abuses undoubtedly resulted.

Student Conduct

Inadequate facilities and overcrowded conditions provided abundant opportunities for students to lose themselves in the rush. Some students had been improperly screened and came to the University unaware of or unconcerned about standards of conduct. President McDonald was most anxious about standards violators who were damaging the school's reputation. In December of 1946 he published an open letter to standards violators:

Many honest and faithful students who desire to maintain this university on a high plane have complained to me about those who do not desire to conform, and who openly use tobacco on and off the campus. Many landlords have complained that students in their homes are using tobacco and various kinds of alcoholic drinks. They have informed me that they are not going to tolerate the practice any longer. The people of Provo came to our aid in the time of home shortages, and many homeowners took students into their homes just to help out in the crisis. Students will be asked to vacate these homes if they persist in smoking, drinking, and coming home at all hours of the night. I, as President of the University, will uphold the homeowners and also will support the students in their desire to clean up the college campus of these practices.

Some students have said that whether they smoke or not is none of my business. As president of this university it is my duty to teach the students that the use of tobacco and liquor is wrong. It is also my duty and my business to say who shall graduate from this institution. If some students do not adhere to the standards and ideals, they may find themselves wanting on the day of graduation. I am most willing to help those who want to be helped, but when such actions are used to defy all rules and regulations, I will not hesitate to ask such persons to leave Brigham Young University.³²

31. Howard S. McDonald to T. Earl Pardoe, 15 April 1948, box 11, folder 8, McDonald Presidential Papers; Howard S. McDonald, oral history, pp. 15-16.

32. "Open Letter from the President," *Y News*, 12 December 1946.

Organization of Church Branches

One of the most significant events in McDonald's administration was the establishment of faculty- and student-manned branches (similar to wards) of the LDS Church on campus in the summer of 1947. It marked the logical culmination of over 72 years of experimenting with ecclesiastical programs.

The Wymount Village project, which consisted mostly of families and mature students eager to involve themselves in Church programs, was chosen to begin the branch organization. Since couples with children lived in these units, it was planned to have a full branch organization, including Relief Society and Primary. In June 1947 the organization was approved by the First Presidency, which noted that students preferred to see the leadership of the branch selected from among their peers. In August of the same year a second branch was organized for single students.³³ Though the branches were staffed by students, they still functioned within the local stake, and McDonald asked that he be made a member of the stake high council in order to coordinate branch and stake operations.³⁴ Faculty member Golden Woolf was made president of the Provo East Stake, which included the campus branches. This further facilitated relations between the student branches and the stake.³⁵

The activities of the young people during the first months of campus branch operations bore out the optimism of the administration. They proved that students could make a Church organization work without the intervention of faculty advisers as in the previous campus Sunday School organization. Within a short time these branches had the highest attendance records in the stake.³⁶

The successful implementation of these student ecclesiastical organizations was timely, for Church Commissioner Joseph F. Merrill began calling for an evaluation of the effectiveness of BYU's spiritual program compared with Church seminaries and institutes. Merrill also wished to see a comparison of the performance of LDS graduates from BYU with that of graduates from non-Mormon institutions.³⁷ If the Church was to commit itself to an expensive permanent University, the school had to prove its worth by building faithful and competent members of the Church. However, the comparative study suggested by Merrill seems not to have been made.

33. *Y News*, 30 October 1947.

34. Howard S. McDonald, oral history, p. 14.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

36. Howard S. McDonald to Reed A. Benson, 17 January 1949, box 16, folder 5, McDonald Presidential Papers.

37. Joseph F. Merrill to Howard S. McDonald, 27 May 1948, box 15, folder 6, McDonald Presidential Papers. *See also* Joseph F. Merrill to Howard S. McDonald, 19 July 1948, box 13, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers.

Lapse of Charter and Reincorporation

In July 1946 the BYU Articles of Incorporation expired. The year came and went with no one apparently aware of the fact that the school had passed the 50-year limit set in the 1896 charter and therefore no longer legally existed. The press of the building program and the confusion incident to changing the administration all contributed to produce this embarrassing oversight. When the situation was finally brought to their attention, the Board asked McDonald to prepare a report on the matter. In the fall of 1948 President J. Reuben Clark received from McDonald a packet of correspondence containing his report and supporting documents. After reviewing the material Clark wrote to McDonald on 17 September 1948, "I am happy to know that [the charter] is in a better position than I feared it might be."³⁸ The drafting of new Articles of Incorporation was assigned to Albert R. Bowen of the law firm of Ray, Quinney, and Nebeker. Bowen submitted his draft to Stephen L Richards, Albert E. Bowen (Bowen's father), and Frank Evans.³⁹ After four months without action, Bowen wrote the Board to remind them of the urgency of the matter.⁴⁰ The Board took immediate action, meeting on 29 April 1949 in Salt Lake City to reincorporate the University.

Except for a few minor differences, the new document was essentially the same as the 1896 Articles of Incorporation. The Board of Trustees recommitted themselves to the kind of institution Brigham Young had established in the 1875 Deed of Trust. Article Four, which specifies the purposes of the University, shows this most clearly:

1896 Articles of Incorporation

The object of this corporation is to establish and maintain a college or school of learning in which the youth of both sexes who are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are to be instructed; provided, however, that the trustees of this institution may allow under certain rules and regulations children not belonging to said Church to attend; but this provision shall not be deemed obligatory upon them, nor shall children of other religious denominations other than the above named have an inherent or vested right to enjoy the [benefits] of this trust.

And the general [course] of education in the principles to be taught shall be as set forth in the rules, regulations, and by-laws made by the Board of Directors from time to time hereafter, provided that in addition to the usual education given in an institution of like character the Old and New Testament, the Book of

38. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., to Howard S. McDonald, 17 September 1948, box 12, folder 5, McDonald Presidential Papers.

39. Albert R. Bowen to Stephen L Richards, 3 December 1948, Stephen L Richards Papers, Office of the First Presidency.

40. Albert R. Bowen to Stephen L Richards, Albert E. Bowen, and Frank Evans, 15 April 1949, Stephen L Richards Papers.

Mormon, and the Doctrine and Covenants shall be read and their doctrines inculcated in such college; and the students therein, physical ability permitting, shall be taught some branch of mechanism that shall be suitable to their taste and capacity.

The 1949 Articles provided that the “principal object and purpose of this corporation is to continue the existence, operation and maintenance of the University which was founded originally by the late President Brigham Young.” Though the Articles of Incorporation of both 1896 and 1949 provided a definition of the school’s status as a religious institution, they did not specifically describe the school’s entire academic program. This academic uncertainty presented a rather perplexing problem as school administrators differed on the scholastic role of the growing University. In January 1947 McDonald explained that BYU was enlarging graduate work as rapidly as possible, but he “had no intention of duplicating work done by state schools.”⁴¹ The school had traditionally been a strong institution for the preparation of teachers. Some wanted BYU to expand even more rapidly in this area. Others wished to develop more in the physical sciences. With the prospective new science building as a research facility, some people were anxious to see BYU established as a substantial school of arts and advanced sciences. Others were interested in BYU’s role as a theological institution, pointing out several aspects of the Mormon religion amenable to scholarly analysis which could be undertaken by no other university.

Defining Educational Objectives

As money began to be allocated for the new campus, many felt it necessary to seek out clearer guidelines for the future. Ernest L. Wilkinson took an active interest in this discussion. At a testimonial dinner for Christen Jensen in June 1949 Wilkinson asserted that there were two basic areas in which BYU ought to excel as a University. The first was the theological area:

This school will become the greatest educational institution in this world if it so trains its students that they will have the desire and the knowledge to take the revealed Gospel of Jesus Christ to all the ends of the earth. Those of us who think of our revealed religion as something separate and apart from our education miss the whole point of this school. Unless the truths which we obtain from this Gospel give us additional [knowledge] to offer mankind, there is no occasion for continuing this school.⁴²

Wilkinson also felt that the school should become outstanding in teach-

41. “Plans for Expansion of Graduate Work Outlined,” *Y News*, 16 January 1947.

42. Ernest L. Wilkinson at Christen Jensen Testimonial, box 1a, folder 1, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

ing history and political science. The Mormon belief in the Constitution, the LDS concept of government, and the “Mormon explanation of the rise and fall of governments” were three areas in which he felt the school was destined to make contributions.

Shortly after his speech Wilkinson was invited to communicate his ideas to the First Presidency, other members of the Board of Trustees, and President McDonald.⁴³ His comments sparked an immediate reaction. John A. Widtsoe, who had particularly strong interests in the area, answered Wilkinson exuberantly, commending him for his dedication to the destiny of the school:

All friends of the BYU would like, as you do, to have the institution assume leadership in subjects consonant with the great revealed possessions of the Church. Bless you for bearing down on that proposition! It has been my dream for many years. But, frankly, I see no immediate hope. Our time is taken up with the consideration of routine matters. They seem to be so pressing that big matters of policy are laid aside.⁴⁴

In addition to Wilkinson’s proposed institute of government studies, as Widtsoe called it, the Apostle proposed emphasis in the fields of family relations, nutrition, American archaeology, and sacred literature, which he described as “collections of existing information, rather than the complex organizations for experimental work.”⁴⁵

McDonald also wrote a reply to Wilkinson’s proposal, suggesting that in addition to areas mentioned by Widtsoe the school should develop its educational work, keeping an eye fixed on what was happening in the secular universities.⁴⁶ In a letter to Wilford W. Richards, director of the LDS institute of religion at Logan, who had commended him for his address at the testimonial to Christen Jensen, Wilkinson took limited exception to McDonald’s point of view:

For your information, President McDonald is urging a revision of the entire curriculum “in line with what has been done at other great universities in the country.” While I am completely in accord that there should be a revision of the curriculum, my own view is that it should not be “in line with what has been done at other great universities in the country.” I think that many of our political and economic maladjustments are the result of some extremely bad educational leadership of certain Eastern left-wing institutions.⁴⁷

43. Ibid. See Ernest L. Wilkinson to J. Reuben Clark, Jr., David O. McKay, John A. Widtsoe, and Howard S. McDonald, separate letters on 11 June 1949, box 1a, folder 1, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

44. John A. Widtsoe to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 23 July 1949, box 1a, folder 1, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

45. Ibid.

46. Howard S. McDonald to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 2 July 1949, box 1a, folder 1, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

47. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Stephen L Richards, 7 July 1949, box 1a, folder 1, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

In July Wilkinson was invited to present a critique of BYU's curriculum before the Board of Trustees,⁴⁸ and the whole issue was discussed at length in that same month before the Executive committee.⁴⁹ About the same time, McDonald presided over a faculty-wide evaluation of curriculum. He appointed a special committee to study all of the questions incidental to determining the ultimate purpose of BYU's curriculum. All faculty members were invited to make suggestions. The minutes of the Curriculum Revision Committee meetings reflect the perplexity of educators trying to grapple with the problem of formulating a philosophy of education. With much effort the committee might have defined some of its objectives in a way compatible with the academic sensibility of its faculty and the spiritual insights of the Board of Trustees, but the project was disrupted in September 1949 when President McDonald, with no advance notice on campus, announced his resignation as President of BYU.

Resignation of Howard S. McDonald

In the midst of his hectic administrative activities at BYU President McDonald had been offered the position of president of the combined Los Angeles State College and Los Angeles City College in the California State College system. On 28 September 1949 George Albert Smith recorded in his journal the discussion that took place at a special meeting of the Church Board of Education:

This was an important meeting at which all the Brethren were present, the purpose of it being to consider the offer which has been made to President Howard S. McDonald of the BYU to go to Los Angeles State College of Applied Arts and Sciences at a salary of \$15,000. The matter was considered very seriously by all the brethren and discussed at some length and finally it was directed that a letter should be written to Brother McDonald expressing to him the gratitude of the brethren of the Board for the excellent work done by him as President of the BYU during the past four or five years and saying to him that the decision was his own, but that if he should decide to accept the offer to go to California he could leave with our blessing and our good will.⁵⁰

A letter was accordingly written to McDonald the next day. The press described McDonald's subsequent acceptance of the new position as a "complete surprise,"⁵¹ but it was hardly so to the General Authorities. McDonald had been seeking another position for several

48. Ernest L. Wilkinson to William F. Edwards, 7 July 1949, box 1a, folder 1, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

49. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 26 July 1949.

50. George Albert Smith, journal, 28 September 1949, University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City.

51. Provo *Daily Herald*, 3 October 1949.

months.⁵² In April 1949 he had written to one of his associates in San Francisco,

John, I still love San Francisco and the people who live there. I cannot express how much I enjoyed working with you and I would love to come back. You do not need to speak to the Superintendent as I have put you down as one of the references. I am just giving you a letter letting you know that I have made a formal application for the position. If there is perhaps some other position that would be equally attractive, I would also be interested if the presidency of the San Francisco City College is not forthcoming.⁵³

McDonald's files show that as early as 1947 he was at least listening to offers from other schools, admitting at the same time that he was happy at BYU.⁵⁴

President McDonald addressed the faculty for the last time on 3 October 1949 and explained that he was

soon to leave the institution to accept the position as head of the newly created Los Angeles State College, but that he had had and will always have the best interests of this university at heart, having the utmost faith in its future growth and destiny. As evidence of this he is proffering a substantial contribution to the above-mentioned Alumni Fund. He expressed hopes for an expanded building program which we so badly need and for which he has worked so assiduously. He closed with his personal testimony of the fundamental basis of the Church sponsoring the school.⁵⁵

Since McDonald was scheduled to begin in California on the first of November, the time between his announcement of resignation and his departure was very brief. He left a memorandum of advice for the President to succeed him and departed with the respect and best wishes of the First Presidency. He would never have guessed that some fifteen years later, after his retirement as president of the Los Angeles schools, he would be called back to Utah to become the president of the Salt Lake Temple, a position he held from April 1964 to July 1968.

Appraisal of the McDonald Administration

In the inaugural services for Howard S. McDonald, President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., had charged him with the responsibility of seeing that students at BYU "live observant of the Christian virtues [and] gain testimonies of the truths of the restored Gospel. . . . They shall . . . live

52. Lynn Richards to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 18 June 1949, box 1a, folder 1, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

53. Howard S. McDonald to John Brady, 1 April 1949, box 6, folder 1, Christen Jensen Papers, BYU Archives.

54. Howard S. McDonald to Edith Anderson, 10 April 1947 and 22 April 1947, box 8, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers.

55. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 3 October 1949.

as righteous members of the Church and as upright, patriotic citizens of the republic, dedicated to the support and preservation of our divinely inspired Constitution.”⁵⁶ President McDonald had responded to this challenge by saying, “May our Father in Heaven bless me with the spirit of this Institution and help me to lead and direct the future of Brigham Young University with the same integrity that has characterized the leadership of those who have preceded me.”⁵⁷ During the four years and four months he served as president of Brigham Young University, McDonald was always conscious of this challenge and his commitment to it, and he directed his best efforts toward its fulfillment. Considering his short tenure, he left a record of real accomplishment.

He fought for the continuance of the University, and by this action he averted the last real threat to the school’s survival. He made a sweeping reorganization of student affairs. Faculty members generally supported his dynamic nonacademic programs. Nevertheless, the intrusion of the dean of student life into student counseling and freshman orientation, which had formerly been carried out by deans of colleges, resulted in some criticism, as can always be expected at a university. Noticing comparative enrollment drops in their departments, some chairmen ascribed the problem to biased or negative views expressed by members of the counseling committee. A professor of languages wrote, “I have seen the department grow from 7% of the student body to 33%, reduced this year to 25% concomitant with the new system of counseling. If I stay on two more years I could be there at the obsequies and gently bury the department.”⁵⁸ The administration pointed out that there were more students than ever, that all departments were represented in the counseling service, and that the new system enabled students to independently choose their major. Another professor cautioned that, “People not knowing the facts of BYU history might easily get the impression that all things good have their beginning and end in the omnipresence and omnipotence of the new ‘dean of students.’”⁵⁹ However, this was a minority view, and most faculty members supported the new organization.

There may have been some merit to the complaint that McDonald slighted the academic program in favor of administrative organization for institutional growth, and McDonald himself considered one of his greatest limitations to be his lack of experience with academic

56. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., “The Mission of Brigham Young University,” 14 November 1945, M260, A1, #22, BYU Library.

57. “Dedication Services for Thirteen Buildings,” Howard S. McDonald biographical file, BYU Archives, p. 13.

58. B. F. Cummings to Howard S. McDonald, 20 March 1947, box 7, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

59. P. A. Christensen to Howard S. McDonald, 20 September 1945, box 3, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers.

programs.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, he cannot be blamed for creating the problem. The entire University structure was terribly strained by the post-war enrollment increases. President McDonald acted with vigor and dispatch in handling the most pressing difficulties first. With his attention focused on these problems, academic considerations, of necessity, often received secondary attention.

In order to cope with growing enrollment, McDonald gave more responsibilities to department chairmen, college deans, and administrative assistants. New ideas, practices, and procedures initiated by faculty members were reviewed through department chairmen, cleared by college deans, and then sent to the President. Because of constant pressure he was not as accessible to faculty members as Harris had been, but he often met by appointment with professors to discuss problems. Overall, McDonald's policy improved faculty morale because it gave more administrative responsibilities to faculty members within separate departments and colleges.

McDonald effectively provided housing, classroom facilities, and other accommodations for a student body which grew from 1,508 students in 1944 to 3,446 in 1945, 5,082 in 1946, and 5,440 in 1947. He established a modern method of caring for student health needs. Despite the low salary schedule, he brought well-qualified faculty members to campus to keep pace with increasing student enrollment. Under his administration the faculty increased in size from 116 to over 200, while teaching loads actually decreased. He obtained two salary increases for faculty members and continually urged higher wages. He was responsible for persuading the Board of Trustees to arrange with one of the local stakes to have two wards meet in Knight-Mangum Hall where students could attend. He supervised the organization of two student branches, which met in temporary facilities on campus.⁶¹ During his administration BYU instituted a master of theology program.

After a long hiatus in the building program because of the depression and other financial problems which affected the entire Church education system, McDonald aroused the Board of Trustees to a sharp realization of the need for new permanent buildings. They in turn authorized construction of the Eyring Science Center and the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse. Although these facilities were not completed during McDonald's administration, the science center was completed the next year under acting president Jensen, and architects were planning the fieldhouse when McDonald left. More important than the immediate construction of these buildings was the groundwork McDonald laid for the building expansion program during the Wilkinson administration.

President McDonald was a man of action in every facet of his ad-

60. Howard S. McDonald, oral history, p. 19.

61. Transcription of McDonald Tapes, BYU Archives, p. 44.

ministration. When he felt he was right, he was fearless in his efforts to realize his objectives. He demanded quality service from faculty and staff members and quality scholarship and character from the students who graduated from the University. His abrupt demands of the Board of Trustees sometimes created resistance because he was accustomed to a public school environment in which he as administrator made most of the decisions, and he had difficulty adjusting to a situation in which the Board of Trustees took an active part in the administration of the school. He had neither the patience of his predecessor nor the careful preparation for Board Meetings of his successor, but he served the University well, preserving the strengths of the school as he found them while leaving the mark of his own energy and imagination.

Dean Wesley Lloyd said of McDonald,

The years were hectic ones; they took their toll in the physical strength and endurance of the new president. But through it all there was visible a genuine sensitivity to the welfare of faculty members and students and a continuing concern that the University have stature appropriate to the Church which gave it birth.

When it was learned that the President was to leave the University and to preside over another institution of higher learning, the faculty felt that it was losing a true colleague and a loyal friend. Perhaps it was not until then that this man, completely devoted to his assignment and appropriately sensitive to what others thought of him and his work, had the satisfaction of really knowing that he had found a deep and abiding place in the hearts of his faculty, his fellow administrators, and the student body.⁶²

Speaking for the faculty at McDonald's official farewell, Dean Carl F. Eyring said that McDonald had met each of his challenges

with understanding, enthusiasm and vigor. You have given of yourself without stint. The results are on record in the form of brick, wood, and stone, increased staff and salaries, improved scholarship, better counseling, more interest in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and in general, more abundant living. There is also a record in our hearts which no one can gainsay.⁶³

The student body also honored President and Mrs. McDonald with a farewell testimonial, and the couple left Provo knowing that they had made a good place for themselves in the history of Brigham Young University.

Christen Jensen as Acting President

According to President George Albert Smith's journal, Dean Christen Jensen was called as acting president of the University on 10 October 1949.

62. Wesley Lloyd, "Tribute to Howard S. McDonald," Howard S. McDonald biographical file, BYU Archives.

63. George Albert Smith, journal, 10 October 1949.

By arrangement Dr. Christen Jensen, Professor Emeritus of BYU, came to my home at 4:00 and I asked Dr. Jensen if he felt that he could assume temporarily the position of acting President of the BYU until such time as we would be able to select a permanent President. He was almost dumbfounded but assured me that he would be happy to do whatever he could. I told him I thought it would be well for him to go home and talk to his wife and let us know what his decision would be.

With reluctance, Dr. Jensen accepted the call on the clear stipulation that it was only temporary. President Smith wrote in his journal, "I will feel much relieved when the question of the BYU Presidency is finally resolved. . . . I feel that the BYU is one of our greatest institutions in the Church and a constant change is not a healthy condition nor is it conducive to the best interests of the school."⁶⁴ Jensen's appointment was announced to the faculty on November 7.

Accepting the position of acting president of BYU on the eve of his retirement from teaching, Christen Jensen brought some administrative experience to his new position. In addition to serving as acting president of BYU in 1939 and 1940 while President Harris was on leave of absence in Iran, Jensen had been a professor at the school for 39 years. For much of his academic life he was dean of the College of Applied Science and served as dean of the Graduate School from 1929 to 1949. He was modest, humble, and well respected by the faculty. Though he was cautious, trying to avoid decisions that would tie the hands of a successor, his brief administration from November 1949 to February 1951 was marked by sincere and confident action. He maintained order on campus and helped the school through a number of critical circumstances.

He assisted in enforcement of the Honor Code, a joint attempt by students, faculty, and administrators to place the responsibility for upholding University standards on the students themselves. Jensen also worked to revise the curriculum. At the Deans Council meeting of 30 January 1950 he "reported an action of the Board of Trustees Friday, January 20, 1950, which provided that: Beginning with the year 1950-51 a course in American History and Government, properly taught, will be one of the graduation requirements of Brigham Young University." This had been suggested by Ernest L. Wilkinson when he met with the Board of Trustees. After further study it was decided that a "course numbered 70 or 170 for 5 hours credit . . . will be construed as meeting the requirement."⁶⁵

When rivalry among certain faculty members threatened faculty unity, Jensen made it plain that he expected cooperation rather than bickering. He said,

A well integrated institution should be the aim of us all. We should

64. Ibid.

65. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 30 January and 6 March 1950.

avoid personal ambition and self aggrandizement. We should also realize that we possess limited financial income. We must live within our means. For this reason we should carefully analyze our courses of study in the various departments concerned. We should eliminate the least necessary courses. We should study the matter of duplication and overlapping of work. Expansion is not an end in itself.⁶⁶

In March 1950 the Executive Committee finally authorized the appropriation of money for construction of the fieldhouse, making available half of the total cost of \$900,000. They stipulated that the other half should come from the "Brigham Young University Athletic Department and Alumni and those friends of the institution and the institution's athletes who have so urgently expressed a desire that this Fieldhouse be constructed."⁶⁷ Clyde D. Sandgren, President of the Alumni Association, and Harold Glen Clark, Executive Secretary of the Alumni Association, with the extensive aid of Dean Wesley P. Lloyd and stalwarts like Jack Firmage and Orval Adams, successfully raised almost half of the funds for the million-dollar George Albert Smith Fieldhouse from BYU alumni. The Church funds for construction were to be repaid from revenues expected to be received from operation of the facility. This policy was in line with the administrative sentiment that tithing money should not fund collegiate sports activities. Groundbreaking ceremonies for the fieldhouse were held on 24 May 1950 with President Joseph Fielding Smith turning the first shovelful of earth.⁶⁸

By mid-January 1950 Dean Lloyd was able to report that half of the funds to be raised locally had been received. However, construction proceeded faster than funds were received, and since the Church had agreed to provide funds only on a matching basis, it was necessary for the University to raise additional funds. To do this President Jensen and treasurer Kiefer Sauls arranged for a \$100,000 loan from Zion's First National Bank. Both men signed the note. Construction then proceeded, and the building was used for commencement exercises in June 1951. The building officially opened on 1 December 1951 at a final construction cost of well over \$1,000,000.⁶⁹

The most disappointing news announced during Jensen's interregnum came on 24 April 1950 when Joseph Fielding Smith instructed him to reduce the budget "for the coming year by twenty percent in line

66. Christen Jensen to deans, 16 January 1950, Christen Jensen Papers, BYU Archives.

67. George Albert Smith and J. Reuben Clark, Jr., to Christen Jensen, 7 March 1950, Christen Jensen Papers; and Provo *Daily Herald*, 25 May 1950.

68. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 15 May 1950.

69. "Record-Breaking Crowd Witnesses Opening Fieldhouse Ceremonies," *BYU Universe*, 4 December 1951.

with the general Church policy of financial retrenchment.” Jensen remonstrated that a cut of these dimensions — about \$250,000 — would have “a crippling effect” on the school.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the Board of Trustees would not reconsider its decision.

Meanwhile, the school celebrated its diamond jubilee from 15 to 20 October 1950. Dr. Wayne B. Hales was in charge of planning the celebration under the direction of President Jensen. Over 300 delegates representing universities, scientific societies, government agencies, and industrial research laboratories from throughout the country participated in the jubilee. During Jensen’s administration the BYU chapter of Sigma Xi, the national research society, was inaugurated. President Jensen also officiated at the dedication of the Eyring Science Center in December 1950.

Christen Jensen did a consistent job of administering the affairs of Brigham Young University during his two terms as acting president. Two instances clearly illustrate Jensen’s ability to keep the school on an even keel. While President Harris was in Iran some people had called for his replacement. President Jensen stood his ground well in defense of President Harris, and nothing came of the suggestion. The First Presidency was grateful for Jensen’s strength and moral courage.⁷¹ The second incident arose from a letter written in 1950 accusing a young faculty member of unorthodoxy. The letter was signed by several religion teachers and sent to one of the General Authorities of the Church. When President Jensen heard about the letter he rebuked its authors for not taking the matter to him first. He characterized the action as an act of discourtesy and disrespect to the head of the institution and as a direct violation of proper administrative procedure. He wondered whether the authors of the letter had ever read what Paul said about charity and firmly informed the authors that those who teach religion must practice religion; that no kind of fanaticism, religious or otherwise, had any place at BYU.⁷² The General Authorities enthusiastically approved of the manner in which Jensen had handled the matter, and the new teacher stayed in the Church school system.

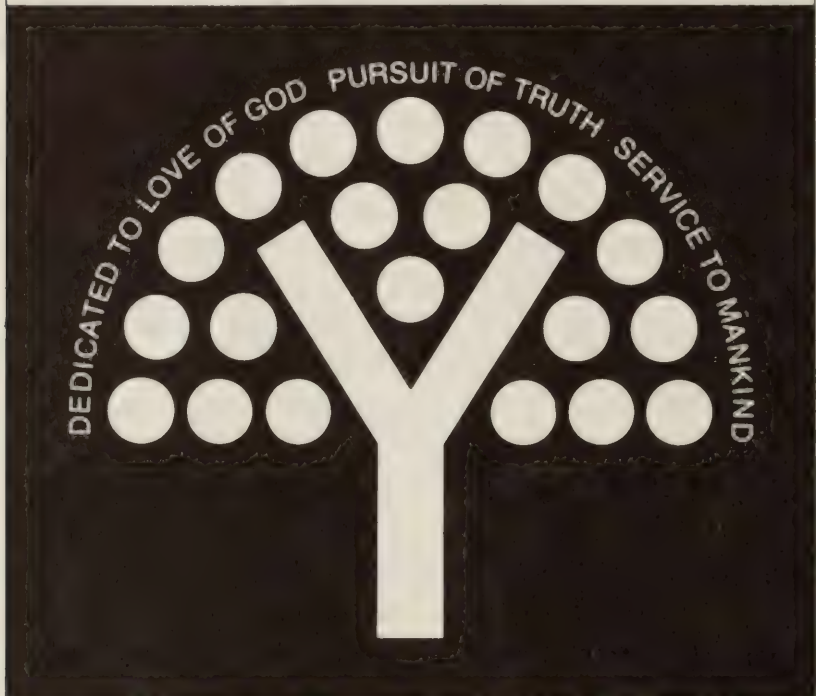
Dr. Jensen continued to serve as acting president until his successor reported for duty in February 1951. Jensen sought no honor for himself, thinking only of the good of the University and maintaining complete loyalty to the man who was to succeed him.

70. Christen Jensen to Albert E. Bowen, 1 May 1950, Christen Jensen Papers.

71. Ernest L. Wilkinson, interview with J. Reuben Clark, Jr., 1951.

72. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 29 May 1950.

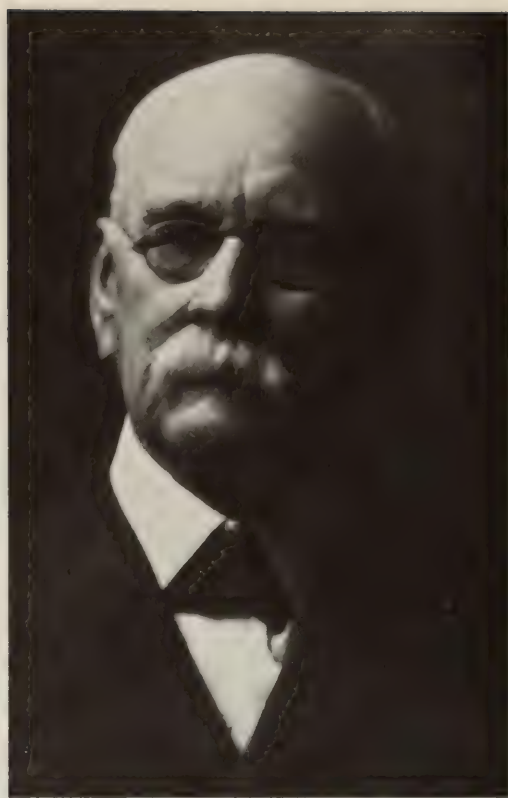
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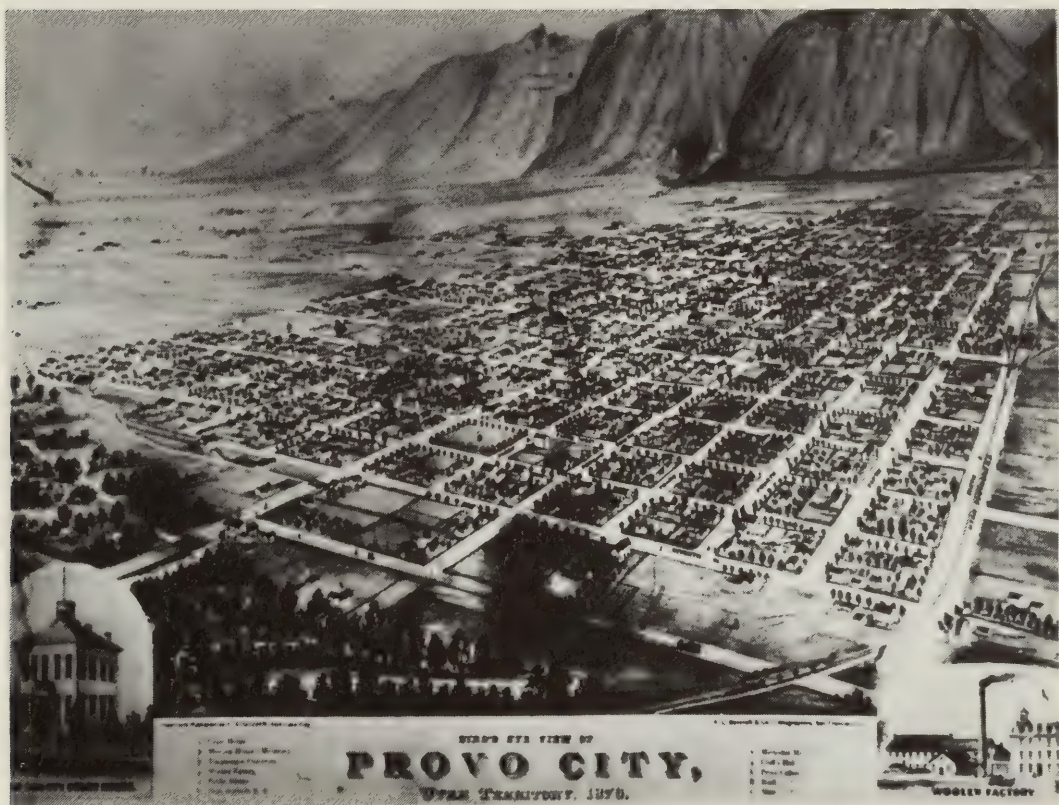
CENTENNIAL
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY



Joseph Smith, Jr., founder and President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1830 to 1844. Although he was martyred before the Mormons made their trek to the Rocky Mountains, Joseph Smith's ideas influenced deeply the colonization and educational efforts of the LDS people in Utah.

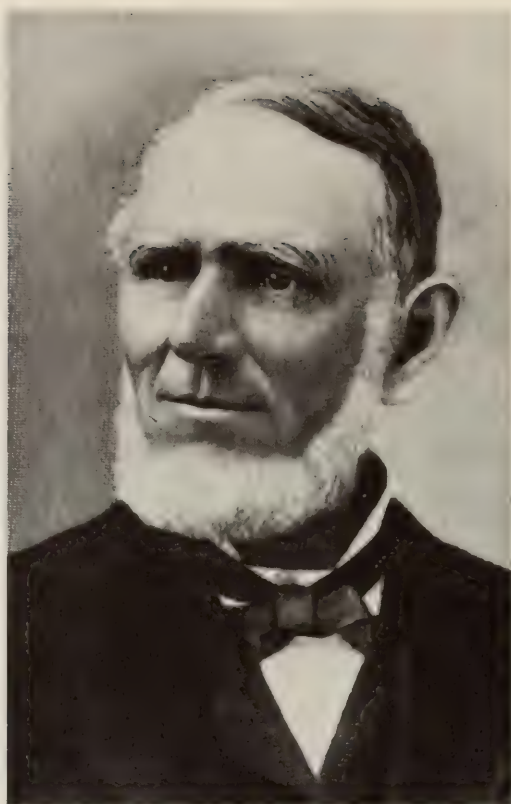


Top Left: Warren N. Dusenberry, founder of Dusenberry School and first principal of Brigham Young Academy. *Top Right:* Wilson H. Dusenberry, cofounder of Dusenberry School and member of the BYU Board of Trustees from 1875 to 1921. *Bottom:* Provo Third Ward meetinghouse, also used as an early schoolhouse.



Top: Provo Center Street in the 1870s, taken from the mill race at Second West and Center Street. The Lewis Building, first home of Brigham Young Academy, is visible at the extreme left of the photograph. *Bottom:* "Bird's Eye View of Provo" in 1876.

Courtesy of Utah State Historical Society.



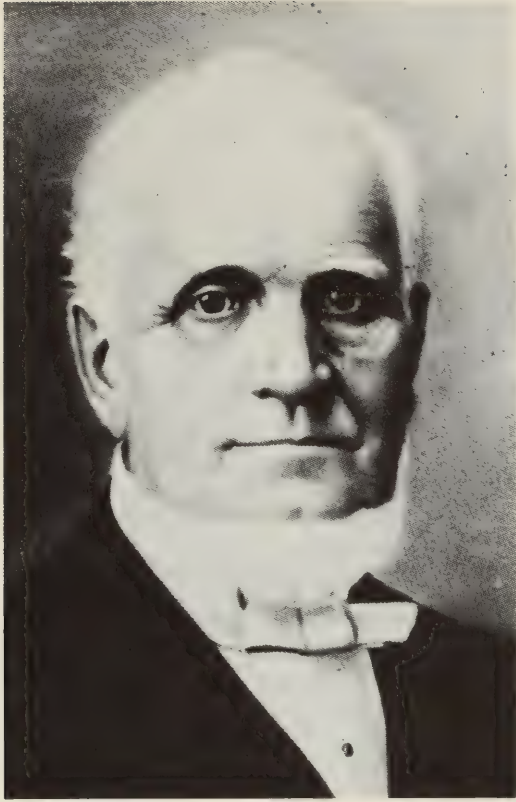
Top Left: Karl G. Maeser, principal of Brigham Young Academy from 1876 to 1892. *Top Right:* Abraham O. Smoot, president of the Brigham Young Academy Board of Trustees from 1875 to 1895 and financial savior of BYU on several occasions. *Bottom:* The Lewis Building at Third West and Center Street, first home of BYA.



Brigham Young, President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1847 to 1877 and founder of Brigham Young Academy. Known as a spiritual leader and colonizer, President Young did much to further the cause of education in the West, organizing numerous schools in addition to BYA in Provo.



Top: Ruins of the Lewis Building after it burned on 27 January 1884. *Bottom:* ZCMI warehouse at Fifth South and Academy (University) Avenue, home of Brigham Young Academy between January 1884 and January 1892, when the Academy Building at Fifth North and Academy Avenue was dedicated.



Top Left: John Taylor, President of the LDS Church from 1880 to 1887. *Top Right:* Wilford Woodruff, President of the LDS Church from 1889 to 1898. *Bottom:* 1885 faculty of BYA, including (left to right) — Willard Done, James E. Talmage, J. Nelson, Karl G. Maeser, Jennie Tanner, B. Cluff, Jr., and J. B. Keeler.

BRIGHAM YOUNG ACADEMY,
TREASURER'S OFFICE.

No. 676

Aug 31 1875

B. Cluff, Jr.

One Hundred Twelve 75¢, 00 Dollars. C 44

In Produce on account of B. Y. Academy

To Provo Bishop's Storehouse. H. H. Dusenberry

81218 Dep.



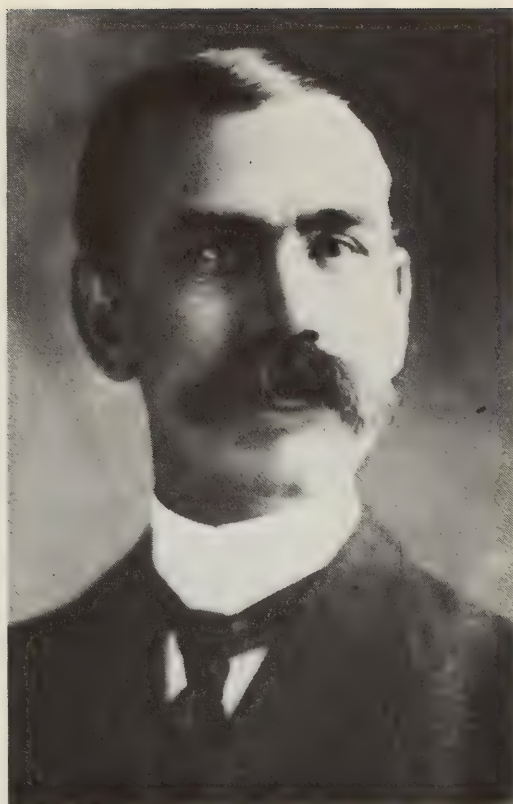
Top: Early BYA payroll check made out to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., redeemable in produce from the Provo Bishops Storehouse. Bottom: Jesse Knight (wearing hat) at work in his Provo office. Inez Knight Allen, William E. Bassett, and Reed Smoot also are shown. "Uncle Jesse" was a consistent benefactor of BYU.



Top Left: Benjamin Cluff, Jr., principal and President of BYA from 1892 to 1903. *Top Right:* Brigham Young, Jr., President of the BYA Board of Trustees from 1895 to 1897. *Bottom:* Brigham Young Academy Building as it appeared on Founder's Day around 1900. The building was dedicated in January 1892.



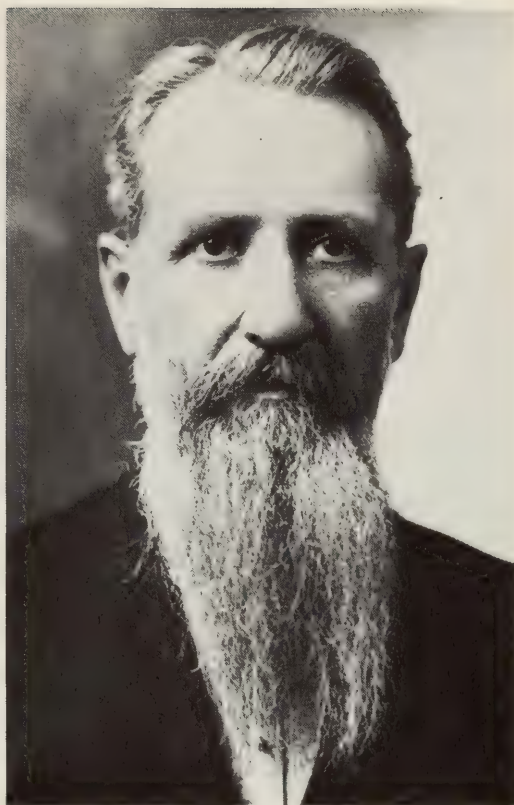
Top: Main building of Beaver Branch of Brigham Young Academy. The Beaver Branch operated as a part of Brigham Young Academy-University from 1898 to 1908. *Bottom:* President Benjamin Cluff, Jr., addressing a theory of teaching class in the Academy Building around 1898. Early BYU Presidents taught full class loads.



Top Left: George Q. Cannon, president of the Brigham Young Academy Board of Trustees from 1897 to 1901. *Top Right:* Reed Smoot, U.S. Senator, who took charge of raising funds for the construction of College Hall. *Bottom:* College Hall, dedicated in 1898, located directly behind the Academy Building.



Top: Early assembly in Room D of the Academy Building. In the early days of the school, devotional assemblies were held daily before the start of regular classes. *Bottom:* First Brigham Young Academy football team, fielded in 1896. Football was banned from the school between 1900 and 1920.



Top Left: Lorenzo Snow, President of the LDS Church from 1898 to 1901.
Top Right: Joseph F. Smith, President of the LDS Church from 1901 to 1918.
Bottom: Brigham Young Academy explorers ready to begin their South American Expedition. President Cluff is fourth from the left in this photograph.



Top Left: Jesse Knight, principal contributor to the Training School Building construction fund. *Top Right:* George Henry Brimhall, President of BYU from 1904 to 1921. *Bottom:* Training School Building at the northeast corner of the Academy block, dedicated in 1902. The building's top floor contained the school's first gymnasium.



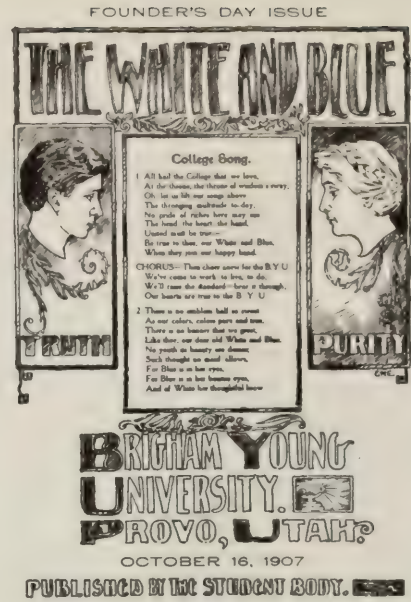
Top: BYU women assisting in the clearing of Temple Hill for the construction of an athletic field in 1904. The field was constructed approximately where the Joseph Smith Memorial Building now stands. *Bottom:* BYA campus as it appeared in 1902, the year before Brigham Young Academy became Brigham Young University.



Top: President William Howard Taft and Senator Reed Smoot (in back seat) photographed during their visit to Temple Hill in 1909. *Bottom:* Brigham Young University college graduates in 1904, including John E. Booth, at far right, who had taught at the school since the Maeser era. Many of the graduates returned to teach at BYU.



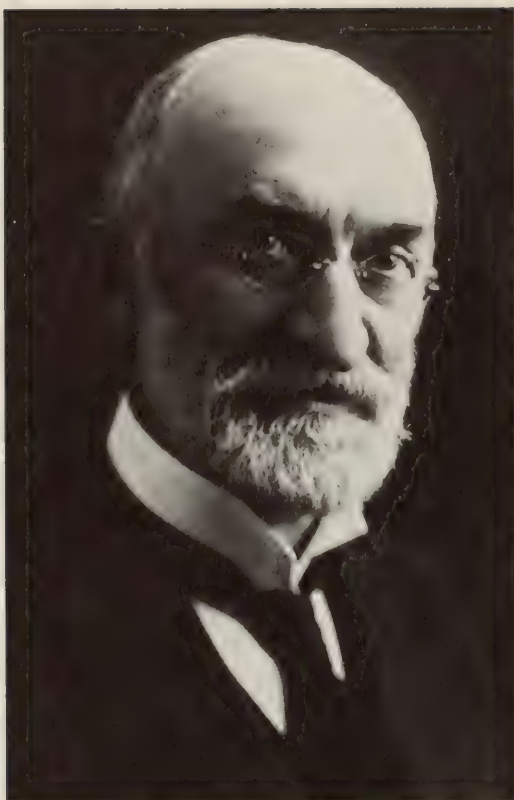
Top: President Joseph F. Smith laying the cornerstone of the Maeser Memorial Building in 1909. *Bottom:* Maeser Memorial Building, dedicated in 1911, as it appeared in 1918. The men in front of the building may be members of the Student Army Training Corps that was stationed at BYU in the last months of 1918.



Top Left: Woodworking class at BYA around the turn of the century. Top Right: Founder's Day issue of *White and Blue* published on 16 October 1907. *White and Blue* was the BYU student newspaper from 1899 to 1921, when *Y News* took its place. Bottom: A home economics class at BYU during the Brimhall years.



Top: The BYU band as it appeared around 1909. *Bottom:* "Fools' Frolic," labeled by the 1920 *Banyan* as the "biggest High School event of the year." Even as late as 1920, Brigham Young University enrolled many more students at the elementary and secondary levels than it did in collegiate courses.



Top Left: Heber J. Grant, President of the LDS Church from 1918 to 1945. *Top Right:* Franklin S. Harris, President of BYU from 1921 to 1945. *Bottom:* Apostles at 1922 commencement, including (left to right) J. A. Widtsoe, J. E. Talmage, J. F. Smith, C. W. Penrose, President H. J. Grant, D. O. McKay, S. L. Richards, and R. R. Lyman.



Top Left: Franklin S. Harris with his wife, Estella, and their daughter Arlene just before leaving Cornell for Utah State Agricultural College. *Top Right:* F. S. Harris with John A. Widtsoe, consistent friend of BYU and adviser to Harris. *Bottom:* Inauguration of F. S. Harris as President of BYU on 17 October 1921.



Top: Heber J. Grant Library, dedicated on 16 October 1925 during BYU's semicentennial celebration. The building served as BYU's main library for more than 35 years. *Bottom:* Participants in dedicatory services for the Heber J. Grant Library, including Heber J. Grant, Franklin S. Harris, and George H. Brimhall (center of photograph).



Top: Students in the large study hall of the Heber J. Grant Library. *Bottom:* Panorama of a BYU football game held on Temple Hill in the 1920s. Even after football was reinstated as an athletic activity at BYU in 1920, it was some time before the school fielded successful teams. This photo was taken from the roof of the Maeser Memorial Building.



Top: Art students at the 1923 Alpine Summer School observing their teacher, B. F. Larsen. *Bottom:* Faculty and students at an early Alpine Summer School. The Alpine Summer School was very successful during the 1920s and 1930s, but it was discontinued during World War II because of gasoline shortages.

Y TEAM LOSES GREAT GAME TO ROCKY

405



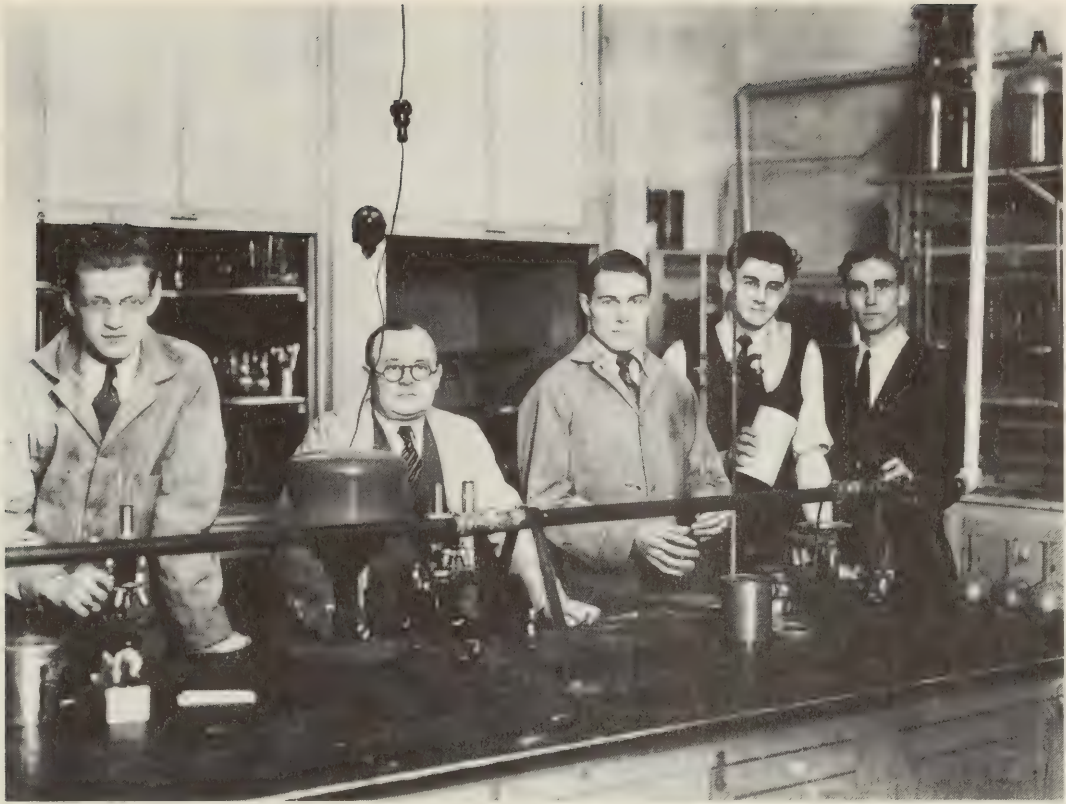
Top: Members of the BYU Board of Trustees in 1930, including (left to right) Joseph R. Murdock, Lafayette Holbrook, F. S. Harris, Joseph A. Reece, Susa Y. Gates, George H. Brimhall, Zina Y. Card, Joseph F. Smith, Heber J. Grant, James E. Talmage, John A. Widtsoe, and Stephen L Richards. *Bottom:* Upper campus in 1930.



Top: Mechanic Arts Building, dedicated in October 1918. *Bottom:* Dedication of the George H. Brimhall Building on 16 October 1935. When two stories were added to the Mechanic Arts Building, President Franklin S. Harris suggested that the structure should be named in honor of George H. Brimhall, who died in 1932.



Top: Franklin S. Harris and President Heber J. Grant leading an academic procession from lower campus to the Provo Stake Tabernacle for commencement exercises. *Bottom:* The BYU band performing an impromptu concert during the semicentennial celebration in 1925. Several of Maeser's original students were at the celebration.



Top: Dean Thomas L. Martin with students in his bacteriology laboratory at BYU. Because of the success of his students, Martin gained a reputation as one of the finest agronomy professors in the country. *Bottom:* Wayne B. Hales (standing) supervising an experiment in the BYU physics lab in the 1930s.



Top: BYU physical education students dancing on the bank of Provo River in the 1920s. *Bottom:* BYU Symphony Orchestra assembled in the Provo Tabernacle during the 1930s. The Provo Tabernacle served for many years as the home of the very successful BYU lyceum series, directed by Herald R. Clark.



Top: Participants in a posture parade on Temple Hill in the 1920s. Posture parades were a part of the annual BYU Invitational Track and Field Meet. *Bottom:* Basketball game between Brigham Young University and Utah State Agricultural College in the Women's Gym in 1937. Basketball has been a favorite spectator sport at BYU.



Top: Joseph Smith Memorial Building, dedicated on 16 October 1941 by David O. McKay as a part of Founder's Day observances. *Bottom:* Franklin S. Harris turning the keys to his office over to dean Christen Jensen in 1945. Harris left BYU after 24 years to become president of Utah State Agricultural College.



Top Left: Howard Stevenson McDonald, President of BYU from 1945 to 1949. *Top Right:* George Albert Smith, President of the LDS Church from 1945 to 1951. *Bottom:* Carl F. Eyring Physical Science Center, named for the man who was dean of the BYU College of Arts and Sciences for nearly 30 years.



Top: George Albert Smith Fieldhouse, ready for use in 1951. *Bottom:* Wymount Village housing units, purchased from the U.S. Government in 1946 and used to house students at BYU until the 1960s. These and other temporary facilities helped BYU survive the enrollment boom that occurred after World War II.



Top Left: David O. McKay, President of the LDS Church from 1951 to 1970. *Top Right:* Ernest L. Wilkinson, President of BYU from 1951 to 1971. *Bottom:* David O. McKay and Ernest L. Wilkinson leading a procession of dignitaries at the inauguration of Ernest L. Wilkinson as President of BYU in 1951.



Top Left: David O. McKay greeting students after a devotional address at BYU. *Top Right:* Ernest L. Wilkinson greeting students at registration in the 1950s. *Bottom:* Ernest L. Wilkinson (lower right of photo) presiding over a BYU faculty meeting in the conference room of the Maeser Building in the 1950s.



Top: Aerial view of upper campus in August 1952. *Bottom:* Aerial view of upper campus in 1975. The expansion of physical facilities, accompanied by increased enrollment, made BYU the largest private university in the United States. The building boom that characterized the 1950s and 1960s at BYU has continued to the present.



Top: Aerial view of Heritage Halls. The larger halls at the bottom right of the photo were completed in 1956. The smaller halls in the middle of the photo were completed by 1955. Note Wymount Village student housing units at the top of the photo. *Bottom:* One unit of Helaman Halls just after completion.



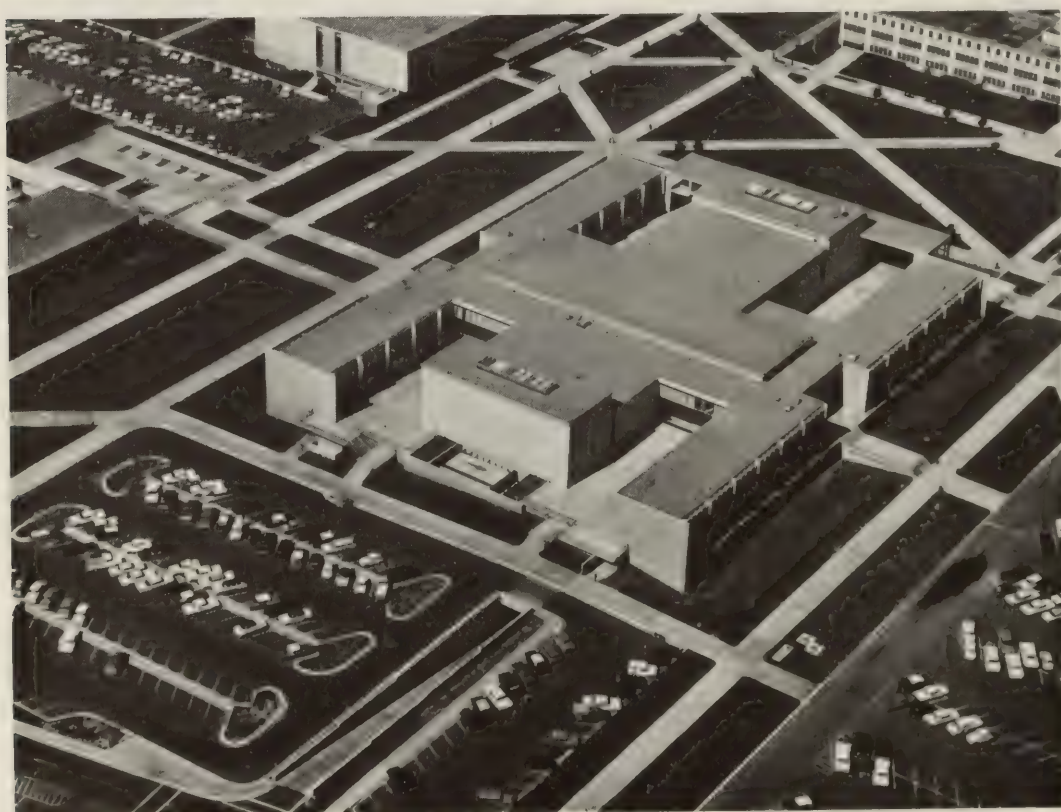
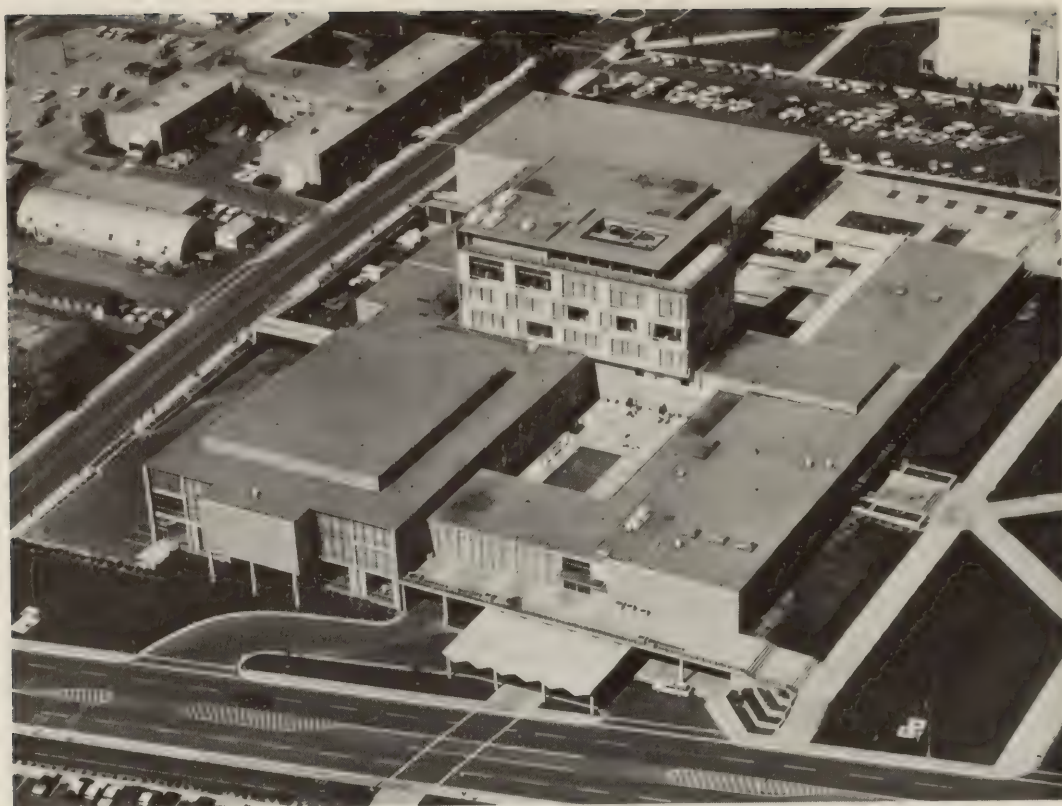
Top: David O. McKay Building soon after its dedication on 14 December 1954. *Bottom:* President and Sister David O. McKay participating in dedicatory services for the David O. McKay Building on 14 December 1954. President Ernest L. Wilkinson is at their right, while President Stephen L. Richards is at their left.



Top: Joseph F. Smith Family Living Center during a BYU Leadership Week soon after the building's completion in 1957. *Bottom:* Aerial view of Abraham O. Smoot Administration Building, with the Jesse Knight Building in the background. The Jesse Knight Building was completed in 1960; the Smoot Building in 1961.



Top: Harold B. Lee Library, dedicated in 1962. Originally named the J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Library, the name of the structure was changed in January 1974, one month after President Lee's death. An addition to the library is scheduled for completion in 1976. *Bottom:* Deseret Towers housing units, completed in 1965.



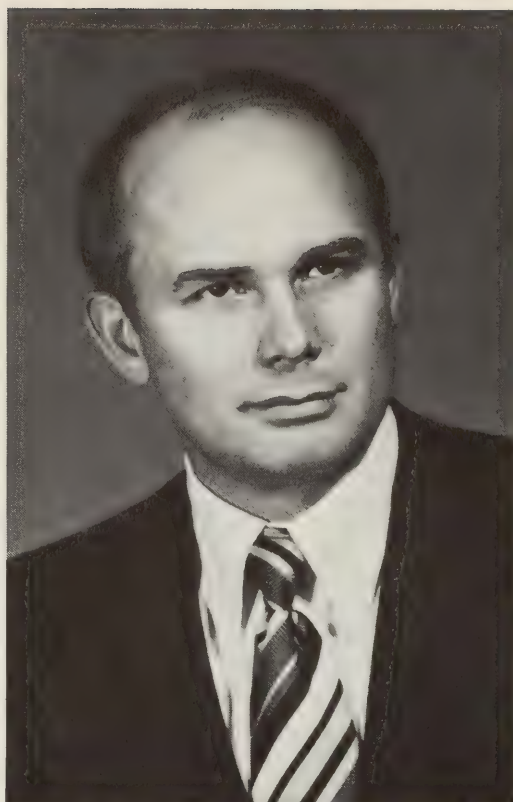
Top: Ernest L. Wilkinson Center, completed in 1964 and dedicated in 1965. The building fulfilled a longstanding need for a student center at BYU. *Bottom:* Franklin S. Harris Fine Arts Center, dedicated on 3 April 1965. The building was named for President Franklin S. Harris, an enthusiastic patron of the arts.



Top: Stephen L Richards Physical Education Building under construction. *Bottom:* John A. Widtsoe Building, completed in 1970, and Thomas L. Martin Building, completed in 1969. The Widtsoe Building houses laboratories and offices of the biological sciences faculty. The Martin Building provides classroom space.



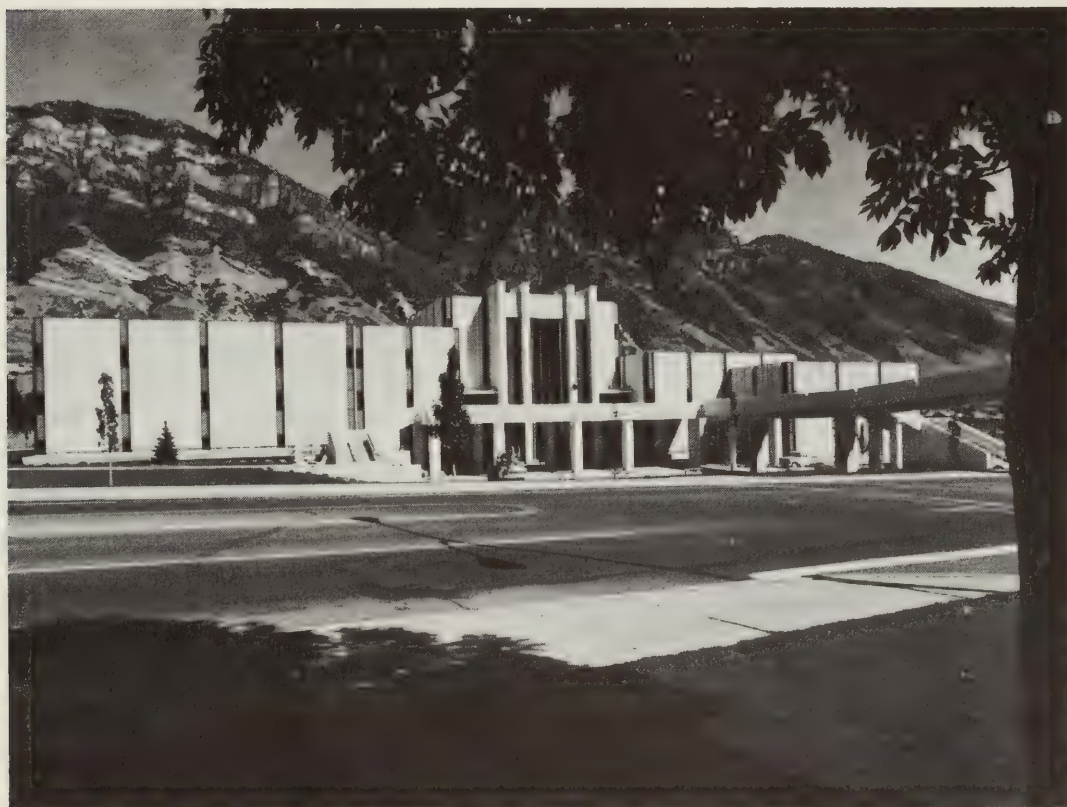
Top: James E. Talmage Mathematical Sciences and Computer Building, begun in 1970. In addition to housing the modern BYU computer facilities, the building provides office and classroom space. *Bottom:* Engineering Sciences and Technology Building, begun in the spring of 1971 and completed in the fall of 1973.



Top Left: Joseph Fielding Smith, President of the LDS Church from 1970 to 1972. *Top Right:* Dallin Harris Oaks, President of BYU since 1971. *Bottom:* Dallin H. Oaks, President of Brigham Young University, and Spencer W. Kimball, President of the LDS Church, together at BYU in 1975.



Top Left: Harold B. Lee, President of the LDS Church from 1972 to 1973. *Top Right:* Spencer W. Kimball, President of the LDS Church since December 1973. *Bottom:* Commencement exercises in the J. Willard Marriott Activities Center, which seats 23,000 people. The Marriott Center is much more than a sports arena.



Top: J. Willard Marriott Center, opened in 1971, named for the man who contributed the most money to the building's construction. Seating 23,000, it is the largest auditorium facility on any campus in the United States. *Bottom:* J. Reuben Clark Law School Building, dedicated in September 1975. The Law School opened in 1973.



Top: Howard S. McDonald, Ernest L. Wilkinson, and Dallin H. Oaks discussing BYU history at BYU Archives in 1972. *Bottom:* BYU Board of Trustees in 1971, including (seated) LeGrand Richards, Delbert L. Stapley, Mark E. Petersen, Spencer W. Kimball, Harold B. Lee, Joseph Fielding Smith, N. Eldon Tanner, Gordon B. Hinckley, Boyd K. Packer, Marion D. Hanks, A. Theodore Tuttle, and John H. Vandenberg. Standing are Dee F. Anderson, Joe J. Christensen, and Kenneth H. Beesley of the Office of the Commissioner of Church Education, along with Ernest L. Wilkinson and Dallin H. Oaks.

20

Choosing BYU's Seventh President

Conscientious as Christen Jensen was, an acting president could not adequately fill the administrative vacuum that Howard S. McDonald left behind. Therefore the Church leaders felt a sense of urgency in selecting and appointing a qualified successor to McDonald. The Executive Committee was assigned to search out the most promising candidates for interview, and committee members Stephen L. Richards, Joseph F. Merrill, John A. Widtsoe, Albert E. Bowen, and committee chairman Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., were given full freedom in searching for the right President.

The Search

The nominating committee decided on certain criteria for the new President: He had to be “a loyal good-living orthodox Latter-day Saint” with adequate “scholastic attainments and professional academic experience.” He also had to be a man who loved and supported Brigham Young University. The committee desired “an administrator of dynamic personality, of great resourcefulness, sound judgment, dependable loyalty and abundant energy with an adequate equipment of health and vigor.”¹ At least two members of the committee also wanted an administrator who would seek to establish a curriculum in which the United States Constitution would be taught as “a sacred and divinely inspired document in its essence and essentials.”²

The committee considered 40 men for the presidency, among them some of the best-known and most respected Latter-day Saints in the fields of education, government, business, and law. Only a few of them had made formal application.³

Although he was not an applicant, Ernest L. Wilkinson was promi-

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1. Finding Committee to the First Presidency, 14 April 1950, Stephen L. Richards Papers, Office of the First Presidency.
 2. Albert E. Bowen to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 6 February 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, BYU Archives.
 3. Undated listing of “Names Presented,” Stephen L. Richards Papers.

nent on the list of potential nominees. An alumnus of BYU, he had maintained an intense interest in the school after his graduation in 1921, and as President of the Alumni Association in Washington, D.C., and through correspondence with Franklin S. Harris, John A. Widtsoe, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and other prominent Church leaders, he had already influenced the operation and objectives of the school. Four months before President McDonald's resignation Wilkinson gave an address on campus at a testimonial in honor of Dr. Jensen upon his retirement from teaching. Wilkinson told the audience, "This school will become the greatest educational institution in this world if it so trains its students that they will have the desire and the knowledge to take the revealed gospel of Jesus Christ to all the ends of the earth."⁴ After this talk, Elder John A. Widtsoe and Wilkinson carried on correspondence about the future of the school. When McDonald's resignation was later announced, Dr. Wilkinson made it clear that the letters which passed between himself and Dr. Widtsoe should not be interpreted as an application for the position of President — they merely expressed his "anxiety and concern for the school."⁵ As he told one friend, "It would be extremely difficult for me to abandon my law practice."⁶ Nevertheless, men like Dr. William F. Edwards of New York City and Edgar B. Brossard, chairman of the U. S. Tariff Commission in Washington, D.C., wrote Church leaders to recommend Wilkinson.

Making the Choice

After months of deliberation, interviewing, and consultation, the nominating committee narrowed the field to seven candidates: Henry Aldous Dixon, president of Weber College; George Albert Smith, Jr., professor of business administration at Harvard University; John T. Wahlquist, professor of education at the University of Utah and later president of San Jose State University in California; Wayne R. Driggs, president of the College of Southern Utah; Preston O. Robison, former professor at New York University and at that time manager of Deseret News Press; Asahel D. Woodruff, dean of the Graduate School at Brigham Young University; and Ernest L. Wilkinson. It became clear very early that Wilkinson was their choice. On 14 April 1950 the committee wrote to the First Presidency recommending the appointment of Wilkinson: "He has the indispensable qualifications of being a loyal good-living orthodox Latter-day Saint. . . . His scholastic attainments and his professional academic experience seem to be

4. Lecture given by Ernest L. Wilkinson on 6 June 1949 at Christen Jensen Testimonial, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
5. Ernest L. Wilkinson to John A. Widtsoe, 6 October 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
6. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Kiefer B. Sauls, 19 April 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

adequate. . . . He has a Doctor's Degree from Harvard, which is considered desirable in such a position. . . . His professional achievements would seem to command the respect of all." The committee also commended Wilkinson for his "high order of intelligence . . . analytical powers, and untiring industry," advising also that his wife seemed "in every way qualified to give the support and perform the duties which are to be expected."⁷

The nominating committee conceded "that his severest test would be in winning the faculty, who might feel that a professional educator should be chosen." David O. McKay felt that an educator like Henry Aldous Dixon, president of Weber State College, would be best suited for the position, but the finding committee noted, "It might well be that there would be some real advantage accruing to the University from an administrator not so steeped in academic traditions, thinking, and terminology as some of the professional scholars seem to be." The committee admitted that Wilkinson "does not possess all the qualifications we have been looking for. . . . He would suffer some handicaps." Despite his limited educational administrative experience, however, the committee felt that he was "the best prospect for a successful administration of our great school."⁸ Nominating committee member John A. Widtsoe, who had served as president of both Utah State Agricultural College and the University of Utah, later "made it quite plain that [Wilkinson] had been asked to take this position because the brethren felt that by coming in from the outside, [he] would have a fresh view and not be tied down by academic traditions."⁹

After the nominating committee made its recommendations, President George Albert Smith and his two counselors had to make the final decision. On 7 July 1950 at a meeting of the Board of Trustees, Stephen L Richards, with the consent of the First Presidency, presented the recommendation from the Executive Committee that Wilkinson be offered the position of President of Brigham Young University.¹⁰ Albert E. Bowen made the motion, which was seconded by Joseph Fielding Smith, that the recommendation be adopted. The Board approved the motion unanimously.¹¹ On 15 July 1950 President

7. Finding Committee to the First Presidency, 14 April 1950.

8. Ibid.

9. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Memorandum of Conversation with John A. Widtsoe about 11 May 1951," Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

10. BYU Board Minutes, 7 July 1950.

11. Albert E. Bowen, who made the motion to appoint Dr. Wilkinson, wrote Wilkinson on Bowen's honorable release from the Executive Committee in November 1951, "This has been an enjoyable work, a work in which I have had a life-long interest. . . . I can retire with a good deal of satisfaction in the thought that I lasted long enough to have a prominent part in your selection and installation as the President of the University"; Albert E. Bowen to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 30 November 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

George Albert Smith talked to Ernest L. Wilkinson “concerning the possibility of his becoming the President of the Brigham Young University.” President Smith recorded in his journal that Wilkinson

did not want to know what the salary was but rather wanted to give the matter consideration purely on the basis of the contribution he would be able to make to the Church and to the young people. I stressed the fact to him that we were not calling him on a mission and we did not want to have him sacrifice too greatly. In other words, he did not need to feel that he was obligated to accept the position.¹²

Ten days after that phone conversation, Wilkinson met privately with the First Presidency at the home of President George Albert Smith. After the meeting David O. McKay, who had previously favored Henry Aldous Dixon, recorded,

There is no doubt but that Ernest Wilkinson has the right viewpoint of the mission of Brigham Young University, especially with regard to its mission and the preaching of the restored gospel of Jesus Christ. He senses clearly the fact that every department in the school should, as he stated, “be impregnated” with the spirit of the gospel, and that the teaching of the principles of the gospel should not be confined to a Theological Department with other departments feeling that they are estranged therefrom.

Brother Wilkinson is a clear thinker; he makes no pretense to having had any experience in school management; he possesses outstanding ability, which I believe he can direct towards a good organization. On the whole I was favorably impressed with him and earnestly hope and pray that he will succeed.¹³

On 27 July 1950 Wilkinson was formally offered the position.¹⁴ In his formal letter of acceptance he stated,

I accept in a spirit of humility and with the hope [that] I may be of assistance to the great faculty of that institution in causing the Brigham Young University to fulfill the full measure of its destiny. Because I am convinced that the ills of the world will never be cured by purely political action, whether that action be translated into international pacts, atom bombs, burdensome armaments, or otherwise, I welcome the opportunity of returning to my Alma Mater where chief emphasis is placed on individual responsibility and righteous living — the only keys to personal and international peace.¹⁵

12. George Albert Smith, diary, 15 July 1950.

13. David O. McKay, diary, 25 July 1950, LDS Church Historical Department.

14. George Albert Smith, diary, 27 July 1950; Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 29 August 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

15. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 11 September 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Accepting the Challenge

When he accepted the presidency Wilkinson set down specific conditions which he felt were necessary for him to effectively administer the school. Among these were “the unqualified support of the [First] Presidency” in making BYU “the greatest educational institution in the world,” active support and help from the Board of Trustees, and permission to “maintain an active contact” with law and his Washington-based law firm. Perhaps most importantly, the new appointee urged “that there should be no ‘back-door’ diplomacy, by the faculty or others.” He called for the discontinuance of the practice of faculty members or others taking school matters to individual members of the First Presidency or Board of Trustees. President Smith agreed that all school matters “would be directly referred to [Wilkinson] in order that [he] might (1) know what is going on, and (2) be able to decide them as President or make recommendations to the Executive Committee.” Complaints against faculty or anyone else at BYU were to go through the President of the school.¹⁶ This insistence that he be completely in control of the school became one of the characteristics of Wilkinson’s administration.

In his letter of acceptance Wilkinson referred to an experience he had during the First World War. At the time of his training in the BYU Student Army Training Corps he “suffered an attack of the virulent influenza which swept the country at that time,” killing more Americans than died on the battlefields. “I then promised my heavenly Father that if He would spare my life and help me to become successful I would do for the Brigham Young University whatever I was called upon to do. I never had the faintest idea it would ever be that of being President of the institution.”¹⁷ Regretful that he had never served a proselyting mission for the Church, Wilkinson looked upon this new position as the equivalent of a mission call. Despite objections from the First Presidency, he refused to accept a salary for his services. The Lord had been very generous to him, Wilkinson said, for in the last years of his legal practice he had enjoyed a large income.¹⁸

“Shadow Boxing”

The First Presidency did not want to announce Wilkinson’s appointment until the opening of school in September. Keeping the appointment confidential was no easy task. The BYU faculty, the press, educators within and without the state, and a great many other interested persons speculated about the choice. Acting president Jensen,

16. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 9 September 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

17. Ibid.

18. Ernest L. Wilkinson, diary, 18 December 1953, in possession of Ernest L. Wilkinson.

who knew of the appointment after July 27, later described his efforts to keep the secret:

A number of telephone conversations have been engaged in by us between Washington and here, but I always received those messages over in the President's home and not in my office, and likewise a number of letters have passed back and forth. When I wrote back my letters were addressed to Mrs. Alice L. Wilkinson, and when his letters came here they were addressed to Mrs. Julietta B. Jensen. . . . I think you will give us credit for doing a pretty fair job under the circumstances due to the fact that we had a faculty of 250 who were trying to find out.¹⁹

"Shadow boxing," Jensen called his efforts at maintaining secrecy while carrying on essential correspondence with the new President. Despite all these precautions, the announcement of Wilkinson's appointment by President George Albert Smith at a special meeting of the University faculty in September 1950 was not a complete surprise. Some faculty members, who had hoped for a President from the BYU community or one well versed in educational administration, or who had been counting on the appointment of someone they knew, were disappointed in Wilkinson's appointment.²⁰

President Wilkinson was originally scheduled to assume his responsibilities on 1 January 1951,²¹ but because of delays caused by a fee determination by the court for Wilkinson's having won judgments of nearly \$32,000,000 for the Ute Indians,²² Wilkinson did not get to BYU until a month later, when he and his wife and three of their children moved into the President's Home.²³

Nevertheless, throughout this period Wilkinson was in constant communication by telephone, letters, and in person with the General

19. George Albert Smith, diary, 18 September 1950.

20. Dean Asahel D. Woodruff wrote Wilkinson eighteen months later, "With the passing of time and consequent sense of fellowship and belongingness which it produces, I am sure that for many others and me there is no longer the subconscious feeling that we have a greater stake in BYU . . . than you who have come more recently." Many of the faculty had spent years with the school and had a special feeling for their colleagues. Woodruff explained, "I know these subtle feelings and reservations are far more powerful influences in the behavior of a staff than is generally recognized. You are our President now in more than name, for I believe there is a genuine acceptance of you in the hearts of our faculty members"; Asahel D. Woodruff to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 7 March 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

21. *BYU Universe*, 4 January 1951.

22. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 16 December 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

23. Wilkinson's eldest son, Ernest Ludlow Wilkinson, was still pursuing his medical residency at the General Hospital in Salt Lake City, and his eldest daughter, Marian Wilkinson, was serving a mission for the LDS Church in the Texas-Louisiana Mission.

Authorities. Besides establishing administrative policy, he determined whom he wanted to bring to BYU as his administrative assistants. For one, he named William F. Edwards as dean of the College of Commerce. At the time Edwards was a prominent Wall Street investment official and president of the New York Stake of the LDS Church. Wilkinson envisioned building around him a strong College of Commerce. Some other men whom Wilkinson recommended early were Dr. Clarence Cottam, a leading zoologist; W. Cleon Skousen, a devoted churchman and attorney who had 16 years of experience with the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and Ben E. Lewis, a top executive in J. Willard Marriott's Hot Shoppes organization.²⁴ Wilkinson knew all these men personally from his experiences in New York City and Washington, D. C., and he was eventually successful in attracting all of them to BYU.

Expanding Horizons for BYU

As they appointed Ernest Wilkinson to the position of President of the Church university, Church authorities expressed the desire to make the University a much greater school than it had ever been before:

President Smith emphasized that it was [the First Presidency's] desire that the Brigham Young University become the greatest educational institution in the world. I replied that it was only because of that ideal that I had agreed to accept. . . . President Smith agreed I would have the unqualified support of the Presidency on achieving that goal.²⁵

Joseph Fielding Smith, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, expressed the same sentiment, saying he desired

to see the Brigham Young University grow and become very great, with an expansion that will cover all fields that are of value to the members of the Church, including, of course, the teaching of faith in God and in the mission of our Redeemer and also that of the Prophet Joseph Smith. I can see where this school can become a great power for good, not only to the members of the Church but to all good people throughout the world.²⁶

John A. Widtsoe was especially enthusiastic about the future prospects of BYU: "All friends of the BYU would like, as you do, to have the institution assume leadership in subjects consonant with the great revealed possessions of the Church. . . . We could and should assume

24. Ben E. Lewis to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 4 December 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

25. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 9 September 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

26. Joseph Fielding Smith to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 4 December 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

leadership in certain subjects. We could in a few years become widely recognized and acclaimed for them.”²⁷ Widtsoe divided the “certain subjects” in which the University should excel into five academic departments or, as he termed them, *institutes*. He felt there should be an Institute of Government in which Christian principles would infuse the concepts of government and political science; an Institute of Family Relationships designed “to build family peace and progress”; an Institute of Nutrition, based on principles outlined in the Word of Wisdom; an Institute of American Archaeology, connecting its investigations to the Book of Mormon; and an Institute of Sacred Literature, set up to collect “available information concerning the gospel through the ages.” That this last institute should not become a “school of divinity” was clear from Widtsoe’s further comment that theological degrees were inappropriate in a church “in which nearly every man holds the priesthood, and many of the leaders are not college trained.”²⁸ But Widtsoe did, in this early correspondence, advocate graduate programs leading to master’s and doctor’s degrees in other fields, an innovation which would certainly expand the role of the school.

Wilkinson was in agreement with Elder Widtsoe on most of these principles and was particularly united with Widtsoe in hoping the school would become a great “World University.”²⁹ Widtsoe later wrote that the school could fulfill its international destiny by drawing “students from the whole world to seek revealed truth and worthwhile practical knowledge. Its message must be given to all people. The BYU must look up to the skies; it must have the courage to challenge, if needs be, the whole world.”³⁰ Widtsoe’s thinking had a distinct impact on the Wilkinson administration, and many of his suggestions were carried into effect, although not always in the exact form Widtsoe had recommended.

The Educational Creed of Ernest L. Wilkinson

Sensing the place of the school in a rapidly growing Church and having been promised the support of the First Presidency in increasing the size of the school, Dr. Wilkinson wrote the first Presidency in September 1950 of his expectation that before many years the University would have a regular student enrollment of around 10,000. He pointed out that as of 1950 half of the students came from outside

27. John A. Widtsoe to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 23 June 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

28. Ibid.

29. Ernest L. Wilkinson, “Memorandum of Conversation with John A. Widtsoe about 11 May 1951,” Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

30. John A. Widtsoe, *In A Sunlit Land: The Autobiography of John A. Widtsoe* (Salt Lake City: Milton R. Hunter and G. Homer Durham, 1952), p. 96.

Utah.³¹ “Now is the time,” he wrote, “to shape the destiny of that school for the next fifty years.”³²

“The genius of the BYU,” he further declared, “should consist in our departure from and not adherence to what other educational institutions are doing, although we must maintain a program which will always be recognized as having high academic responsibility.”³³ By departure from prevailing practices he meant that the school should purposefully seek to inculcate religious principles and moral character into the lives of its students and teach “correct” economic doctrines — “doctrines which would assist in salvaging the American system of free enterprise from threatened extinction.”³⁴

In writing to Howard S. McDonald he once more emphasized this theme: “It seems to me, that of all colleges in America, Brigham Young University ought to be the leader in a real crusade for the maintenance of the American system of free enterprise, motivated by Christian restraint and Christian responsibility.”³⁵ In his address at the Christen Jensen testimonial he had said that “Americans need to be reconverted to a belief in the divine origin of our Constitution . . . to a belief that no nation, under God, can ever expect to survive when the forces of irreligion take over.”³⁶

The newly appointed President also intended to continue the policy of promoting BYU as a place where Latter-day Saint students could socialize and marry within their own faith. In a letter to LeGrand Richards of the Presiding Bishopric, he said, “If the BYU does nothing more than help our young people get the right start in marriage, it is worth all the money it costs the Church.”³⁷ This was one of his major justifications for expanding the enrollment of the school.

A conviction Wilkinson brought to BYU which definitely appealed to Church leaders was his determination to keep the school’s programs within budget and to encourage large outside contributions to the University to lessen Church subsidies. Convinced that “there is no mathematical relationship between the amount of money spent on

31. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 11 September 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

32. Ernest L. Wilkinson to John A. Widtsoe, 13 August 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

33. Ernest L. Wilkinson, diary, 8 and 9 April 1961.

34. Ernest L. Wilkinson to J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and Ernest L. Wilkinson to Howard S. McDonald, 11 June 1949, J. Reuben Clark Church School Papers, Office of the First Presidency.

35. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Howard S. McDonald, 11 June 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

36. Lecture given by Ernest L. Wilkinson on 6 June 1949 at Christen Jensen Testimonial, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

37. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Stephen L Richards, 15 February 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

education and the results obtained,"³⁸ he set a course of fiscal caution based on the immediate resources available from the Church. At the same time he continued to emphasize that "those in the Church who are blessed with adequate means should look forward to the day when they can make endowments to the University."³⁹

Seconding the ideas of John A. Widtsoe, Wilkinson envisioned an Institute of Family Relationships. He said the LDS Church, and thus BYU, had "the best philosophy on which to premise any teachings regarding the family relationship — based on our revealed conception of the eternity of the marriage covenant and of the patriarchal family."⁴⁰

He also supported Widtsoe's concept of a center for the study of American archaeology. President Wilkinson went even further, seeing the University as a future world center of education for American Indians. This came as no surprise from a man whose law firm represented a much larger number of Indian tribes in prosecuting their claims against the government than any other law firm in the country. Fully believing that the time would come when there would be "mass conversions of our red brethren," he felt that the Church and the University should do everything possible to lift their status and "give them the full hand of fellowship and opportunity for work."⁴¹

Hints of Opposition

While David O. McKay, Stephen L Richards, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., John A. Widtsoe, Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., Ernest L. Wilkinson, and other Church educational leaders wished to develop BYU into a greater institution, some prominent Church leaders had reservations. Elder Joseph F. Merrill, a member of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, was one of them. A former dean of the College of Engineering at the University of Utah and a former commissioner of Church schools, he had been an outspoken advocate of extending the seminaries and institutes but had never been an enthusiastic supporter of separate Church schools.⁴² In a letter to the new President, Merrill wrote, "Apparently, President Wilkinson, you want to make the BYU a

38. Ernest L. Wilkinson to John A. Widtsoe, 13 August 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. Wilkinson's statement was probably an oversimplification of the problem, but throughout his administration he prided himself on the fact that BYU operated more economically than many other institutions of higher education.

39. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Howard S. McDonald, 13 August 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

40. Ernest L. Wilkinson to John A. Widtsoe, 13 August 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

41. Ibid.

42. As a member of the Granite Stake presidency in Salt Lake City, Merrill proposed the establishment of seminaries at Granite High School as early as 1912.

great university, great in numbers and great in repute as a graduate school. This is a noble ambition, but under governing conditions is it a wise ambition? Decidedly not, I think.” Merrill felt that the large expenses requisite to operate graduate and research work in many different fields would have “a small proselyting value, if any.” He recalled that when he was appointed commissioner of education in 1928 he was given a policy statement explaining that “a decision had been reached for the Church to withdraw from the field of secular education” in favor of increased expenditures for institutes and seminaries. Merrill did not believe the Church could afford a large-scale graduate university at Provo and at the same time remain firmly committed to the growth of religious education within the seminary and institute program. Merrill agreed that “The Church needs a First Class Teachers College,” but he did not believe it “wise to go beyond this.”⁴³

Merrill and others also saw BYU as a teachers college designed to equip students with the necessary bachelor’s and master’s degrees to go out and teach all grades of the public school system and the seminaries and institutes. If necessary, institute teachers could obtain a “doctor of religious education” degree at the Church University, but Merrill did not feel the school should offer a doctor’s degree in any other field.⁴⁴

Yet Church membership was growing rapidly, foreshadowing a tidal wave of LDS college students. In addition, the Church was in better financial condition than ever before. Under these circumstances the prevailing sentiment among Church leaders — reinforced, encouraged, and furthered by the concepts of the new BYU President — was that of creating a larger university capable of allowing many more thousands of young Latter-day Saints to come to the Church University and be taught secular and religious truths under the aegis of the Church. Under such guidance, degrees — even doctor’s degrees — in many disciplines could be awarded to Mormon students who would then go out and become powerful academic, ecclesiastical, and social representatives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The Inauguration

Wilkinson’s inauguration was not held until the new President had been officially in charge of affairs at BYU for more than eight months. The activities were planned for 8 October 1951 so that members of the Church attending October General Conference could attend. On that brisk fall morning, Christen Jensen conducted an impressive ceremony. The First Presidency and many members of the Executive

43. Joseph F. Merrill to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 14 November 1951, Stephen L. Richards Papers, Office of the First Presidency.

44. Joseph F. Merrill to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 5 July 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Committee of the Board of Trustees, along with former Presidents Howard S. McDonald and Franklin S. Harris, were present to participate in the academic procession from the Maeser Memorial Building down the hill to the new George Albert Smith Fieldhouse. In a stirring invocation, Albert E. Bowen, a 75-year-old member of the Quorum of the Twelve, prayed that

throughout all the days to come Thy influence may permeate all that is done here. Guide and inspire those who preside here, those who teach and instruct, that this may be a center of learning where only those things may be taught that are conducive to perpetual welfare and the continuity and endurance of the great principles of government that have been enunciated as the governing factor of our land, and those that worship here that they may love Thee [and] that here there may be developed those who will stand forthright for the protection of liberty, the preservation of the ideals under which our commonwealth is established and above all that Thy name may be revered and that men may bow themselves humbly in Thy presence, giving Thee the honor and the glory.⁴⁵

After this prayer the introductory remarks were made by David O. McKay, President of the Church since the death of George Albert Smith in April 1951. He enumerated the goals and purposes of BYU and at the end of his address stated, "This institution, unhampered by politics, without fear of criticism from others, can teach in every class the existence of God, the divinity of Jesus Christ, the divinity of the Restoration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in its fullness, and waken [in students] a desire to spend their lives in the service of their fellow men. God bless you teachers of this faculty, you students, that you may lift this school, if it has not yet attained it, to that height wherein it may be an example to all higher institutions in the world."⁴⁶

Under established Church procedure, President McKay could have replaced Wilkinson as BYU President when he became head of the Church in 1951. However, although President McKay had initially supported another candidate for the BYU presidency, he was pleased with Wilkinson's first few months in office. He wrote to Christen Jensen, "I agree with you that Wilkinson has made a very successful beginning in his new position. He has impressed me most favorably with his clear insight into conditions, and with his intelligent approach to difficult problems. He bids to become a great President."⁴⁷ Calling Wilkinson to his office he complimented him on the vision he had

45. "Report of Proceedings of the Inauguration of Ernest Leroy Wilkinson," *The Messenger*, November 1951, p. 5; hereafter cited as "Proceedings of Inauguration." *The Messenger* was a BYU alumni publication. Copies of the November 1951 issue are on file in BYU Archives.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

47. David O. McKay to Christen Jensen, 3 November 1951, David O. McKay Papers, LDS Church Historical Department. *See also* Jensen to McKay, 25 October 1951, McKay Papers.

shown during his first two months in office and assured him of his complete support.

Following President McKay's address, Wilbur La Roe, Jr., prominent attorney, author, and former moderator of the Presbyterian Church of America, and a friend of President Wilkinson, spoke on "The Sword of the Spirit," calling for a rededication to America's spiritual values. The University also conferred on La Roe an honorary doctor of humanities degree.

The charge to the new President was delivered by Stephen L Richards, first counselor in the First Presidency. President Richards outlined the established traditions of the University, commenting that all teaching at BYU was to be done under the influence of the spirit of the Lord; that BYU should continue "its reputation for intermarriage among its students"; and that BYU should maintain the tradition of not fostering clubs, cliques, and specialized societies. Then President Richards charged Wilkinson to stimulate "a love and a search for truth," to develop "character in youth," and to help them acquire "faith and spiritual knowledge":

I charge you . . . to be humble before God.

I charge you to seek diligently for those precious gifts of the Gospel, discernment and charity and mercy.

I charge you never to waver in your advocacy of revealed principles of truth.

I charge you to bring honor and reverence to the name and the work of Joseph Smith, the Prophet.

I charge you to bring respect to the constituted authority of [Christ's] Church.

I charge you to live and to teach all Christian virtues.

I charge you to implant in youth a deep love of country, and a reverential regard for the constitution of the United States.

And finally . . . I charge you to be true to yourself.

He concluded: "As I lay these charges upon you, President Wilkinson, I predict for your administration an era of great growth and progress for this school."⁴⁸

President Wilkinson responded with a statement of his hopes for the school. He emphasized basic Latter-day Saint concepts such as prayer, temple marriage, large families, and missionary work. He alluded to specific administrative decisions soon to be made for the school. He wanted a "single standard" applied to the area of scholarships, advocating that athletes should not receive precedence over other deserving students. He predicted the construction of many fine new dormitories

48. "Proceedings of Inauguration," p. 16. On 1 October 1951 Richards told Wilkinson that he "could assume that these charges apply to the whole faculty and could be justified in committing them in support of the objectives"; Stephen L Richards, diary, 1 October 1951, Office of the First Presidency.

to allow proper housing for the growing student body. He anticipated a much-improved academic atmosphere and a stiffening of “scholastic standards so that everyone will know that a degree from this institution will be the quid pro quo for hard and constant and intelligent work.” He was enthusiastic about the early establishment of a “family institute center.”

As to the faculty, he called for a continuation of that spirit of sacrifice and devotion which had characterized them in the past, hoping that they would “continue to make great sacrifices for this school in heavy class schedules, long hours, [and] extracurricular character building activities.” Yet he anticipated a constant maturing in “the academic status of the faculty,” urging that “our scholarship must be second to none.”⁴⁹ Faculty salaries were embarrassingly low at this time, prompting the new President to add, “I feel satisfied that the Board of Trustees . . . will see to it that [the faculty] would obtain compensation worthy of their efforts.”

Elder Spencer W. Kimball of the Council of the Twelve, who would later become President of the LDS Church and of the BYU Board of Trustees, offered the benediction, praying that BYU would “become the leader throughout the entire world in the family of institutions of learning” and that its students would “go into the Church and into the nation and into the various organizations as leaders to bring new and more lofty concepts into the lives of men and women.”⁵⁰

The Wilkinsons received hundreds of congratulations at the time of the inauguration. L. Homer Surbeck, with whom President Wilkinson had practiced law in the New York firm of Hughes, Schurman and Dwight, spoke briefly: “I should like to issue just a little word of warning to those delegates here representing some of the schools which are, in a sense, competitive with BYU. . . . If as president of this school [Wilkinson] does only half as well as he did in the practice of law, the time will come, and it will be soon, when all of us . . . will be obligated to recognize the superiority of BYU in many, if not all, respects.”⁵¹

Wilkinson gave immediate attention to his relationship with the Board of Trustees, sensing the importance of the role of a president of a church college as defined by the Danforth Commission on Church Colleges and Universities:

The role of the president of a college is, of course, crucial. Without an able educator as its chief executive officer, an institution is seriously handicapped in creating or maintaining a quality program. It is normally the president who must provide vision and perspective; he is in the best position to view the institution as a

49. “Proceedings of Inauguration,” p. 17-24.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

whole and understand its needs in comprehensive terms. It is he who must unify the college, serve as a link between the trustees and the faculty, and correlate the interests of the various groups that provide funds and exercise influence on the institution.⁵²

Dr. Wilkinson recognized that, unlike the boards of many American universities, BYU's Board of Trustees was concerned with every aspect of the school's operation. The situation demanded a close relationship between the BYU President and Board of Trustees, and Wilkinson welcomed the challenge.

As editor of the school newspaper 30 years before, Wilkinson had outlined his vision of BYU's potential for service to the Church.⁵³ Consistent therewith, he now felt his first challenge was to persuade the Board of Trustees that BYU should play a more prominent role in the overall program of the Church. Wilkinson saw the need of communicating his vision of the role of BYU to stake presidents and bishops throughout the Church. He hoped that BYU would attract a much larger number of students from all the stakes and missions. He wanted BYU to acquire a national and eventually an international atmosphere as a result of the cosmopolitan composition of its student body. He was convinced this would enhance the prestige and reputation of the University.

To realize his other objectives, Wilkinson knew he had to build the stature of the school's administration and faculty. He also planned an intensive effort to upgrade the professional standing and academic quality of all BYU personnel. Although he did not have a detailed master plan for the ultimate organization and growth of the University, President Wilkinson was confident that if he could accomplish his major objectives everything would fall into place and gradually transform BYU into the great school he believed it was destined to become.

52. Manning M. Pattillo, Jr., and Donald M. Mackenzie, *Eight Hundred Colleges Face the Future: A Preliminary Report of the Danforth Commission on Church Colleges and Universities* (St. Louis: The Danforth Foundation, 1965), pp. 15-16.

53. In the 5 January 1921 *White and Blue* Wilkinson editorialized that the Church had not yet caught the vision of what it could do with BYU. He felt the University should be developed and expanded to attract LDS students from all over the Church and to perform a great mission of service and instruction to the Church and its membership: "Brigham Young University should be the great Church laboratory for social and forensic work. The scope of social service work should be enlarged and the entire population of the Church should be influenced directly by what the school is doing. The best teachers in the Church — experts in different lines of work — should be brought here to reinforce the now loyal faculty. If the Church wants scientific and authoritative treatises of its social and other problems, it should then submit them to the heads of the various departments for investigation. In this way the Church, as a whole, as well as Y students, would reap direct benefits"; *White and Blue*, 5 January 1921.

A Board-of-Trustees President

Recognizing that ultimate authority for the administration of BYU rested with neither the school President nor the faculty, but with the Board of Trustees, Wilkinson was of the opinion that the transfer of control in 1939 from a local board to a board composed entirely of General Authorities of the Church was “the most important step forward ever taken in making the Brigham Young University the University of the Church.”⁵⁴ Early in September 1950, all members of the Council of the Twelve Apostles were made members of the Board. Besides the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve, Franklin L. West, Church commissioner of education, and Adam S. Bennion, former commissioner of education, were also made members of the Board.⁵⁵ The President of the Church was named President of the Board and his two counselors were named vice-presidents. The school was therefore, in Wilkinson’s view, “governed after the order of the priesthood, as is the Church, and is administered pursuant to the principles of church government.”⁵⁶

The Board appointed an Executive Committee, usually consisting of five to seven of its members, to make recommendations to the Board and assist in implementing Board directives. At the time of Wilkinson’s appointment this body was composed of Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., chairman since 1939, Stephen L Richards, John A. Widtsoe, Albert E. Bowen, and Joseph F. Merrill⁵⁷ — the same individuals who had recommended his appointment.

Later in 1951, after President McKay became President of the Church and Stephen L Richards and J. Reuben Clark, Jr., became his counselors, the Executive Committee was reorganized to include Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., as chairman and Harold B. Lee, Henry D. Moyle, Marion G. Romney, and Adam S. Bennion as members. Since the role of the Church commissioner of education had been severely curtailed during the McDonald years, the President of BYU was not directly subject to his authority. As a result, President Wilkinson had a direct line to the highest Church authorities.

At the beginning of his administration Wilkinson had an understanding with the Church authorities as to the division of responsibility between the Church officials, the President of BYU, and the faculty. The General Authorities were to be the governing and policy-making body; the BYU President was to have the sole responsibility for general administration of the University and for making recommendations to the Board; and the faculty was to be responsible for instruction and

54. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Stephen L Richards, 7 June 1951, Stephen L Richards Papers, Office of the First Presidency.

55. Church Section, *Deseret News*, 27 September 1950.

56. Ernest L. Wilkinson to members of the Board of Trustees, 29 August 1969, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

57. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 23 March 1951.

research. Faculty members were not to engage in administrative activities except as requested by the President. He was “held responsible, subject to the approval of the Board, for the employment and retention of members of the faculty and for administering all affairs of the University,” and although he could appoint advisory councils from the staff, faculty, and students, such councils were “advisory in nature and in no way relieve[d] the president of his responsibility to administer the affairs of the university.”⁵⁸ This clear-cut division of authority was unlike that at many other universities, where the faculty — either by Board action or because of tradition — shared administrative duties with the president. BYU’s system accorded with Wilkinson’s philosophy and the philosophy of the Church authorities, and contributed greatly to the vigor of the school’s growth during the next two decades.

Seeking Understanding

Later, when it was apparent that some of the faculty either did not understand or did not agree with the division of authority agreed upon, Wilkinson sent a memorandum dated 29 February 1968 to all BYU employees, in which he quoted from President Samuel B. Gould of the State University of New York: “The faculty power is the power to recommend. The President has to be the one who decides. What some faculty people forget is the ‘factor of accountability.’ The faculty isn’t really accountable to anyone; if a faculty committee draws up an academic program and it doesn’t turn out so well, it’s nobody’s fault. The President is accountable.”

Wilkinson worked effectively with the Board as a whole to bring cohesion and unity of purpose to a group of men not always originally united on University policies. The Danforth Foundation observed that “much of the secret of developing strong boards lies in the selection process and in the efforts of presidents to give trustees a proper understanding of educational problems. Presidential leadership is critical. The weakness of boards is frequently traceable to a failure to inform trustees on the matters for which they are responsible.”⁵⁹

Wilkinson’s conviction that he was solely responsible to the Board had the reciprocal advantage of greatly strengthening the position of the President in dealing with the Board. Almost immediately the Board became much more intimately involved in the affairs of the school. President Wilkinson never failed to inform the Trustees of significant developments. In fact, he inundated them with facts, programs, and new ideas. He would argue with tenacity on behalf of his faculty when a complaint against them seemed unreasonable, but at the same time he

58. Ernest L. Wilkinson to members of the Board of Trustees, 29 August 1969, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

59. Pattillo and Mackenzie, *Eight Hundred Colleges*, p. 18.

was a defender of the Board and an advocate of its policies. Occasionally directives from the Board of Trustees irked the school personnel, and when this happened, President Wilkinson willingly bore the brunt of faculty criticism.

Though he sometimes seemed abrasive in his efforts to build the physical plant, secure larger salaries for school personnel, and implement administrative programs, Wilkinson was largely successful in accomplishing his objectives. For one thing, he had a more cooperative Board than ever before in the school's history, and economic conditions were favorable to the expansion of BYU. Wilkinson made the most of these opportunities. At his urging, Church leaders halted the financial retrenchment in Church education and devoted more energy and money to the construction of a greater university.

Wilkinson's success with the Board of Trustees probably resulted from his extensive preparation and persuasive presentations. Every conference with the Executive Committee or Board of Trustees was like a day in court, with the lawyer-president pleading his case. As J. Reuben Clark commented to Clyde D. Sandgren after one of the meetings, "Isn't it a pleasure to hear someone with such a fine and logical mind make his presentations?"⁶⁰ Wilkinson thoroughly prepared his argument, anticipating objections in advance. He often reinforced his arguments with dozens of charts, and distributed volumes of prepared statistical material to each member of the Board. His approach was generally comprehensive and, at times, overwhelming. On the rare occasions when he went to a Board or Executive Committee meeting not fully prepared, he was uncomfortable. He did not like to go to the committee with a half-baked presentation, and one time, after what he described as a hectic meeting with the Executive Committee, Wilkinson wrote his assistants that he would not accept any more proposals for presentation to the committee unless he got them at least a week in advance, so he would have ample time to study them.⁶¹

The Board appreciated Wilkinson's preparation. Ezra Taft Benson, a longtime friend of Wilkinson's, wrote him on 29 June 1951, "No doubt all of the Brethren were impressed as I was with the splendid presentation made by you and Kiefer [Sauls] yesterday. I have always admired your progressive spirit. At BYU that kind of leadership is needed, and the challenge is unlimited."⁶²

Another factor behind Wilkinson's success with the Board was his ability to identify with Board members. This was particularly true during the first part of his administration, when David O. McKay, Stephen L. Richards, and J. Reuben Clark, Jr., constituted the First

60. Ernest L. Wilkinson, conference with Clyde D. Sandgren, 22 April 1974.

61. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Harvey L. Taylor, William E. Berrett, and William F. Edwards, 1 July 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

62. Ezra Taft Benson to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 29 June 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Presidency. These men were all fervent supporters of BYU who appreciated Wilkinson's efforts to develop the school. David O. McKay, born in 1874, had led a life of great service to the Church and to the cause of education. He had served as teacher and principal at Weber Academy from 1902 to 1908, and as Church commissioner of education from 1919 to 1921. In addition to his role with Brigham Young University he had served on the governing boards of Utah State Agricultural College and the University of Utah. He received his bachelor of arts degree from the University of Utah, an honorary master of arts degree from BYU in 1922, and later in his life a number of honorary doctorates. Esteemed as a prophet of God by the people over whom he presided, David O. McKay was a powerful speaker and an inspirational leader, enjoying the affection and good will of Mormons and non-Mormons alike. He gave full support to the upbuilding of Brigham Young University. Even during the years of his increasing incapacity due to age — he died in 1970 at age 96 — President McKay did his utmost to steer the Church University into an unprecedented period of growth and success.

Stephen L Richards, whom President McKay chose as his first counselor in April 1951 and who served in that position until his death in May 1959, was another powerful leader. A lawyer by profession, he was largely responsible for the 1939 reorganization of the BYU Board of Trustees. Before studying law he had served as principal of a public school in Idaho. He pursued his law school studies at the University of Chicago. Dean Hall of that school characterized him as the best student he had known during his deanship of 20 years. In 1917 he turned down an opportunity to run for the governorship of Utah in order to accept the call to become an Apostle of the LDS Church.

J. Reuben Clark, Jr., second counselor to David O. McKay and a member of the First Presidency since 1933, was equally strong in promoting Church education. He possessed one of the most complex and resourceful minds in the Church. He had served as a school principal at Heber City High School and at Southern Utah Normal School. After graduating from Columbia University Law School in 1906, he became assistant solicitor and then solicitor general for the U. S. State Department. He represented the United States at the third Hague Conference, and served as general counsel for the British Claims Commission and the U. S. State Department at the Conference on Limitation of Armaments. He was then appointed undersecretary of state by President Coolidge. In all of these positions he established a reputation for profound legal scholarship. From 1930 until his call to the First Presidency of the Church in 1933 he was ambassador to Mexico.

President McKay developed a special confidence in the BYU administrator and with few exceptions supported Wilkinson in his specific recommendations. The two men often consulted together,

exchanging ideas and proposals; indeed, a healthy camaraderie existed between them throughout President McKay's administration.

Wilkinson's recommendations for appointments to the Board of Trustees were often followed, as was his proposal to enlarge the Board to include the Presiding Bishop and the president of the Relief Society. President Wilkinson wrote President McKay in 1954 that without McKay's support

it would have been impossible for us to make the progress which I believe we have made. . . . I recognize that at times you may have thought I was pressing certain matters a little vigorously or probably proceeding a little fast, but I have done this on the theory that you would very much prefer to tighten the reins than apply the whip. . . . I feel that providence has been exceedingly kind to me, in permitting me to have my present responsibility while you are President of the Church. For, without your educational vision, it would have been impossible for us to make the progress we are making.⁶³

No Man Stands Alone

Another reason for the growth of the school during Wilkinson's administration was the group of capable assistants that he brought to Brigham Young University. From February 1951 until the beginning of 1953 he had no official assistants. Not accustomed to delegating major responsibilities to others, he initially attempted to personally control everything relating to the administration of the school, relying on the advice of a few unofficial assistants. Perhaps his closest adviser during this time was William F. Edwards, who served as dean of the College of Commerce and as Wilkinson's financial adviser. Edwards also assisted in academic matters. He had been a counselor to President Wilkinson in the bishopric of the Queens Ward in New York.

Another close adviser during this period was William E. Berrett. A graduate with a law degree from the University of Utah, Berrett's two loves were teaching and law. From 1938 until 1943 he taught in the Church Department of Education where he wrote *The Restored Church* and *Doctrines of the Restored Church* for use as textbooks in the Church schools. In 1943 he became a special prosecutor for the United States Office of Price Administration, and from 1946 to 1947 he served as assistant U. S. attorney in Alaska. In the fall of 1948 he was appointed professor of religion at BYU. Berrett assisted in recruiting faculty during Wilkinson's early years, at the same time teaching in the Religion Department and spearheading the new ROTC program. Wilkinson and Berrett often spent evenings and Saturdays reviewing University programs. Berrett helped Wilkinson understand the faculty and

63. Ernest L. Wilkinson to David O. McKay, 24 December 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

administrative programs and aided in establishing a smooth transition from one administration to another.

Other close associates during this period were Kiefer Sauls, school treasurer, who devoted a lifetime of service to the institution; Ben E. Lewis, assistant treasurer; Dean Wesley P. Lloyd of the Graduate School, who served as a spokesman for the faculty; W. Cleon Skousen, head of the Alumni Association and certain public relations services; and, later, Clyde D. Sandgren, who served as BYU legal counsel.

At the end of 1952 Harvey L. Taylor of Mesa, Arizona, became Wilkinson's first official administrative assistant.⁶⁴ Taylor's responsibility was to work with the faculty, curriculum, and other academic aspects of the school, freeing the President to continue his administrative programs designed to enlarge the physical plant and increase enrollment. A native of Harrisville, Utah, Taylor had obtained a bachelor of science degree from the University of Utah in 1921. He earned his master of arts degree from Columbia University four years later and then taught at Weber College in Ogden.

Shortly afterwards he accepted a call to become principal of the Church-owned Gila Academy at Thatcher, Arizona. When the Church turned that school over to the county in 1932, the Mesa School Board asked Taylor to be principal of the Mesa Union High School. Later, upon consolidation of several school districts, Taylor was made superintendent of Mesa Public Schools. These two positions he held for 20 years, and was one of the most respected educators in the state.⁶⁵

Taylor and Wilkinson had been students together at Weber Academy, and one reason Taylor accepted the lower-paying position at BYU was because he was glad "to be a part of a great thing."⁶⁶ Effectively coordinating academic matters, Taylor became an important part of the school's administration. During his first few weeks at BYU Taylor had no office in the overcrowded Maeser Memorial Building, which was then the University's administration building; he worked without a secretary at a small desk in the hall outside the President's office. Nevertheless, Taylor's appointment signaled the first step in the delegation of responsibility to an administrative network.

Wilkinson's administrative policy was influenced by other groups besides his personal advisers. The Deans' Council, composed of the deans of the various colleges, met frequently to review academic problems, coordinate activities, and recommend alterations and improvements. Wilkinson also convened faculty meetings, generally on a monthly basis, to discuss matters of mutual interest. Neither the Deans'

64. Taylor's appointment was officially announced on 6 January 1953, but it was actually made two months earlier.

65. Harvard S. Heath and Richard E. Bennett, interview with Harvey L. Taylor, 9 July 1974, Centennial History files, BYU Archives.

66. *BYU Universe*, 2 April 1953.

Council nor the faculty assemblies exercised final administrative authority, but they provided many suggestions which the President carried into effect.

A Peculiar Mission

At a preschool faculty workshop in 1954 President David O. McKay reiterated what the mission of BYU had been since the days of Karl G. Maeser:

I think that [our] noblest aim is character, notwithstanding what some leading professors say about the special work of a university. What other conceivable purpose is there in making discoveries in science, in delving into marvelous powers hitherto hidden by nature, except for the development of the human soul? . . . I have great respect for the man [Emerson] who is esteemed the wisest American, who said, "Character is higher than intellect. A great soul will be fit to live as well as to think."

Leading youth to know God, to have faith in his laws, to have confidence in his fatherhood, and to find solace and peace in his love, this is the greatest privilege, the most sublime opportunity offered the true educator.⁶⁷

Besides emphasizing the importance of character building, BYU leaders had always made a conscious effort to prevent the growth of a secular spirit at the school. They believed that purely academic investigation could be dangerously void of spiritual substance. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., struggled with the problem, and the modernism controversy during the Brimhall administration offered a good example of what some considered the clash between secular academics and religious orthodoxy. In an address entitled "The Chartered Course of the Church in Education," President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., emphasized the concerns of the First Presidency regarding secularism:

The youth of the Church, your students, are in great majority sound in thought and in spirit. The problem primarily is to keep them sound, not to convert them. . . . They are eager to learn the gospel, and they want it straight, undiluted. . . . They want to gain testimonies. . . . They are not now doubters but inquirers, seekers after truth. . . . Doubt must not be planted in their hearts. Great is the burden and the condemnation of any teacher who sows doubt in a trusting soul.⁶⁸

After giving his assessment of the status of LDS youth, President Clark continued to explain the role that the LDS teacher must assume if he was to properly carry out his assignment:

67. Address of David O. McKay at the annual preschool faculty workshop, 17 September 1954, BYU Archives.

68. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., "The Chartered Course of the Church in Education," 8 August 1938, BYU Archives.

There is neither reason nor is there excuse for our Church religious teaching and facilities and institutions, unless the youth are to be taught and trained in the principles of the Gospel. . . . The teacher must . . . possess another of the rare and valuable elements of character . . . intellectual courage — the courage to affirm principles, beliefs, and faith that may not always be considered as harmonizing with [worldly] knowledge — scientific or otherwise.⁶⁹

Accepting the guidelines laid down by presidents McKay and Clark, Wilkinson told BYU faculty members in their annual preschool workshop in 1954,

It is just as disloyal to this institution to destroy the faith of a child, as it is disloyal to our country to give the enemy the secrets of the atomic bomb. And that constitutes treason. I believe it is just as self-condemnatory for any individual to accept the tithing of this Church for the purpose of teaching doctrine which destroys faith in this Church as it was for Judas to accept 30 pieces of silver to betray the Master. . . . We are not here to teach whatever heretic doctrine we may be susceptible to ourselves.⁷⁰

Nevertheless, although Church leaders consistently emphasized the importance of religious training at BYU, they did not advocate a dogmatic, pietistic approach to higher education. Some Board members wished to see BYU remain basically an undergraduate school with heavy emphasis on religious instruction, but most Board members and BYU administrators were in favor of seeing BYU become a leader in secular fields as well. They believed the injunctions to maintain a religious atmosphere at BYU were not disavowals of the importance of academic programs, but admonitions to maintain proper educational priorities and perspectives. Church leaders felt that BYU could, if the administrators and faculty were properly oriented, teach religious ideals in conjunction with scientific principles and assist students in harmonizing the two rather than experiencing intellectual dilemmas or religious alienation. To this belief Wilkinson was dedicated.

69. Ibid.

70. Ernest L. Wilkinson, address at the annual preschool faculty workshop, 17 September 1954, BYU Archives.

21

Ernest L. Wilkinson: Ideological Pragmatist

To understand the history of BYU during the presidency of Ernest L. Wilkinson, it is necessary to understand his background and character. This is made easier by the copious notes, reams of official memoranda, and volumes of correspondence that he kept — both critical and commendatory. With energy and tenacity he made decisions and got things done, but as with all strong-willed men, few people entertained neutral feelings toward him.

His Early Life

Wilkinson climbed up the hard way, though it was made easier by his devoted mother. He was born in Ogden on 4 May 1899, a son of Robert Brown Wilkinson and his wife, Annie Cecilia Anderson. His paternal grandfather, converted to the LDS Church in Scotland, emigrated to America in 1875 with his three eldest sons (four to twelve years of age). One of these was Robert, then ten years old, who became Ernest's father. The following year they arranged for the mother and the remaining four children to join them.

Ernest's mother, Annie Cecilia Anderson, was of Danish ancestry. Her grandmother married the king's gardener in Denmark. After his death she joined the LDS Church and, like many other Danish Saints, gave up her favorable social and economic situation to emigrate to Utah.

Ernest's father, Robert Wilkinson, spent 25 years working for the Southern Pacific Railroad, ending up as an engineer.¹ He was for some years a strong union man, and according to family tradition was once the Socialist candidate for mayor of Ogden. One of Ernest's memories is of his father taking him to hear Eugene V. Debs, then the Socialist candidate for president of the United States. While working as a railroad engineer at Promontory, Robert met Cecilia Anderson of Bear River City, whom he eventually married in the Salt Lake Temple. A fine and artistically talented woman, unshakable in the Mormon faith,

1. *BYU Daily Universe*, 26 September 1960.

she was the source from which Ernest L. Wilkinson drew his early determination to get a good education and succeed in life. She was a leader in her church and community and saw to it that her husband's hard-earned wages were used for the education of their children.

The future BYU President confessed many times that despite his father's shortcomings and Church inactivity for many years he was "the hardest working man I have ever known in my life."² Robert generally held two full-time jobs at once until he was 70 years of age. He lived nearly 95 years, dying in September 1960 after spending his last 13 years with Ernest and his family.

Ernest L. Wilkinson grew up on the outskirts of Ogden on West 17th Street, known locally as "Hell's Half Acre." It was far from an ideal place to raise a family. With few children his own age in the area, he began associating with individuals much older than himself and consequently he began to "partake of some of their vices." Cockfighting was a favorite sport among them, and with the money he earned from his *Deseret News* paper route Ernest bought a few game cocks and went into partnership with an older man who frequented the cockpits³ — an unsavory character who was later imprisoned for blackmail of David Eccles.

A police crackdown on cockfighting led young Ernest to seek other friends, this time nearer his own age. Not much improved over the cockpit associates, these new companions "had a hangout where they met every night, played cards, smoked and told sex stories." Ernest hung back from full participation, largely because of the influence of his mother, who despite her activities as Primary Association and Relief Society president seems to have had time for her teenage son. He often drove the horse and buggy for her to visit the poor in the ward where they lived. His "angel mother," as he later described her, saved him from the influences of his early youth.

From the beginning she always had a great effect on his life. His father, whose work kept him away from home most of the time, left the entire management of the home and the raising of the children to her. She in turn relied heavily on Ernest, who was the oldest child (an older brother died in infancy). His influence on the family was strong: several of his younger siblings are named after heroes of his youth — Elva, after a grade-school friend; Glen, after a popular athlete in his school; and Woodrow, after Woodrow Wilson.

The Weber Academy

When Ernest finished grade school his mother persuaded him to enroll at Weber Academy in Ogden, then a Mormon-operated high

2. Biographical material is drawn from Ernest L. Wilkinson, "From My Experiences," address to the BYU student body on 22 September 1966, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
3. Wilkinson, "From My Experiences."

school. This was one of the turning points in his life. Because of what the school meant to him personally, Wilkinson was “deeply shocked” when the Church decided in 1933 to transfer Weber College to the State of Utah. One of the great objectives of his later life was to extend a Church college education to as many young Latter-day Saint students as possible.

As a student Wilkinson actively participated in the Church and was appointed assistant superintendent of the Ogden Tenth Ward Sunday School when he was only 15 years old. It was during these Weber Academy days that he cultivated spiritual roots which would serve him well throughout his life. With no inclination toward speculative theology, he learned the power of faith and was converted to the fundamental principles of Mormonism. As a young man he very much wanted to serve a mission for the Church and “even suggested the same” to his bishop. But the bishop “was of the old school who thought missions were largely to reform young men and told me that in view of the record I was making in school he would not send me. [The bishop] probably also felt that my family needed my help.”⁴

Wilkinson enjoyed athletics, serving as captain of a sandlot baseball team one summer, although he never really excelled in sports or in the mechanical or technical trades.⁵ But academically Wilkinson soon established a reputation as one of Weber Academy’s hardest-working students. Henry Aldous Dixon, one of his teachers and later president of Weber College and Utah State University and a U.S. congressman, told of his first meeting with Wilkinson at the Academy in 1914. Together with another teacher, David J. Wilson, Dixon was assisting the students in building some tennis courts. With teams and shovels they had worked much of the day. Dixon recalled that

Just at dark when everyone was gone, here came a little fellow with a huge gray team and a load of clay. We helped him unload. We sat down on the clay, asked him his name. He said his name was Ernest Wilkinson. He was about this high [indicating about five feet]. . . . We noticed that he worked longer and harder than anyone else around. He was working after all the rest of them had gone. That characterized him all the way through school.⁶

During the summers, Wilkinson spent his time raising funds to return to school, often working on Merwin Thompson’s farm, thinning sugarbeets, putting up hay, milking cows, and performing other farm chores. He was also a poultry fancier and won first prize at the county fair for his rose-combed brown leghorns. Wilkinson never lost

4. Ibid.

5. Without any previous training he entered a BYU boxing tournament. He and another student slugged it out for a draw for first prize in the 125-pound class.

6. *The Messenger*, November 1951, p. 28.

his fondness for rural life and often expressed a desire to have a farm of his own.⁷

Even before his high school graduation, Ernest L. Wilkinson exhibited political enthusiasm and a strong point of view. In April 1917, his senior year at Weber Academy, he won the annual Dr. Edward I. Rich oratorical contest in Ogden with an oration on American ideals. The United States had just declared war on Germany and the Axis powers. With patriotic vigor, young Ernest staunchly defended the American Revolution, extolled the sacrifice for freedom by Americans in the War of 1812, justified the Mexican War as a conflict between Mexican despotism and American democracy, sided with the North in the effort to grant “equality and freedom” to the “toiling Negro,” applauded Theodore Roosevelt’s efforts in Latin America to establish American ideals of democracy and destroy the “unprincipled power of Spain,” and ended in total agreement with President Woodrow Wilson’s declaration of war. Besides reflecting the predominant feelings of the time, the speech demonstrated Wilkinson’s own belief in the greatness of America.⁸

At Weber College

He graduated from Weber Academy in 1917, and spent the following school year at Weber College as the school began teaching college-level courses. During his four years at Weber Academy he organized the Public Service Bureau, a talent program service for campus and community; was editor of the yearbook; served as president of the student body for two years; and graduated as valedictorian of his class. He competed in forensics meets for two years and was on a team that won the state championship. He also received the Lewis Efficiency Medal, awarded to the student maintaining the highest standards of scholarship and public service.⁹

After his freshman year at Weber College Wilkinson joined the U.S. Army and became a member of the Student Army Training Corps at Brigham Young University. With the end of World War I in November 1918 he returned to Ogden for the rest of that academic year and among other things organized the not-too-successful Ogden Transportation Company.

Returning to Brigham Young University

Wilkinson chose to return to BYU because of the influence of his

7. Ernest L. Wilkinson to William F. Edwards, 25 February 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

8. “Weber Academy Wins in Oratorical Contest with the High School,” *The Ogden Standard*, 11 April 1917.

9. “Biographical Sketch of Ernest L. Wilkinson,” Wilkinson Presidential Papers, p.1.

teachers at Weber, a number of whom came from BYU.¹⁰ At BYU Wilkinson excelled in extemporaneous speaking and debating, and engaged in a host of student activities. In the spring of 1920 he was elected as editor of the weekly student newspaper, the *White and Blue*. The position gave him an active voice in student government. Besides serving as editor and as president of his class, Wilkinson teamed with George S. Ballif and Hyrum Harter to defeat a prestigious Princeton debating team that was touring the West. Wilkinson's father, not especially impressed with his son's achievement, said, "What could you expect when all the judges were Utahns?"¹¹

The year 1920 was a crucial election year in the United States, and campaign fever permeated BYU. Though Wilkinson was president of the Taylor Democratic Club, he was never strictly partisan and that same year successfully managed the student campaign for Herbert Hoover, who later was elected President on the Republican ticket.

The editorials Wilkinson wrote for the school paper revealed his developing sentiments about the mission and destiny of Brigham Young University. In 1920 and 1921 BYU was still a provincial though high-spirited small-town school. Its enrollment included only 438 college students. Wilkinson maintained that the Church had not yet caught the vision of what it could do with BYU. He felt the University should be developed and expanded to attract LDS students from all over the Church in order to perform a great mission of educational service to the Church. In a January 1921 *White and Blue* he wrote,

Brigham Young University should be the great Church laboratory for social and forensic work. The scope of social services work should be enlarged and the entire population of the Church should be influenced directly by what the school is doing. The best teachers in the Church, experts in different lines of work should be brought here to reinforce the now loyal faculty. If the Church wants scientific and authoritative treatises of its social and other problems, it should then submit them to the heads of the various

10. Principal James L. Barker, a linguist of international reputation, had been on the faculty of BYU for a number of years. N. L. Nelson, English teacher and philosopher, had been one of the seasoned teachers at BYU. Wilkinson's debate coach, David J. Wilson, to whom Wilkinson said he owed his intellectual motivation and mental growth more than to any other person, and who later became a federal judge, had been president of the student body at BYU for two years. Henry Aldous Dixon, who greatly inspired Wilkinson as a teacher, became president of Weber College and the Utah State Agricultural College, and a member of Congress. G. Oscar Russell, who gave Wilkinson personal counsel, had been raised in a Spanish-speaking community in Southern Colorado, later becoming head of the phonetics laboratory at Columbia University, which at that time was one of the foremost in the country.
11. Statement of Glen A. Wilkinson at resignation testimonial for Ernest L. Wilkinson, July 1971, BYU Archives.

departments for investigation. In this way the Church, as a whole, as well as Y students, would reap direct benefits.¹²

He maintained that future tithing contributions made by BYU alumni would more than compensate the Church for its expenditures in building and maintaining the school. He wrote, "Support of the school today will mean greater support of the Church in the future." He saw no reason why the whole Church shouldn't be sending its students to BYU. "With the proper organization . . . of existing Church machinery, [BYU] could have students from every Stake. . . . To have students here from but a very minor number of the stakes . . . is synonymous with negligence."¹³

In 1921, after two years at BYU plus the earlier year at Weber, Wilkinson received his bachelor of arts degree in the last graduating class under President Brimhall.¹⁴ Wilkinson later commented that standards for graduation were "pretty loose" — otherwise he never would have graduated in three years. At Wilkinson's graduation, superintendent of LDS schools Adam S. Bennion offered him the position of superintendent of the LDS schools in Juarez, Mexico. Since he was not married, and marriage was a prerequisite for the position, Wilkinson could not accept the offer.¹⁵

Courtship and Marriage

Like many BYU students of the day, Wilkinson met his wife at the University, though they married later. Alice Valera Ludlow of Spanish Fork, Utah, came from a well-respected pioneer Utah family. She became a popular student on campus and a scholar in her own right, majoring in English and dramatics. Professor T. Earl Pardoe said she had more talent in dramatics than any of his students up to that time. During Wilkinson's senior year she ran for vice-president of the student government on the same ticket as A. Ray Olpin, candidate for studentbody president and later president of the University of Utah. Ernest L. Wilkinson was campaign manager for both of them, and both won. While trying to persuade others to recognize Alice's qualifications, he became convinced of them himself.

While Wilkinson was on the faculty of Weber College from 1921 to 1923 he made frequent excursions to Spanish Fork to visit Miss Ludlow. On one of these occasions he visited the BYU campus, and the school paper reported that he "talked for an hour and fifteen minutes

12. *White and Blue*, 5 January 1921.

13. *White and Blue*, 13 April 1921.

14. *White and Blue*, 18 May 1921.

15. "Biographical Sketch of Ernest L. Wilkinson," Wilkinson Presidential Papers, BYU Archives. Joseph C. Bentley, president of the Juarez Stake and of the Juarez Board of Education, also discussed the matter with Wilkinson.

on the eternity of the marriage covenant and the importance of choosing the right mate.” He admitted to his listeners that “this was a subject on which he was devoting a good deal of time and attention at present.”

After two years of courtship, Ernest and Alice were married by Elder James E. Talmage in the Salt Lake Temple on 15 August 1923. Alice L. Wilkinson proved to be an excellent companion for her aspiring young husband. Attractive, intelligent, and consistently charming, she was universally well liked by her husband’s business associates and the University community. Alice and Ernest Wilkinson became the parents of five children, three boys and two girls.

While he served on the faculty of Weber College, Wilkinson took an active part in local politics. He ran on the Democratic ticket for the position of county auditor, but lost. However, this defeat and the earlier disappointment over the Juarez School District superintendency permitted him to seize what he felt were more important opportunities. Writing to Alonzo Morley in 1952, he confided, “The two greatest disappointments that I had in my life with respect to positions which I at one time desired were disappointments which in the long run were great blessings to me.”¹⁶

National Politics Take Wilkinson to Washington

Wilkinson worked in Democrat William H. King’s Senate reelection campaign in 1923. It was generally conceded that William W. Armstrong, a banker from Salt Lake City, would get the nomination, but King and his followers were determined to put up the best fight they could. For political reasons, a prominent Salt Lake citizen was to nominate King, and Frank Francis, the mayor of Ogden, was to give the main seconding speech. Just before the convention convened in Salt Lake City the mayor left the convention to return to Ogden, ostensibly to attend to labor troubles. In desperation the Weber County delegation asked young Wilkinson, then 24 years of age, to take his place — which he did with all the enthusiasm of youth. His speech was popular with the delegates, many of whom, like Wilkinson, were relatively young.

King himself resorted to a clever strategy. He shook hands with each delegate as he entered the hall, telling each person that he knew he could not win but that he would appreciate the delegate’s vote of confidence on the first ballot in recognition of King’s six years of service in the Senate. To the surprise and amazement of practically everyone, Wilkinson’s speech and King’s strategy turned the tide, and King was nominated on the first ballot.

Recognizing the talent of this young supporter from Weber County, Senator King invited Wilkinson, in the event of his reelection, to go to

16. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Alonzo Morley, 15 April 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Washington with him as his secretary, equivalent to the present position of administrative assistant. Knowing that he would be able to attend evening law classes at George Washington University, Wilkinson accepted Senator King's offer.

Wilkinson had struggled within himself for some years trying to decide between teaching, journalism, and law. His opportunity to go to Washington with Senator King and his naturally competitive disposition probably influenced him to study law. Wilkinson left Ogden with his new bride in the fall of 1923 and arrived in Washington with only \$3.65 in his pockets — his old Dodge had broken down on the road and required expensive repairs. He immediately reported for service at King's office. King's secretary, a seasoned lawyer whose place Wilkinson thought he was to take, told him that King was in Russia but the senator had told him to get a job for Wilkinson. The secretary had arranged for Wilkinson to be assistant architect of the Capitol Building in Washington, D. C. With no talent as an architect whatever and indignant over this change of plans, Wilkinson found a position as a teacher in a business high school in the capital. Among other subjects, Wilkinson taught typing and shorthand. He had never taken a class in typing and he had no proficiency in shorthand, but he worked hard enough on these studies to stay one or two classes ahead of his students. The new arrangement worked well, for he was able to attend law classes in the morning and teach school in the afternoon. Alice also taught in the Washington high schools both before and after the birth of their first son. During the summers Wilkinson served as superintendent and Mrs. Wilkinson as assistant superintendent of Camp Goodwill, operated by the Associated Charities of Washington, D. C., for underprivileged women and children.¹⁷ President George H. Brimhall visited them at the camp and expressed amazement that this young man, whom he had once denounced as a "pinhead" because of an editorial favoring the League of Nations, should now be engaged in worthwhile social work.

Graduation from Law School and Admission to the Bar

In 1926, after three years in law school, Wilkinson graduated *summa cum laude* in 1926 from George Washington University with a bachelor of laws degree. That same year he took the bar examination and was admitted to the Washington, D. C., Bar. The following year he was admitted to the Utah Bar, and in 1928, after taking the New York Bar examination, he was licensed to practice law in that state. Although he could have entered the legal profession upon his graduation from George Washington University, Wilkinson accepted a scholarship in graduate law studies at Harvard University, thereby receiving further legal training in what was then widely considered the best law school in

17. "Biographical Sketch of Ernest L. Wilkinson."

America.¹⁸ Harvard Law School had for years offered only the bachelor of laws degree, but beginning in 1925-26 the master of laws and doctor of juridical science degrees designed especially for law teachers were introduced. Five years of teaching experience was considered a prerequisite for admission to the doctoral program. With special permission from Roscoe Pound, dean of the law school, Wilkinson enrolled in the doctor of juridical science program, thereby coming under the influence of such well-known and highly respected instructors as Dean Pound and Felix Frankfurter, later associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. Since Frankfurter had objected to Wilkinson's admission without legal teaching experience, Wilkinson was at first uncomfortable to find himself in Frankfurter's class.¹⁹ In the spring of 1927, after one year of study, Wilkinson graduated with an *A* average, which was a prerequisite for receiving a doctor of juridical science degree. Frankfurter, convinced at last, gave him double credit in his class in administrative law. The doctor of juridical science degree was Wilkinson's crowning academic achievement, 14 years after his mother had encouraged him to enroll in Weber Academy and acquire an education.

Teaching and Practicing Law

Upon graduation, Wilkinson wanted to teach law. He accepted a position as assistant professor of law at the University of California, but resigned immediately to accept a more remunerative offer — a full professorship at the New Jersey Law School in Newark.²⁰ Back on the East Coast, Wilkinson assumed his teaching post at New Jersey and on the recommendation of one of his professors at Harvard was soon engaged by the prominent New York City firm of Hughes, Schurman, and Dwight to assist in solving a difficult tax problem involving the Utah Copper Company. Charles Evans Hughes, senior partner of the firm, was appointed Chief Justice of the United States while Wilkinson was there. Within three months of this engagement Wilkinson was invited to practice law with the firm and became a permanent member of the staff. For the next five years he labored during the day in the law office and for five nights a week taught a two-hour class in the New Jersey Law School, which from the standpoint of enrollment was at that time the largest law school in the country. While a member of the staff of the Hughes firm, Wilkinson gained valuable experience in trial work, antitrust law, and corporate reorganization, and was appointed

18. Edgar B. Brossard to Joseph Fielding Smith, 23 November 1949, Stephen L Richards Papers, Office of the First Presidency.

19. Wilkinson, "From My Experiences," p. 10.

20. Ernest L. Wilkinson to John A. Widtsoe, 13 August 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

deputy superintendent of insurance of the state of New York to investigate the Long Island Title Company.²¹

Law Practice in Washington, D.C.

In 1935 Wilkinson moved to Washington and formed his own law partnership with Walter Gladstone Moyle from Salt Lake City. In 1940 Wilkinson dissolved the partnership and practiced under his own name for eleven years with two assistants. During these years he was engaged on relatively minor matters by such clients as Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, Standard Oil Company of California, Fox Film Corporation, Ford Motor Company, Chicago Title and Trust Company, and other national corporations. He also became the general counsel for the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives and legal consultant to the National Grange. These were, at the time, the most prominent farm organizations in America.

Wilkinson did his share of public service work as a lawyer in Washington, D. C. At the request of Presiding Bishop Joseph L. Wirthlin of the LDS Church he once took the case of a young soldier who had been sentenced to death by a court martial for his involvement in the involuntary death of a child in a motorcycle accident in Japan. Thinking that the sentence was too severe, Wilkinson, along with Woodruff J. Deem, who is now on the faculty of the J. Reuben Clark Law School at BYU, appeared before a U.S. Army Board of Review in Washington, D. C., and succeeded in having the sentence commuted to the time the soldier had already served. Wilkinson later commented that he got more satisfaction out of this case — for which he received no compensation — than out of many cases for which he received substantial compensation. Years later the soldier and his wife visited Wilkinson in Provo and thanked him for saving his life.

The most outstanding success of Wilkinson's law career, however, came from his work for the Ute Indians, who were seeking redress from the United States government for land taken from them. Wilkinson's representation of the Utes actually began while he was serving as an attorney in the Hughes law firm. At the request of the Hughes firm he continued to represent the Utes after moving to Washington, and was later engaged directly by the tribe. As time went on Wilkinson and his law firm came to represent more Indian tribes than any other law firm in the country. Because of his insistence that the Indians arrive on time, make decisions, and get things done — and his displeasure when they did not — the Blackfoot Indians gave him the honorary title of "Chief Frantic Bear."

21. "Biographical Sketch of Ernest L. Wilkinson," p. 3; and "Memorandum of Qualifications of Ernest L. Wilkinson for Appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States," 2 June 1969, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

The Utes had entered into a treaty in 1880 by which they ceded all their land to the United States with the proviso that it would be sold for their benefit. When after fifty years not all of this land had been sold — and the Utes had not been fully compensated for the part that had — Wilkinson, by a combination of legislative and litigative actions, sought to obtain compensation for the value of these lands. For one of the suits, after 13 years of preparation, the trial was convened six days a week for sixteen weeks, and this involved the value of the surface rights alone. After subsequent negotiations, which lasted two additional years, the government agreed to settle this and three related cases for \$31,928,473. This was entered as a consolidated judgment on 13 July 1950. Up to that time this was the largest judgment ever entered against the United States government.²² This litigation took its place as one of the outstanding performances in American legal history.²³ In awarding attorneys' fees the United States Court of Claims heard the testimony of Seth Richardson, at one time assistant attorney general of the United States, who had been in charge of defending suits brought against the government by Indian tribes: "The amount of service and research performed by Wilkinson and his associates almost staggers our imagination. . . . I never saw anything like this in my life. I never expect to again. . . . To me the amount of service rendered here is almost impossible for the ordinary mind to grasp." He felt the case should have been "written as a text book to give to young lawyers to show what men can do if they have got sufficient courage and industry and brain."²⁴ The court awarded \$2,794,606 in attorneys' fees to Wilkinson and his associates.

During the progress of the Ute case Wilkinson sought a general act of Congress to permit all Indian tribes whose claims had not been heard to sue the United States. As a result of his presentation the

22. Wilkinson had earlier set for himself a goal of recovering \$30,000,000 out of the combined cases. Some of his associates advised him to settle for \$10,000,000, and all of them urged him to settle for \$20,000,000. But, as was later characteristic of his actions at BYU, he had confidence in his own judgment and even surpassed the goal he set for himself.

23. *Confederated Bands of Ute Indians v. United States*, 117 C. Cls 443.

24. 120 Court of Claims, p. 699. The court also heard the testimony of Owen J. Roberts, retired justice of the United States Supreme Court, and Homer Cummings, retired attorney general of the United States. Justice Roberts testified that "at every stage of the proceedings . . . the right course . . . seems to have been chosen despite amazing difficulties," that Wilkinson handled the case "with all the skill of a great advocate and a great trial lawyer. . . . As I cast the horoscope of these cases, thinking of what I would have done had I been the lawyer . . . I would not have known how to proceed." Mr. Cummings testified that the main case Wilkinson handled "ought not to be called a case. It is a lifelong adventure. . . . I don't think any disinterested person can trace the history of this case without doffing his cap to counsel who prevailed against such odds. It is an amazing performance."

Indian Claims Commission Act was passed and signed by President Harry S. Truman in 1946, opening the courts to all Indian tribes who had claims within the purview of the act. Commenting on Wilkinson's work on the Indian Claims Commission Act, Congressman Charles R. Robertson of North Dakota, one of the House managers for the bill, stated, "I feel we have an excellent bill and I will say to you in perfect candor that Mr. Wilkinson is more responsible for it than any member of Congress."²⁵ Under this enabling act a substantial number of suits have been successfully prosecuted by the Wilkinson firm, which became the nation's most active firm in handling tribal suits.

Because of his success in the legal profession, many saw for Wilkinson a promising political career,²⁶ but he passed up these opportunities for political and financial advancement to become President of Brigham Young University, which many of his Washington friends thought of as an obscure school in the Rocky Mountains. To keep his law practice intact, Wilkinson organized the firm of Wilkinson, Cragun and Barker. Although he was the senior partner, the real management of the firm was taken over by his partners, including his brother Glen A. Wilkinson, John W. Cragun from Pleasant View, Utah, and Robert W. Barker of Ogden.²⁷ Later Carl S. Hawkins, now acting dean of the J. Reuben Clark Law School, and Woodruff J. Deem, a law professor thereof, became members of the same firm.

Church Activity

While establishing his legal reputation Wilkinson and his entire family actively participated in the LDS Church. During many of these years Mormons on the East Coast were sparse. While living in New York Wilkinson was president of the Manhattan Branch. When the New York District was organized he became president of the Queens Branch, and in 1934 he was named bishop of the new Queens Ward of the New York Stake. His non-Mormon friends in the Hughes law office referred to him as the "Bishop of Wall Street."

The Wilkinsons continued to be active in the Church after their move to Washington, D. C. With the formation of the Church's third stake east of the Mississippi in 1940, Wilkinson was called as second counselor to Ezra Taft Benson in the Washington Stake presidency.²⁸

25. Robert W. Barker, statement, 1971, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers, ELWB.

26. The two United States senators from Oklahoma at that time, Robert Owens and Thomas Gore, had begun their senatorial careers by winning much smaller law suits for Indians in Oklahoma.

27. Both Glen Wilkinson and John Cragun graduated with honors from George Washington University Law School. In addition, Cragun had been law clerk to Associate Justice George Sutherland. Barker graduated first in his class at Georgetown University and had been administrative assistant to U. S. Senator Wallace Bennett. By 1975 the firm had a staff of forty lawyers.

28. *The Washington Post*, 1 July 1940.

When Benson was later made a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, Wilkinson served as first counselor to President Edgar B. Brossard. During most of his stay in Washington Wilkinson maintained fairly close contact with the General Authorities of the Church. He was designated to represent the Church on the General Commission for Chaplains of the Army and Navy and occasionally represented the First Presidency in Washington on legal matters and other special assignments.²⁹

Alice Wilkinson was likewise active in the Church, serving as a counselor in both the Washington Branch Relief Society and Primary presidencies, and as a longtime president of the same organization in the Chevy Chase Ward. This helped prepare her for a later assignment as the first president of the Relief Society in the newly formed BYU First Stake, after which she was called to be a member of the Relief Society General Board, where she served for 14 years.

A Personal Glimpse

Ernest Wilkinson was a busy executive; he rarely took a vacation, and then only of very short duration. It was neither pleasure riding nor vacationing which earned him a membership in a major airline's "million-miler" club.

Those who worked for him or were directly associated with him recognized how diligently he applied himself and learned almost immediately how much he expected of his associates and secretaries. He took pride in his work habits, gaining special satisfaction by working at nights and on holidays — especially Labor Day. In a memo to one of his secretaries not long after his coming to BYU, he commented,

I am not unaware of the fact that at times I seem to be unreasonable and unyielding. . . . While many people think that I have boundless energy, the fact is that I often get very tired. But I have learned that mind is superior to matter and that if I will just put my mind to it I can generally overcome my physical fatigue. . . . If I sometimes offend people it is not because I want to, but because I am determined to get something done.³⁰

One of his secretaries described a typical working day:

About three out of every eight hours were spent in dictation. However, I have known him to dictate from 8:30 in the morning until 12:30, starting again at 1:30 and not quitting till 6:00, especially on a Saturday. It would take two or three days just to transcribe what he would dictate in one day, and while one secretary was madly transcribing her 150 or 200 letters and memos, the

29. Edgar B. Brossard to Joseph Fielding Smith, 23 November 1949, Stephen L. Richards Papers, Office of the First Presidency.

30. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Marjorie Wight, 27 December 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

other one would be in taking some more. He would get behind often and this would really annoy him, and then he would spend hours catching up.³¹

At such times of pressure he expostulated impatiently when his aides came up with excuses or with what he felt were minutiae or trivialities.

Many interpreted his abruptness as a personal affront, but Robert K. Thomas, one of his closest associates, explained,

I think you always feel that maybe it is an adversary relationship as soon as you walk into his office and the lawyer in him overwhelms him a bit. He can't resist putting you a little bit on the defensive. But if you can file a better brief than he has, you win. He will listen and he will accept it. He is secure enough to change his mind. I haven't found many people who have that kind of security.³²

Wilkinson's brusque exterior was perhaps more a preoccupation with his work than a hostility toward people. He frankly confessed that he was "too blunt, not tactful with people, and impatient with other people."³³

He planned everything he set out to do with precision. Whether speaking, preparing a presentation for the Board of Trustees, or pursuing routine matters, he employed a methodical and organized approach to all he did. He deplored inactivity and indecision. Thoroughness, industry, and preparation were his trademarks.

Unfortunately, his total preoccupation with the administration of the school occasionally created barriers between himself and some of the faculty members which were never fully bridged. Many accused him of not giving enough time to a discussion of faculty problems. In 1951 Asahel Woodruff wrote him that many faculty members felt

that there is no time to discuss matters when a contact is made with you. The visitor finds himself outside before he has been able to complete his errand. We get the impression you cannot take time to get to the bottom of things, and that many of our problems are not important enough to receive much time, or that you have made up your mind about some matters before we feel they have been fully aired.³⁴

Some felt he was relentless and domineering in his efforts to do what he felt best for the school.

As an administrator, Wilkinson's industry, preparation, and keen grasp of the complexities of problems made him equal to most of his challenges. His intentions were honorable and creative and sometimes

31. "Recollections of a Secretary to BYU President Ernest L. Wilkinson," written interview with Mrs. John M. Izatt, conducted in April 1968 by Hollis Scott, BYU Archives.

32. "Inside the Wilkinson Era," comment by Robert K. Thomas, p. 15.

33. Ernest L. Wilkinson, diary, 8 January 1955.

34. Asahel D. Woodruff to ELW, 14, November 1951, FARE, ELW Papers.

prompted the commendation of even his most severe critics. His major weakness was probably in the area of personal relations with his faculty and staff. As he once admitted, "I probably have much more strength in rewriting legal briefs than I do in my personnel work at the University. It is easier on me and I do it with more effectiveness."³⁵

Although Wilkinson did not always maintain solid lines of communication with individual faculty members, he had a genuine sympathy for others, a feeling of tenderness and fairness that often caused him to reach out to others. One of his secretaries remembered, "There was never anyone more concerned or more interested when one of the staff or students was seriously hurt or ill. He called, kept in constant touch, went to the hospital . . . to see if there was anything he could do."³⁶ Often he took time out to visit, comfort, and administer to his associates who were sick or hospitalized.

During his first 13 years in office he refused to accept any compensation for his services, and would have continued this during his second term of seven years had the Trustees permitted. Students and faculty members often received financial assistance in times of distress. He tried his best to see that the school was fair with the students.

On one occasion he took Mrs. Wilkinson to dinner at the Cannon Center, a cafeteria servicing the Helaman Halls student housing areas, and in an attempt to raise the quality and efficiency of the facility reported to the manager responsible on what he considered to be the slowness of the cafeteria lines, adding, "I would be curious to know who gave you the small samples of pie that you were dispensing."³⁷

Wilkinson exhibited a pragmatic spirituality. If the "ox were in the mire," and he interpreted this liberally, he would often spend much of the sabbath in his office. Even though he enjoyed Church general conferences, he felt uncomfortable simply sitting and listening to talks when he could be doing many other things. He was not of a contemplative nature — he could seldom sit and read scriptures or any other book for long periods. He was a man of motion rather than meditation.

Throughout his career, President Wilkinson maintained his sense of humor. He loved to hear or to tell a good joke, and he generally had an interesting anecdote for every situation.³⁸

Political and Economic Philosophy

Though Wilkinson was exposed to socialistic views in his youth, by the time he came to the University he accepted the Latter-day Saint belief that the U.S. Constitution is a divinely inspired document which

35. Ibid., 25 June 1961.

36. "Recollections of a Secretary," pp. 3, 8.

37. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Ben E. Lewis, 21 January 1963, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

38. When Sam Brewster joined the staff, he and Wilkinson became great reciprocal storytellers.

does not countenance political or economic collectivism. In an address to the BYU student body he pointed out that

Joseph Smith categorically declared he did not believe in "socialism" (*History of the Church*, 6:33); President Brigham Young denounced socialism or the welfare state by saying, "It is a poor, unwise and very imbecile people who cannot take care of themselves" (*Journal of Discourses*, 1870, 14:21); President John Taylor described it as a "species of robbery" (John Taylor, *Government of God*, 1852, p. 23); President Heber J. Grant characterized it by saying, "The Spirit that would have us get something for nothing is from the lower regions" (Albert E. Bowen, *The Church Welfare Plan*, 1946, p. 70); and President David O. McKay warned, "It is not the government's duty to support you" (Church News Section, *Deseret News*, March 14, 1953, pp. 4, 15).³⁹

He continued by saying that so far as he had been able to ascertain,

Our prophets, their counselors and members of the Council of the Twelve Apostles have been unanimous in condemning communism, socialism, and any other *ism* which exalts the power of the state over the liberty of the individual. These leaders have from time to time differed in their political allegiances, but they have never differed in their condemnation of the demoralizing influence on individual character of any of these state *isms*.

During his college days and early years in legal practice Wilkinson supported the Democratic Party because he saw it as the defender of states' rights, individual responsibility, and limited government.⁴⁰ With the advent of the New Deal in 1933, Wilkinson became increasingly critical of the Democratic administration. His gradual transfer of political allegiance from the Democratic Party was not due in Wilkinson's view to a change in his own philosophy, but to what he considered the Democratic Party's abandonment of traditional principles. To explain his switch in party allegiance Wilkinson quoted Winston Churchill, who said, "Some men change principle for party,

39. Edwin J. Butterworth and David H. Yarn, eds., *Earnestly Yours: Selected Addresses of Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), pp. 34-35.

40. He often quoted Woodrow Wilson: "The history of liberty is the history of the limitations of governmental power, not the increases of it"; "The test of a Community or Nation is not what it does under compulsion of law, but what it does of its own volition"; and "When we resist the concentration of power, we are resisting the powers of death because concentration of power is what always precedes the destruction of human liberties"; Wilkinson, *Earnestly Yours*, pp. 59-60. He noted that Wilson, who had been president of Princeton University, "never wanted to see the little red schoolhouse subordinated to the political thinking of Washington; nor did he, in his own language, 'want a group of experts sitting behind closed doors in Washington, trying to play Providence' to the American people"; *Ibid*.

and some men change party for principle." By 1945 Wilkinson had removed himself totally from the Democratic camp.

Although he knew that government was necessary, he believed that the American government as conceived by its founders did not contemplate the creation of a large federal bureaucracy with high taxes undergirding a welfare state:

In the exercise of governmental functions, the rich have no right to take advantage of the poor, but neither have the poor the right to confiscate the property of the rich. . . . There can be no greater menace to our country than the doctrine preached by some in high places — that our country owes us a living. If that doctrine be accepted by the majority of the people, we are in a great danger as a Nation.⁴¹

In an address to the U. S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D.C., on 1 May 1961, for which the Freedom Foundation of Valley Forge awarded him the George Washington Medal, Wilkinson explained his views by quoting Thomas Jefferson: "I place economy among the first and most important virtues, and public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared. . . . To preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. . . . We must make our choice between *economy* and *liberty*, or *profusion* and *servitude*. . . . If we can prevent the government from *wasting* the *labors* of the *people*, under the *pretense* of *caring for them*, they will be happy."⁴²

Having these political convictions, Wilkinson criticized what he called Franklin D. Roosevelt's apostasy from the faith of the founding fathers and from the traditional principles of the Democratic Party, citing inconsistencies in Roosevelt's professed beliefs and later actions.⁴³ Wilkinson was also very condemnatory of the views of Lyndon B. Johnson, who in a speech given while he was running for president said, "We are going to try to take all of the money we think is unnecessarily being spent, and take it from the 'haves' and give it to the 'have nots' that need it so much."⁴⁴ Opposed to this idea, Wilkinson adhered to Abraham Lincoln's philosophy that "Capital is only the fruit of labor" and is as "worthy of protection as any other rights,"⁴⁵ and that "As labor is the common burden of our race, so the effort of some to shift their share of the burden on the shoulders of others is the great durable curse of the race."⁴⁶ Wilkinson championed these political ideas all his life, particularly in his later campaign for the U.S. Senate.

41. *Congressional Record*, 24 May 1945, p. 7.

42. Wilkinson, *Earnestly Yours*, pp. 58-59.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

46. Henry L. Mencken, *A New Dictionary of Quotations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), p. 643.

22

Unification of Church Schools: BYU the Flagship

When he assumed the presidency, Ernest L. Wilkinson felt that if Brigham Young University were to fulfill its destiny as the University of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints the first priority and immediate challenge was to expand the size of the student body. This would make it more representative of Church membership and give it a national and international flavor.

While he believed such an expansion would be primarily for the good of LDS students and the growth of the University, there were two secondary reasons: as far as BYU was concerned, it would counteract the nationwide decline in collegiate student enrollment because of the Korean War; and it would provide justification for an increase in the BYU budget, which had been cut 20 percent before he became President. He reasoned that if he could recruit a large student body he could use the law of supply and demand — a large enrollment would demand a substantially increased budget.

Opening the Floodgates

Following this reasoning Wilkinson proposed to the Board of Trustees that selected faculty members be permitted to accompany General Authorities to quarterly stake conferences of all stakes west of Denver, where they would speak in favor of attendance at BYU.¹ This would better acquaint the Saints with the unique educational opportunities at BYU and at the same time demonstrate that BYU was no longer merely a Provo school, but had the backing of the General Authorities in becoming a great university for the entire Church. Karl G. Maeser and James E. Talmage had used this means of recruiting BYU students some 60 years before. Wilkinson pointed out to the chairman of the Executive Committee, “Unless we increase for the coming year what would otherwise be our normal attendance, we may have a very substantial decrease in enrollment. This, in turn, seriously affects our

1. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph Fielding Smith, 18 April 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

income for the purpose of operation. A decrease, for instance, of 1,000 students means a decrease of over \$100,000 in operating income. When I called this to the attention of the Budget Committee last Monday they suggested that I take up with you immediately the advisability of having faculty members attend stake conferences with the General Authorities, from now until the opening of the new school year.”²

Through the strong support of Apostles Harold B. Lee and Henry D. Moyle the suggestion was put into operation. During a period of three months, 30 Brigham Young University faculty members participated in 179 stake conferences,³ speaking on the benefits of a Church-sponsored education, especially at BYU. There was a strong emphasis on the religious atmosphere on campus and the wide range of subjects which could be studied, including the Air Force ROTC unit which allowed many young men to fulfill their military duties by joining the unit — and if they were drafted, they quickly qualified as commissioned officers. The speakers stressed that BYU was to become a great university, and because the student body was largely LDS, the school had an ideal atmosphere for wholesome social relations and the selection of a mate.

The program was very successful. It not only prevented a serious drop in enrollment but actually increased the size of the student body by 14 percent for the fall quarter of 1952.⁴

Reaction to Stake Visits

However, the stake conference visits had been so comprehensive that they invaded the territorial domain of sister institutions, whose administrators and alumni were sharply critical. Thorpe B. Isaacson, a member of the Presiding Bishopric and chairman of the Board of Trustees of Utah State Agricultural College in Logan, expressed his concern in a letter to President Wilkinson only two weeks after the campaign began:

Let me commend you on your aggressive, enthusiastic program. I think you have put more life and more optimism and more drive in that institution since you got there than it has had for the last twenty-five years. I certainly commend you, but it's going to put our institution particularly in a spot where they will have to go to work or I am afraid you will steal all of our students, and we have to live, too, you know.⁵

2. Ibid.

3. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph Fielding Smith, 23 February 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

4. Ernest L. Wikinson to Kiefer B. Sauls, 17 April 1952; and Kiefer B. Sauls to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 18 April 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

5. Thorpe B. Isaacson to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 31 May 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

One observer from Logan, Utah, wrote the First Presidency,

We are faithful LDS and we love our religion and are willing tithesayers. . . . Bishops all over the Stake are trying to make the young men and women feel that it is a religious duty to go to the Y and help make it the greatest educational institution in the state. Those of us who have invested in apartments, and stores find our incomes . . . cut down by this wave of channelling students through to Provo. . . . We have LDS Institutes in connection with all the schools and institutions of higher learning. Why must the Y take advantage of church influence and practically demand that young people of Cache Valley and elsewhere go only to that school?⁶

Weber College president Henry Aldous Dixon, a BYU graduate and one of Wilkinson's former teachers, also protested.⁷

When these and other criticisms came to his attention, President Wilkinson instructed the BYU representatives to soften their direct reference to BYU and stress the more general theme of urging students to go on to college. Although these faculty members also pointed out in their stake visits that students could attend institutes at other universities and colleges if they did not come to BYU, their very presence gave BYU a distinct advantage. The message was well understood, and continued to draw students to BYU until the First Presidency decided to discontinue the program in May 1952.⁸ President Wilkinson, with some degree of indignation toward the critics of the program, immediately wrote to Joseph Fielding Smith with his characteristic vigor, "We shall, of course, be guided by the decision of the Brethren, but I just can't restrain myself from making the comment that we don't withdraw our missionaries in the field because other churches complain of them."⁹

The Second Round of Stake Visits

By September matters had settled down somewhat, but President Wilkinson, unwilling to give up because of one setback, asked permission to send BYU representatives on stake visits, "but on a more limited basis." The fact that permission was granted suggests that Church leaders wanted to press forward in the building of BYU even though they hoped there would be less criticism than in the past. President Wilkinson agreed it would be "unwise" to visit stakes immediately

6. Letter quoted within a letter from the First Presidency (Stephen L. Richards and J. Reuben Clark, Jr.) to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 22 April 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
7. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Henry Aldous Dixon, 14 May 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
8. Joseph Fielding Smith to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 28 May 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
9. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph Fielding Smith, 17 June 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

adjoining such other four-year colleges as Ricks College, Utah State Agricultural College, and the University of Utah.¹⁰

The second round of stake conference visits was as successful as the first, even though it was conducted on a smaller scale. There was a greater flow of criticism from those who thought their protests had stopped BYU visits to stake conferences, and who now resented their renewal. The increased enrollment began to tax the limited facilities of the school, and some deans on campus, not understanding the president's objectives, referred to their earlier warning that proselytizing efforts in stake conferences might well bring in too large a group of students to be properly housed.¹¹ These factors all combined to force a termination of the second recruitment program before the school year was over.

Recruiting in the Mission Field

The next phase of student recruitment was among the Church missions. The enthusiasm of the General Authorities to build BYU is reflected in the fact that at the same time they were curtailing stake visits they approved a program to take the BYU student recruiting program into the mission field. The program had two purposes: The first was to acquaint the members of the Church in the outlying districts of the advantages to be gained by sending their youth to Brigham Young University where they would be more intimately associated with young Latter-day Saints. The second objective was to make contact with the missionaries who would soon be returning to their homes and encourage them to consider the possibility of continuing their education at BYU.

Two representatives of the school were assigned to visit the missions: Harold Glen Clark, who was assigned to visit the missions east of Utah, and A. C. Lambert, who was assigned to visit missions on the west coast. President Wilkinson outlined his own estimate of the importance of this assignment in his instructions to them. He noted that from November 1952 to June 1953 there would be "released from the missions 1703 missionaries. . . . With the right kind of salesmanship on your part, and cooperation from the Mission Presidents, I should think that we ought to get at least 50% of these returned missionaries." He asked Clark to make a special effort to get the mission presidents to have the members of the Church send their children to BYU. "In particular, I would appreciate your doing this in New England and in the Southern States, from which we get relatively few at the present time."¹²

10. Ibid., 23 February 1952.

11. Deans Council Meeting Minutes, 10 April 1952.

12. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Harold Glen Clark, 8 November 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

President Wilkinson was so anxious to have representatives from all parts of the Church attend BYU that he advised Clark that BYU would extend itself to provide scholarships for qualified students applying from states that currently had no students at BYU.¹³ Clark was especially effective during his whirlwind tour of thirteen missions during November and December of 1952. Besides recruiting students in the eastern United States and Canada, Clark effectively publicized BYU and established important contacts which were helpful long after he departed. He wrote President Wilkinson, "So many come up and say they did not understand that the Quorum of the Twelve made up the Board of Trustees and that the Board is presided over by the First Presidency, and that it was truly a Church supported institution. . . . Somehow or another we have failed to do a good job of publicity."¹⁴

Recruiting on Other Fronts

Visits to the stakes and missions were followed up by mailing more than 1,300 letters to bishops and branch presidents throughout much of the Church, requesting the names of LDS high school seniors and junior college graduates under their jurisdiction.¹⁵ This brought in an extensive list of college-age Mormon students, many of whom had not chosen a college or university to attend. Special folders were mailed to these students explaining the purposes and college offerings of BYU.¹⁶

On other fronts, the better students at LDS Business College were encouraged "to take certain courses that would eventually lead them to come to BYU to finish a four-year course."¹⁷ Letters were also sent to LDS servicemen and missionaries.¹⁸ The LDS Mutual Improvement Association was invited to conduct its all-Church basketball tournament at BYU, which would bring outstanding LDS youth to the campus from all over the Church. The Extension Division used its Leadership Week programs to influence the adult membership of the Church to send their children to BYU.¹⁹

Recruiting efforts were carried on at the annual Hill Cumorah Pageant in New York. This site, made sacred to members of the Church by the fact that the original Book of Mormon plates were taken from this hill, is located a few miles south of Palmyra and approxi-

13. Ibid.

14. Memo from Harold Glen Clark to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 21 November 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

15. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 29 July 1954.

16. BYU Presidency Meeting Minutes, 6 September 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

17. Ernest L. Wilkinson to William F. Edwards, 16 June 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

18. BYU Presidency Meeting Minutes, 25 October 1954.

19. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 16 March 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

mately 50 miles southeast of Rochester. Hundreds of thousands of spectators have been attracted to this pageant each year. The original pageant was written by Wayne Driggs in 1936. The first production of it in 1937 was directed by Harold I. Hansen, who is still its dramatic director. A large number of BYU students participated. These in turn influenced many of the missionaries who participated in the pageant to attend BYU.

Along with these extensive recruiting efforts, President Wilkinson turned to an active advertising campaign, using radio, television, newspaper, and magazine presentations.

Promoting BYU to High School Students

Under the general direction of W. Cleon Skousen, former secretary of the Alumni Association and later director of public services for BYU, and Dean A. Peterson, director of public relations, the student recruiting effort was carried into high schools. Their idea was to take BYU to high schools and bring the high schools to BYU. During the 1953-54 school year, Skousen and his assistants made 100 visits to area high schools.²⁰ The visits generally included a special school assembly featuring a musical program arranged by the BYU Program Bureau and Music Department, a speech from one of the University's representatives on the advantages of attending BYU, and an address from Colonel Jesse Stay of the Air Force ROTC on the military program at BYU. A special ROTC male chorus also performed. Copies of the BYU yearbook, *The Banyan*, were sent each year to high schools in Utah and many of the surrounding states to be placed in school libraries for student reference.²¹ School administrators also arranged for the transportation of many thousands of high school students, particularly from Utah, to visit the campus and catch the "spirit of the Y."

All of this campaigning to sell BYU to the stakes and missions had a reciprocal effect on the student body and faculty. It definitely improved the morale at the University and rekindled the feeling that BYU was a school of destiny which Mormon college students should support.

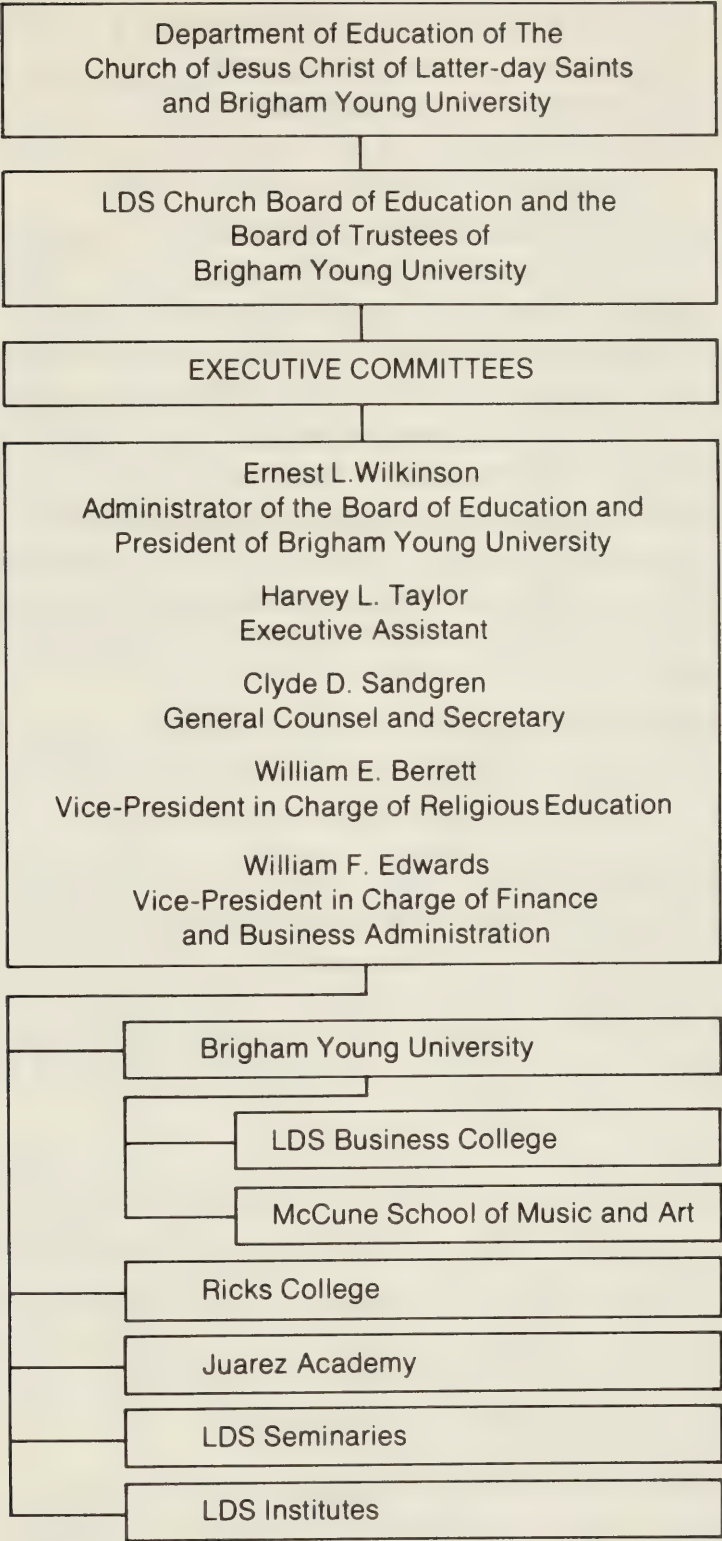
Reaping the Harvest

The BYU recruitment campaign was unquestionably successful. Cumulative enrollment, including daytime, evening school, and home study students, increased from 5,429 in 1950 to 10,542 in 1956. By 1953 BYU had more students than the University of Utah and twice as many students as Utah State Agricultural College (*see* accompanying chart).

20. Ernest L. Wilkinson to W. Cleon Skousen, 13 August 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

21. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Wesley P. Lloyd and W. Cleon Skousen, 1 September 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Organization of the LDS Department of Education after Unification in 1953



Of greatest gratification to the administration was the increasing number of BYU students from outside Utah County and the state of Utah. Whereas in 1950 over 53 percent of BYU students came from Utah, in 1956 only about 43 percent were Utahns. The California representation almost doubled, from around 9 percent to 16 percent of the student body, evidencing the success of the recruitment efforts on the west coast. In 1956 a total of 237 stakes and 42 missions of the Church were represented at BYU, as were 46 of the 48 states — and 25 foreign countries. The University was becoming much more cosmopolitan and far more representative of the Church membership as a whole.

The percentage of enrollment growth at BYU during the first six years of the Wilkinson era compared favorably with the growth of all American colleges, even though these were boom years for the nation's colleges. In 1955 United States commissioner of education S. M. Brownell pointed to four major reasons for the nationwide growth in enrollment: "Favorable economic conditions, increased emphasis on trained manpower, educational benefits for veterans, and the growing crop of secondary-school graduates in the United States were all important contributing factors." However, the national growth was mainly confined to public universities, while enrollment at most private and church-related colleges was declining. As the Danforth Foundation explained,

In the 1930s (with annual enrollment of less than 1.5 million students in American higher education) and in the 1940s (with enrollments reaching 2.6 million) the division between the public and private sectors was fairly even. In the 1950s, however, the percentage of the collegiate population enrolled in public institutions rose steadily, and by 1963 the figures were 3,090,578 in public and 1,709,754 in private institutions. In that year the enrollment in Church institutions was 897,016 students or 18.7 percent of the total. The percentage for private higher education as a whole and for church-related institutions in particular have been declining in recent years.²²

While the recruitment campaign was the primary reason for BYU's phenomenal growth, there were other contributing factors. The LDS Church was growing rapidly, and there was a demand for more extensive Church educational facilities to provide an atmosphere permeated by LDS Church standards and a meeting ground for young LDS men and women. BYU played a large part in filling those needs and therefore had the enthusiastic approval and support of President David O. McKay and the General Authorities.

Late in 1952 the University conducted a survey among its 6,325 students to determine their major reasons for choosing to come to

22. *Eight Hundred Colleges Face the Future*, pp. 6-7.

BYU. About 58 percent of the students said they chose the school because they believed it “offered a superior spiritual and religious training.” Fifteen percent reported they “wanted to be with LDS students, friends, or teachers.” Only slightly more than eight percent chose BYU because they believed it offered superior academic training. BYU was a Church-sponsored institution that taught the fundamentals of Mormonism. It provided an uplifting, wholesome environment where LDS students could find spouses of their own faith. These continued to be the major attractions of the school during these years.

As early as September 1952, sensing the coming surge of enrollment at BYU, the Executive Committee considered imposing a ceiling on student enrollment at BYU. Henry D. Moyle expressed the opinion that the Church could not afford to go along for ten years without determining about how many students would be attending Brigham Young University. He suggested that, in building the University, an enrollment of ten or twelve thousand students might be considered the maximum for the Provo campus. President Wilkinson thought that consideration should be given to opening some junior college branches of the University — probably in Arizona and Southern California.²³ Three years later, while speaking at a Kiwanis Club meeting in Provo, Wilkinson commented that the school could foreseeably attain an enrollment of 16,000 students by 1970, a figure that some deemed excessive.²⁴ But nothing came of proposals for enrollment ceilings at the time.

Admissions

During the first three years of the Wilkinson administration, registrar John Hayes, who had been with the school since 1903, was in charge of the Office of Admissions and Records. He was assisted by Lucile Spencer, who had been serving as assistant registrar since 1940, and Orrin H. Jackson, who became the school’s first admissions officer in 1949.²⁵ Hayes, who had a photographic memory and rarely forgot the name of any student, retired in 1955. He and Lucile Spencer both made a great contribution to BYU. In 1955, because of the retirement of Hayes and the ever-growing pressure exerted on the admissions office, Bliss Crandall, a professor at Utah State Agricultural College and an acknowledged expert in statistics, was appointed to the newly created position of dean of Admissions and Records. Crandall was also responsible for the registrar’s office and the machine accounting office.²⁶ Orrin Jackson continued as admissions and registration

23. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 16 September 1952.

24. BYU *Universe*, 11 January 1955.

25. Lorna Whiting, “A History of the Division of Admissions and Records,” April 1973, pp. 1-3.

26. BYU *Universe*, 17 June 1955.

supervisor, while Lucile Spencer supervised record-keeping and graduation.²⁷

In line with the general campaign to enlarge the student body, admissions policies during the early Wilkinson years were essentially the same as those of state institutions in Utah. Until 1954, entrance to the University was granted to students who had graduated from an accredited high school with at least sixteen units of credit, eight of which had to be in such fields as English, mathematics, science, history, and social sciences. It was standard procedure to accept almost every applicant with a high school grade-point average above C, and those with a C average were accepted on probation.²⁸ These liberal entrance requirements gave LDS students from all over the Church a high chance of acceptance at BYU. From the 1951-52 school year through the 1956-57 school year, a total of 18,592 freshmen were accepted at BYU. During this time only 231 students were denied admission, representing an acceptance rate of almost 99 percent.²⁹ It was not until 1957 that admission requirements were substantially raised.

Tuition Fees

Tuition rates at BYU during the early 1950s were comparatively low. In the 1950-51 school year, tuition and fees were \$135 per year. As the following list indicates, tuition and fees rose only \$75 over the succeeding five-year period.³⁰

<i>School Year</i>	<i>Tuition</i>	<i>Fees</i>	<i>Total</i>
1952-53	\$ 75	\$ 75	\$150
1953-54	75	75	150
1954-55	100	75	175
1955-56	105	75	180
1956-57	135	75	210

A tuition study conducted in 1953 indicated that BYU charged less for tuition than a number of western state-controlled universities. Even land-grant agricultural colleges generally charged a higher tuition than BYU. Tuition at private universities was much higher. BYU tuition was kept low by a liberal Church subsidy of the school's operation.

Unification of Church Schools

Within a year after Wilkinson's appointment, his vigorous administrative policies had put the spotlight on BYU as the center of Church education. Ever since the Church gave up its junior colleges, except for

27. Crandall voluntarily left the department in 1958 to organize a computer service of his own to serve dairymen throughout the country.

28. *Seven Year Report of the Brigham Young University*, BYU Archives, p. 146.

29. Ibid.

30. William F. Edwards to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 15 March 1956, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Ricks College in Idaho and the Juarez Academy in Mexico, the seminaries and institutes had grown tremendously. This far-flung program was under the direction of the Church commissioner of education, who was responsible to the Church Board of Education — whose membership was the same as the BYU Board of Trustees.

The concept of combining both systems under one administrator was considered as early as 1938. In 1942 and 1943, Church commissioner of education Franklin L. West prepared a plan for the appointment of a single chancellor to head both education programs. The plan was actually authorized, but at the last moment it was not put into operation by the General Authorities, probably because both Franklin S. Harris and Howard S. McDonald felt that the appointment of a chancellor who would be over both the President of Brigham Young University and the administrative officers of the institutes and seminaries would have deprived them of direct access to the General Authorities. After McDonald's resignation, the General Authorities began to consider unification again. In 1949 Ezra Taft Benson wrote to Ernest L. Wilkinson in Washington, D.C., "This may be a good time to give consideration to the employment of a chancellor of education to have general supervision of all of our educational programs, including the seminary and institute work under the direction of the Board of Education." He went on to say, "It may be possible to move the office of the Department of Education to the campus of the Y and have a supervisor of seminaries and institutes and also a president of the university, as well as presidents of other Church schools, who would work under the immediate direction of the chancellor as executive of the Board."³¹

Three years later Wilkinson was asked to prepare a summary of the advantages of such a program if it were undertaken. In his report President Wilkinson indicated that he felt the setting up of a unified system under the direction of a chancellor would greatly strengthen the efficiency of the entire educational system of the Church. A single administrator could coordinate Church educational policy. Uniformity of religion courses, and faculty hiring and retirement would eliminate the rivalry among BYU, Ricks College, and the LDS Institutes over enrollment and other issues.

At the same time, unification would permit the development of a long-range Church educational program, which could be more expeditiously planned and carried out by one head than by two or three. Having seminary and institute teachers obtain their training at BYU would also strengthen enrollment during summer school. Wilkinson also argued that the seminaries and institutes stood to benefit from unification by having the directing assistance of a well-integrated De-

31. Ezra Taft Benson to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 3 October 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

partment of Religious Instruction, by having the same courses as those in the BYU Religion Department, and by exchanging teachers with BYU. BYU-trained teachers serving in the institutes could also be used in the BYU Extension Division courses being conducted in many areas of the Church.

Wilkinson's sweeping proposals encountered some objections. Some Church leaders saw unification as a step toward building an educational empire with BYU controlling the entire Church educational system. Others feared the institutes would be neglected by a chancellor whose major concern would be the administration of the University. Still others feared that the institutes "would lose some of their . . . academic liberty,"³² and that schools like the University of Utah and Utah State Agricultural College might resent having LDS institutes attached to their campuses, if they were administered by a rival university.

After carefully considering the problem, the First Presidency decided to consolidate all Church schools under one administrator. With no advance notice, Wilkinson was chosen for this position. He was also to continue as President of BYU. Because Franklin West had just retired from his position of commissioner of education in 1953, the transition to the new program was quite simple. Wilkinson's appointment as administrator of Church schools was officially confirmed by the Board of Trustees on 26 June 1953, but public announcement was delayed for a week.³³

As administrator Wilkinson accepted the challenge of supervising the affairs of Ricks College, LDS Business College, the McCune School of Music, the Juarez Academy in Mexico, 17 institutes with an enrollment of 4,555, and 193 seminaries with a combined enrollment of 40,247, in addition to his duties as President of BYU. On 3 July 1953 he wrote to Elder LeGrand Richards,

I have been informed . . . that in addition to my duties as President of Brigham Young University, [the] Board now desires me to assume the responsibility of the Administrator of the Church Department of Education. It has taken all of my "waking time" to administer the affairs, even in a partially diligent manner, of Brigham Young University, and I wonder how I am going to have time to administer to the affairs of all the other educational institutions. I feel very humbled.³⁴

In May 1953 President Wilkinson proposed naming the entire un-

32. "Unification of LDS Educational Institutions," copy of memo prepared for Henry D. Moyle included with a letter from Ernest L. Wilkinson to Marion G. Romney, 9 January 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

33. BYU Board Minutes, 26 June 1953.

34. Ernest L. Wilkinson to LeGrande Richards, 3 July 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

ified system the University of Deseret, recalling the dream of the early pioneers. Although the name was eventually disapproved (after first being approved), the First Presidency agreed to accept the overall plan presented by Wilkinson for the administration of the unified Church school system. Under the direction of the Board, Wilkinson gathered around himself an able team of assistants.³⁵ Harvey L. Taylor continued as executive assistant directly in charge of instruction, faculty, curriculum, and other academic matters. William F. Edwards, who was to remain as dean of the College of Commerce at BYU, also became vice-president of BYU and the LDS Department of Education in charge of finance and business administration for the unified system. Edwards had proved to be competent in financial affairs and a wise counselor in budgeting, expenditure, and investment matters. William E. Berrett, who had served for many years in the office of the Church commissioner of education and who was then serving as professor of religion at BYU, was also made a vice-president. His specific assignment was to supervise and coordinate all religious education in the Church schools and to be directly in charge of the institutes and seminaries.³⁶ On 30 October 1953 Clyde D. Sandgren, a BYU graduate who had served as a court reporter and as an attorney in New York and Utah, was appointed secretary to the joint Board of Education of the Church school system and Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University. He also served as general counsel to the system (*see chart*).³⁷

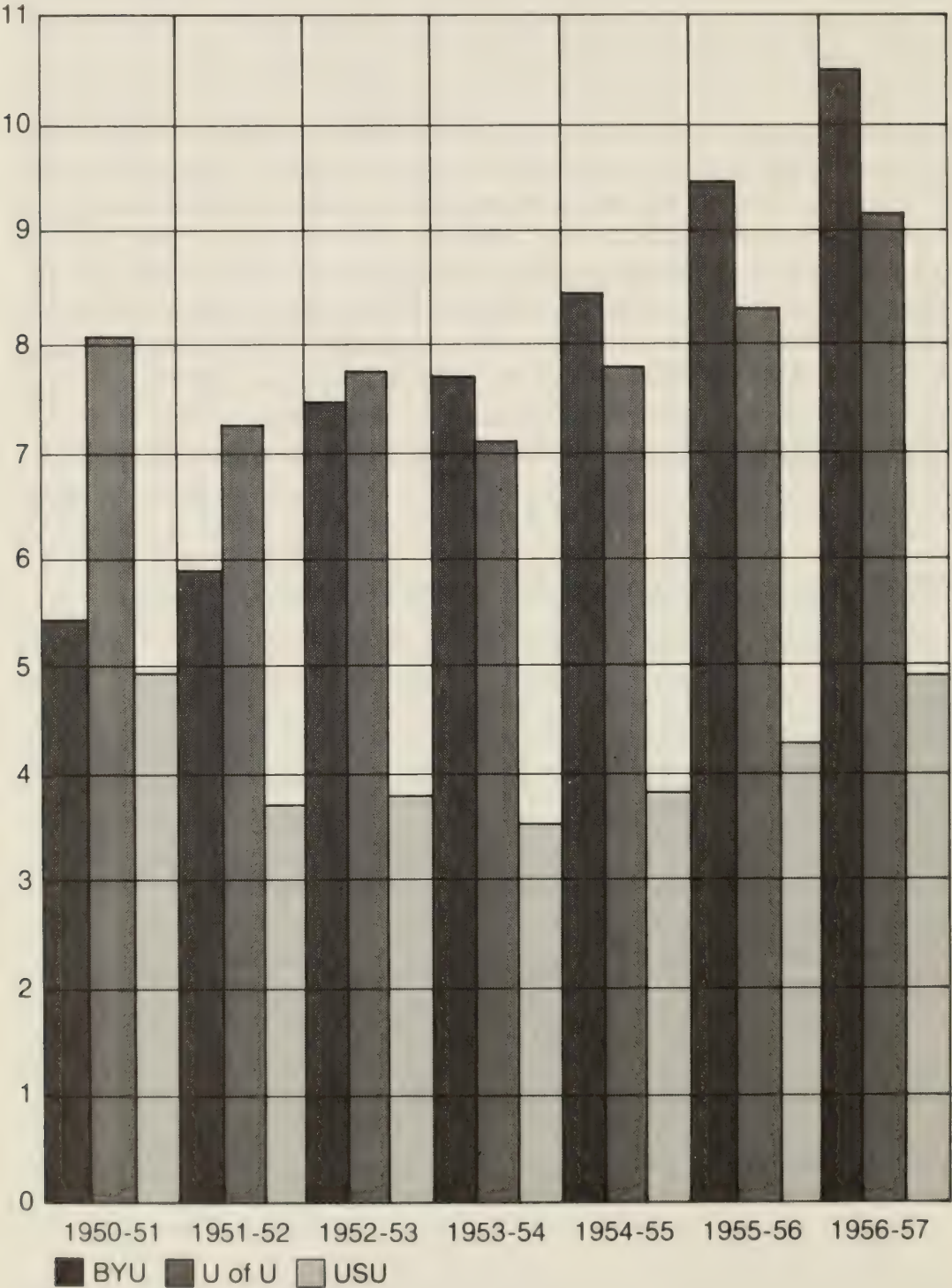
Proposal to Return Former LDS Junior Colleges in Utah

The establishment of a junior college program was an integral part of Wilkinson's plan for unification. At the time of consolidation it was intended that there would eventually be a number of Church junior colleges. President McKay favored the idea. As Wilkinson explained in a letter to his predecessor, Howard S. McDonald, "The new plan of unification of the LDS Church schools . . . contemplates that when we get a student body of around 12,000 at this University, which at our present rate of growth could be in five years, that we will eventually

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35. Spencer W. Kimball had written to Wilkinson on 20 July 1953, "You must take care of yourself and not permit yourself to break under this tremendous load. But I am sure [that] with careful delegation and if you will continually strive to do fewer details and to save your precious energy and ability to administer and organize and direct, you could even reduce the expenditure of energy, and the entire program could have the benefit of your vision and power"; Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
 36. By the time the program went into effect the Church schools in the Pacific Ocean had been removed from the unified system and were placed under a separate jurisdiction and administered by the Pacific Board of Education.
 37. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 13 March 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Comparative Cumulative Enrollment at Brigham Young University, the University of Utah, and Utah State Agricultural College, 1950-51 to 1956-57.

Thousands



have junior colleges throughout the West. My thinking is that we ought to have one in Los Angeles.”³⁸

Junior colleges could be obtained by the establishment of new ones and by the return of the Church junior colleges that had previously been transferred to the state. Snow College in Ephraim, Dixie College in St. George, and Weber College in Ogden, which had all been originally established and operated by the LDS Church, were transferred to the state in the 1930s with the express stipulation that if the state ever ceased to operate the schools as junior colleges they would revert to the Church. On 15 February 1951 Governor J. Bracken Lee caused a bill to be introduced in the Utah State Senate that would, if enacted into law, turn the state-owned Weber, Snow, and Dixie colleges back to the Church.³⁹ This move was a basic part of the governor’s highly-publicized economy program to relieve the state of undue financial burdens. It was not in any way prompted by the Church.

Because of heated opposition, no definite action was taken on the junior college issue until 1953 and 1954. During the interim, Utahns expressed their opinions on the possible transfer. Generally, people in Ephraim and St. George favored returning Snow and Dixie colleges to the Church,⁴⁰ but the complexion of public sentiment was quite different in Ogden. Many powerful factions in that community opposed the change, including Henry Aldous Dixon and other leading LDS figures, although the opposition was generally non-LDS.

In December 1953 Governor Lee again sponsored legislation authorizing the Utah State Board of Examiners, composed of the governor, secretary of state, and attorney general, to transfer all three institutions back to the LDS Church. Opposition was intense, and rumors circulated that pressure tactics were being employed to influence legislators in their voting, though the stand of the Mormon Church was that it had not asked for the schools and would not request their transfer. Nevertheless, if the legislature chose to transfer them, the Church would accept and operate them.

As the time approached for the signing of the bill, opposition forces in Ogden became even more vocal. Many citizens complained that Ogden had not received sufficient warning of the proposal. They wanted the state to delay the transfer of Weber College. Some felt that the governor had not considered the prevailing sentiment in Ogden that the school should continue under state control. They feared that as in the 1920s and 1930s the Church would not give Weber College the necessary financial support. Church leaders said they were perfectly

38. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Howard S. McDonald, 26 July 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

39. “Governor Lee Proposes Return of Three Colleges to Church,” *Universe*, 20 February 1951.

40. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 9 February 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

willing to have the issue submitted to the people for a vote if the governor wished. They continued to make it clear that it was not the Church that was initiating the movement.⁴¹ Amid this atmosphere of division and debate the bill for transfer of the schools was passed by the state legislature and signed by Governor Lee on 21 December 1953.

But the controversy did not subside — it intensified. Opponents of the transfer obtained enough names on a petition, mostly from Weber County, to force a referendum vote on the issue to be included on the November 1954 ballot. The referendum campaign was one of the most divisive in Utah politics in recent years. During the campaign the Church continued to maintain a position of strict neutrality. About the only one speaking in favor of the transfer was Governor Lee. He favored it because he felt the state at that time could not afford to operate the schools. In a radio broadcast he urged that the state needed the money for its burgeoning public school program. “Already the taxpayers of this State are required to pay a greater portion of their personal income for education than do taxpayers in other states,” he said. On the other hand, he claimed that the Church was in a financial position to operate the schools “in a first-class manner scholastically and otherwise.” He pointed out that “historically the very heart of higher education in America has been the private and church colleges.” Citing the national ratio of two private colleges to every public college, Lee pointed out that Utah, with 74 percent LDS population, had but three private colleges, only one of them Mormon, and seven public ones.

The transfer referendum was defeated by a margin of 120,683 to 79,955, or 60.2 percent to 39.8 percent. Although 15 of the 29 Utah counties favored the proposition, the large counties, including Salt Lake, Weber, Utah, Cache, and Box Elder, voted against it. The voting in Weber, Carbon, and Salt Lake counties was especially strong against the proposal. The voters in the Dixie and Snow College areas supported the transfer.

Many factors contributed to the defeat of the proposal. The non-LDS population in Utah generally opposed the replacement of state schools with Church institutions which would emphasize LDS theology. Many Latter-day Saints believed that Weber College as a state institution was a good combination of Mormon and non-Mormon interests. A large number of Ogden residents, with hometown pride, saw little future in a Weber Junior College which would probably always remain at the junior college level as a branch of Brigham Young University.

One of the most important objections to the transfer arose from the fact that for years before the Church transferred the schools to the state, Church support of the colleges had been so meager that they

41. David O. McKay, diary, 16 December 1953.

could barely function. Many believed that the schools would be better financed under state auspices using public taxes than if they were Church operated with voluntary tithing funds.⁴² Newspapers, especially the influential *Ogden Standard-Examiner* and *Salt Lake Tribune*, vigorously opposed the transfer.

Many thought that President McKay unwittingly contributed to the referendum defeat. A few days before the election, representatives of the Ogden Chamber of Commerce went to Los Angeles to interview President McKay. They quizzed him concerning a question-and-answer pamphlet supporting the transfer which was beginning to be distributed by some Church officials. President McKay asserted that such circulation was unauthorized and, in an effort to maintain complete neutrality, was quoted as saying, "The Church is not campaigning for the colleges. Every voter is free to cast his vote for state retention of the colleges. This election is to determine whether the people of the state of Utah desire the state to continue to support the junior colleges. Only if they determine not to will the Church be willing to take over and continue the colleges."⁴³ The manner in which this statement was reported in the newspapers caused many to believe the Church was not anxious to receive the colleges, but would take over the responsibility of operating them as a last resort. It undoubtedly had some influence on the election.

Had the transfer been approved, BYU would have gained three ready-built junior colleges, and the junior college concept would have received a powerful impetus. However, with the defeat of the transfer in Utah, Church officials and administrator Wilkinson gave attention to purchasing sites for other Church junior college campuses. As early as September 1953 the First Presidency was considering purchasing a site in Los Angeles for the location of a junior college.⁴⁴ That same autumn Wilkinson also raised the question of the desirability of the purchase of land in the area of Phoenix, Arizona.⁴⁵ No action was taken on these recommendations at the time, although property in this and other areas was later acquired. During the years 1950 through 1956 the construction of a junior college in Hawaii was the only step taken toward implementation of a junior college program.

The Church College of Hawaii

As early as 1921, on his trip to missions around the world, David O.

42. Since more people in Utah paid taxes than paid tithing, it was natural to assume that the junior colleges would have a broader base of support if operated by the state.

43. "McKay Denies LDS Drive for Colleges," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 29 October 1954.

44. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 9 September 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

45. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 1 October 1953.

McKay had envisioned a school in the Hawaiian Islands for cultural and spiritual development of the members of the Church in the Pacific.⁴⁶ Matthew Cowley, president of the South Seas Mission from 1938 to 1945 and a member of the Council of the Twelve after 1945, kept the dream alive. In 1947 he appointed four members of the Oahu Stake High Council to assess the situation,⁴⁷ and further studies were later made under the direction of President Ralph E. Woolley of the Oahu Stake. Out of these studies came a strong recommendation that a junior college, not a high school, be established, with emphasis on vocational training for the islanders. No official action was taken until June 1951, when the First Presidency called Frank McGhie to go to Hawaii to take preliminary steps toward the establishment of a junior college at Laie. A local Board of Education was established to assist McGhie in his work. Perceptive observers believed that such a college “would fulfill a great need in getting [the] native membership on the way to a better standard of agricultural and vocational competence as well as a raised cultural standard.”⁴⁸

Various sites were considered for the location of the new school. President Wilkinson was dispatched to the islands to study locations. He favored locating the school in Honolulu itself, where students could obtain part-time jobs while attending school. Edward L. Clissold, newly appointed Oahu Stake president, was influential in proposing that the school be located at Laie, on a 6,000-acre plantation owned by the Church.⁴⁹ This proposal was strongly influenced by a feeling on the island that on his trip around the world in 1921 President McKay had promised the islanders a school at Laie. This was unknown to Wilkinson when he made his recommendation.

At first the Board of Trustees of the Church Board of Education had been cool toward the idea of a junior college in Hawaii and suggested in October 1953 that it might be more desirable to establish a large LDS Institute at the University of Hawaii.⁵⁰ But President McKay felt that an institute at a secular institution would not satisfy the needs of the students. He was the dominant force in pushing for a college designed specifically for the Hawaiian and South Pacific people. As a result, on 14 July 1954, one year after unification of all Church schools, the First Presidency announced that a junior college would be established in the Hawaiian Islands. On Wilkinson's recommendation Reuben D. Law, dean of the BYU College of Education, was appointed president of the

46. Reuben D. Law, *The Founding and Early Development of the Church College of Hawaii* (St. George, Utah: Dixie College Press, 1972), p. 29.

47. Alonzo Morley to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 16 January 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

48. Ibid.

49. Law, *Church College of Hawaii*, pp. 38-39.

50. BYU Board Minutes, 30 October 1953.

new junior college. Construction soon began, and the school opened in the fall of 1955.⁵¹

The new college, however, was under the jurisdiction of the Unified Church School System for only a little over a month. Defined as “missionary operations,” the Church’s Pacific schools were to be linked with the missionary system, and “not to be placed immediately under the Church school system.”⁵² As of January 1954 these Pacific schools included the LDS College in New Zealand, a high school and junior college originally built in the 1930s and rebuilt at a cost of \$1,500,000 in 1953 after a fire had devastated the original campus; the Liahona College in Tonga for grade and high school students; the Pesage School in British Samoa; the Sauniatu School on the island of Upolu; the Vaiola School on the island of Savaii; and the Mesepa School on the island of Tutuila.⁵³

As a result of the realignment of jurisdiction, President Law and all presidents of the Church College of Hawaii until 1974 were responsible directly to the local board of education and not to the administration of the Unified Church School System. Consequently, the Church College of Hawaii was not part of the junior college proposal inherent in the unification plan. Nevertheless, supporters of an expanded Church educational system looked upon the new college as an encouraging sign of Church commitment to an expanded school system.⁵⁴

Ricks Becomes a Two-year College

The inclusion of Ricks College in Idaho in the new Church school system constituted a major part of the plan for unification. However,

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51. Ernest L. Wilkinson, memorandum dated 14 July 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers; and “Church Plans New Junior Colleges,” *Universe*, 22 July 1954.
 52. First Presidency to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 26 August 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
 53. Harvey L. Taylor to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 23 January 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. In 1957 all Pacific schools were placed under the jurisdiction of the Pacific Board of Education, chaired by Wendell B. Mendenhall. In 1965 they were reunited with the Church school system, and in 1974 the Church College of Hawaii was made a branch of Brigham Young University.
 54. Wilkinson definitely hoped to see benefit accrue to BYU because of the Pacific schools. In a November 1953 letter to Harold B. Lee he remarked that “it would be a large morale builder to the Brigham Young University if our men on the Faculty who have already taught in the schools in the Pacific or who are now members of our College of Education, be called upon to assist in creating a real school system in the Pacific”; Ernest L. Wilkinson to Harold B. Lee, 8 November 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. Eight months later Reuben D. Law, dean of the College of Education at BYU, was officially appointed president of the Church College of Hawaii.

this decision was not popular in Rexburg. The school, founded by Thomas E. Ricks, had a proud heritage. Established as the Bannock Stake Academy in 1888 with Jacob Spori as principal, it began as a vital part of the Church system of stake academies. In 1903 the school became known as Ricks Academy, and in 1917 the name was changed to Ricks Normal College, and then Ricks College in 1923. Generations of Rexburg townspeople had given strong support to the school. It was because of such support that Ricks College was the only LDS junior college in the U.S. to survive the decision in the early 1930s to close all such Church schools. This was because public-spirited Church leaders in and around Rexburg financed the school themselves during the Depression. Later they appealed to the First Presidency of the Church to resume operation of the school, and the First Presidency agreed.⁵⁵

From its foundation in 1888, Ricks had operated as a junior college, but in April 1948 the school trustees authorized third- and fourth-year work in education and gave the right to confer degrees in that field. The purpose was to qualify graduates to become teachers in the school system of Idaho, which had recently raised its standards, requiring school teachers to have a bachelor's degree. Shortly after Ernest L. Wilkinson was named administrator of the Unified Church School System and after reports came to the General Board of Education that Ricks was graduating students in fields other than education, Wilkinson was instructed to ascertain the facts and report back to the Board. After investigation he reported that Ricks was granting degrees in fields other than education, but that in his opinion it was advisable for prospective teachers to be trained in the subject matter of the disciplines in which they expected to teach besides their training in pedagogy. However, the Board advised him that such had not been its understanding when permission was given to grant degrees in education and that Ricks should therefore probably be cut back to junior college status. No official directive was given to the administrator at that time.

On 3 December 1954 the Board of Trustees unanimously decided that Ricks College should be restored to its prior status as a junior college.⁵⁶ Early in February 1955 President John L. Clarke of Ricks College was so advised.⁵⁷ As might be expected, the news "came as a great shock" to President Clarke. He wrote the First Presidency,

Part of the shock perhaps was natural and I trust excusable as I viewed in my mind the obliteration of the fruits of a difficult struggle by the faculty and friends of Ricks College, including of course the help of the Church Board of Education, over a period

55. Ernest L. Wilkinson to David O. McKay, 28 December 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

56. BYU Board Minutes, 3 December 1954.

57. First Presidency to John L. Clarke, 3 February 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

of eight to ten years. This is the time it has taken to place Ricks College firmly in the ranks of accredited four-year colleges. The other part of the shock was because of the tremendous and permanent blow this new policy would give to Ricks in the training of Church and community leaders in our area.⁵⁸

Because he had not been consulted on the matter, Clarke asked for an opportunity to present his views to the Board of Trustees. He was most concerned over the loss of the school's teacher-training program, the summer school program, and all extension programs. Even Governor Robert E. Smylie of Idaho objected to the action, and wrote President David O. McKay,

The proposed program for Ricks College will quite probably eliminate it as one of our teacher training institutions. I believe it is necessary that this school remain to prepare the high quality teachers we so badly need. Therefore, I am hopeful that it will not be necessary for you to drop the two years that pertain to elementary education and that this institution will remain as one of [the] high standard accredited teacher training schools in the West. . . . Never has there been a time when your Church was held in such high esteem and never before has it had a greater influence on the people of the State. I attribute a lot of this great work to the activities of the students from Ricks College.⁵⁹

After listening to these objections the First Presidency reaffirmed its decision, writing Governor Smylie that if students attended Ricks for two years and then transferred to BYU for their junior and senior years they would obtain "the benefits of a rich curriculum . . . not available at Ricks," and would then return to Idaho qualified for teaching.⁶⁰ The First Presidency felt the Church, which was in the process of building a large network of other schools, could not afford two four-year institutions.

President Clarke maintained his loyalty to Church leaders amid personal disappointment and some local derision, and under his leadership the plan was carried into effect.

The Two Schools in Salt Lake City

Foreshadowing the unification plan, the LDS Business College and the McCune School of Music, both in Salt Lake City, became branches of Brigham Young University in 1952. Unfortunately, neither one of these transplants fared very well as appendages of BYU.

The LDS Business College was the direct descendant of the Salt Lake

58. John L. Clarke to the First Presidency, 19 February 1955, William F. Edwards Papers, BYU Archives.

59. Robert E. Smylie to David O. McKay, 2 November 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

60. David O. McKay to Robert E. Smylie, 19 December 1955, David O. McKay Papers. *See also* General Board Minutes, 4 November 1955.

Stake Academy organized in 1886. The name was changed from Salt Lake Academy to Latter-day Saints College, to Latter-day Saints University, and finally back to LDS College. The college was housed for many years in the old Barrett Hall on Temple Square and in a few other scattered locations.⁶¹ Until 1931, LDS College had a separate business department, a high school, and a junior college. It was officially closed during the Depression of the 1930s. Feramorz Fox, Kenneth Bennion, and other persevering faculty members organized a business college on their own. Later, during better times, the school was reacquired by the Church and placed under the direction of commissioner Franklin West. In line with the growth of Brigham Young University, the Church decided to remove LDS Business College from its independent status under the direction of the Church Board of Education and make it a branch of Brigham Young University. In this way the University would realize a new outlet for its Commerce Department. Related factors in the decision were “to make sure that the work hereafter given [at the college] would be of collegiate credit” and thereby enhance its stature as a business college. Administrators were also confident that they could reduce the school’s recurring financial indebtedness by channeling its budget through BYU.⁶²

Accordingly, on 9 May 1952 the BYU Board of Trustees declared its intention to effect the amalgamation on June 1. Full administrative responsibility for the branch was given to the President of BYU, and the school functioned under a director, Kenneth Bennion, past president of the college. Business College faculty members became BYU faculty members.⁶³

The incorporation of LDS Business College as a branch of BYU fulfilled a long-standing desire of many BYU administrators to obtain a center of influence in Salt Lake City. President Wilkinson assigned supervision of the business college to William F. Edwards, dean of the College of Commerce. Edwards was instructed to improve the curriculum and the general academic prestige of the school by making courses conform wherever practicable to those offered at BYU. Edwards was also to move “in the direction of trying to get the better students to take certain courses that would eventually lead them to come to the BYU to finish a four-year course.”⁶⁴

Faculty and staff pruning was undertaken and tuition was raised slightly to improve the financial footing of the college. For a while it

61. “A Brief Statement about the LDS Business College Branch of Brigham Young University,” included with a letter from Kenneth S. Bennion to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 30 May 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

62. Ernest L. Wilkinson to A. Ray Olpin, 11 February 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers; and BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 12 June 1952.

63. BYU Board Minutes, 9 May 1952.

64. Ernest L. Wilkinson to William F. Edwards, 16 June 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

seemed that the new branch would perform successfully. However, in the fall of 1956 BYU and its affiliated branches underwent careful scrutiny by the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools. The visiting committee ruled that BYU could receive accreditation only if its ties with LDS Business College and McCune School of Music and Art were severed. The committee pointed out that these two institutions were specialized schools and did not meet the liberal arts standards of the Association. Therefore their credits could not be accepted on the same basis as BYU credit. Because of these recommendations, LDS Business College and the McCune School of Music and Art were eliminated as branches of Brigham Young University on 30 November 1956.⁶⁵ On that same date the supervision of the LDS Business College was reassumed by the Church Board of Education. Since that time the school has operated as a vigorous and successful two-year business college.⁶⁶ Through the years a close working relationship has been maintained between the school and the BYU College of Business.

The McCune School of Music did not end so happily. The school began as the Music Department of Latter-day Saints University in 1917. In 1919 it was housed in the historic Gardo House and was called the Latter-day Saints School of Music.⁶⁷ In 1920 the school was moved to the A. W. McCune mansion on North Main Street after the family had donated this structure to the Church. For years the school functioned as a cultural and training center for Salt Lake City musicians.⁶⁸ In 1939 the McCune School of Music was placed under the direction of the Presiding Bishopric with Joseph L. Wirthlin as chairman of its board of trustees. Tracy Y. Cannon served as acting director from 1925 until 1950 when he retired and was replaced by N. Lorenzo Mitchell. In 1952 Bishop Wirthlin reported that the school was little more than a rental agency, leasing space to teachers, and a bookkeeping service for their accounts. Other than the Junior Symphony Orchestra which the school sponsored, it made little direct contribution to the cultural atmosphere of the community. Bishop Wirthlin recommended that the McCune School of Music merge with the Music Department of BYU, permitting that department to offer a more complete program.⁶⁹ Church leaders favored Wirthlin's proposal. The school had cost the Church a great deal to maintain, and because of its commercial nature the city was considering imposing property tax on

65. BYU Board Minutes, 30 November 1956.

66. In 1974 its chief competitor, Stevens-Henager Business College, ceased to operate.

67. *Seven Year Report*, p. 334.

68. "McCune School Is Now Closed," Church Section, *Deseret News*, 24 August 1957.

69. Joseph L. Wirthlin to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 14 March 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

the school, but the primary reason for incorporating the school as a part of BYU was to improve its course offerings.⁷⁰

On 20 June 1952 the Board of Trustees rather hesitantly approved the motion to make the McCune School of Music a branch of BYU. Some members of the Board expressed the fear that academically the school was not of college caliber. It consistently attracted as many elementary students as those of high school and college age combined.⁷¹ The Board agreed to the motion upon the specific condition that effective steps would be immediately taken to improve the quality of the school.⁷² The public announcement of the transfer was made in September 1952, just three months after the LDS Business College transfer had been publicized.

During the next few years the school served a worthwhile purpose, undoubtedly gaining its greatest publicity because of its dance program. A dancer in her own right, Virginia Tanner implemented a successful and attractive dance program in the school. Unfortunately, the school's financial requirements became too burdensome for the already thin budget of BYU.⁷³ When BYU found itself unable to maintain a respectable college program at the school, and when it became clear that the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools would not accredit BYU if it held onto this branch, the McCune School of Music and Art (as it had been officially named in June 1954) was discontinued as part of the University effective 15 August 1957. As of that same date the Church Board of Education ordered its permanent closing.

70. Joseph L. Wirthlin to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 24 April 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

71. Ernest L. Wilkinson to other members of the BYU Presidency, 21 November 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

72. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph L. Wirthlin, 21 June 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

73. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 18 December 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

23

Academic Reorganization and the Challenge of Accreditation

By the time Ernest L. Wilkinson arrived at BYU the school was ready for a rigorous effort to reorganize the colleges as a first step in improving the intellectual climate of the University. While BYU had good teachers and several scholars who published for a national audience, many academic areas lacked the breadth and balance necessary to make BYU a strong school.

Ten months before Wilkinson became President, A. C. Lambert expressed the feeling of many faculty members that BYU needed to improve its academic stature. Writing to acting president Christen Jensen he listed four uncertainties at BYU: uncertainty over goals and objectives; uncertainty about future policies and salary programs; uncertainty about a comprehensive building program; and uncertainty about a much-needed general reorganization of the University. Complaining about the lack of research time and scholarly resources at the University, Lambert concluded that he did not “see much daylight ahead at BYU unless there should be a fundamental reorganization.”¹ Lambert’s concerns were representative of the apprehension of many faculty members.

Reorganizing the Colleges

Although great strides were made by President McDonald and his associates in the first four postwar years, there remained a host of unresolved problems. Acting president Jensen, at the suggestion of the Trustees, had properly postponed making any major changes. In 1951 the University comprised the colleges of Arts and Sciences, Applied Science, Fine Arts, Education, and Commerce, and the Division of Religion. Some of the colleges, in the tradition of American universities, embraced a number of unrelated departments. For instance, the College of Arts and Sciences included such unrelated departments as Chemistry, Geology and Geography, Mathematics, Physics, Botany,

1. A. C. Lambert to Christen Jensen, 5 September 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Zoology, English, Modern and Classical Languages, History, Political Science, Sociology, Journalism, Psychology, and Archaeology. While the College of Applied Science did not contain so many departments, it nevertheless included the departments of Home Economics, Landscape Architecture, Agronomy, and Animal Husbandry. The College of Education included the departments of Elementary Education, Educational Administration, Philosophy of Education and Guidance, Physical Education, Library Science, and Intercollegiate and Intramural Sports. The College of Commerce was more unified, consisting of the departments of Accounting and Business Administration, Agricultural Economics, Economics, Finance and Banking, Marketing, and Secretarial Training. The College of Fine Arts included the departments of Music, Art, Speech, and Dramatic Arts. Although the Division of Religion did not for a time receive college status, it did contain several homogeneous departments: Bible and Modern Scripture, Church History, Church Organization and Administration, Theology and Religious Philosophy, and Archaeology.

Wilkinson soon effected a drastic restructuring of the academic organization of the University. In 1954 the College of Arts and Sciences and the College of Applied Science were abolished. The new organization included the College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences, the College of Physical and Engineering Sciences, the College of Family Living, the College of Humanities and Social Sciences, and the College of Physical Education, Recreation, and Health.

The School of Nursing, which became the College of Nursing in 1958, was organized, and theological classes became a part of the new College of Religious Instruction in 1959. The changes in the 1960s consisted of further dividing the colleges. For instance, the College of Humanities and Social Sciences was split into two separate colleges in 1965. Other colleges were given broader scope. The College of Fine Arts became the College of Fine Arts and Communications in 1963.

Salaries and Sacrifices

Prior to his arrival in Provo Wilkinson sent letters to all faculty members requesting that they return to him their recommendations on the school's needs, strengths, and weaknesses. Though responses varied, most faculty members were concerned over inadequate salaries and the inequitable salary schedule. Other significant faculty recommendations included the establishment of an ROTC program at the University and the need for more and better research programs, better equipment, and better fiscal policies. Many professors noted that student social life was too extensive, that some departments needed to be reorganized, and that the school needed a dean of faculty. Most of these problems represented long-existing concerns.

It was widely recognized that salaries paid by the Church were not

competitive with those paid by many other universities. While most faculty members faithfully continued in their positions, they found it difficult to make ends meet. When William F. Edwards arrived from New York to assume his duties as dean of the College of Commerce in January 1951, one month ahead of Wilkinson, he was disturbed by the inadequacy of salaries. Although it might be desirable for the faculty to make sacrifices, he felt it was unfair to their families to expect them to live on the pay they were receiving. Low salaries created undesirable family tensions which sometimes led to uninspired teaching and inadequately trained students. Edwards labeled BYU as "nothing more than a high-class junior college."² He encouraged President Wilkinson to improve faculty morale by giving priority to increasing faculty salaries.

Letters and comments along the same line were arriving at Wilkinson's law offices in Washington, D. C., long before he could move to Provo to take a more direct hand. As one professor wrote,

The cost of living has [risen] until faculty salaries are no longer adequate to cover the basic costs of living, such as tithing, food, clothing, shelter, etc. This situation is usually met in one of three ways by faculty members: 1. The wife works. 2. Faculty member has a source of inherited income or income from rental. 3. Faculty member has a second nonteaching job, usually in a wholly unrelated field. The defects and inconsistencies of the first two solutions to this problem are obvious. A diametrical division of occupational interests is not conducive to sound scholarship, teaching, or philosophy of life. Nor would it be compatible with my best work at BYU. There is more than enough for a life's work in my chosen field and it is bad that financial strain causes one to deflect one's energies into subsidiary work.³

Dr. Wayne B. Hales, a respected and responsible faculty member, wrote,

In order to maintain a quality of personnel in and a quality of performance by the Brigham Young University faculty, its salaries must be comparable with those of other state universities. The overall ten percent differential which expands in many cases to a fifty percent difference through governmental and industrial research subsidies creates a morale among our teaching staff which is nothing less than tragic. . . . Competent faculty members are continually leaving our institution to accept positions of lesser rank and opportunity but for markedly higher salaries in high schools, junior colleges, and other universities.⁴

2. Harvard S. Heath and Richard E. Bennett, interview with William F. Edwards, 8 July 1974.

3. Faculty member to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 17 January 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

4. Wayne B. Hales to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 13 January 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Besides inadequate salaries, the inequitable salary scale perturbed faculty members. "I wish to speak concerning the nonexistence of a definite salary schedule at the Brigham Young University," wrote one faculty member. "If the teacher is capable of good bargaining power and if he knows the school greatly desires his services, he is ahead of the teacher who lacks these abilities to boost his own qualifications, but who is as well qualified in every respect as the first individual. . . . Too much is left to chance and personal items, and it seems a hit or miss situation."⁵

Wilkinson set out at once to correct the salary situation. His success in improving salaries was one of the signal achievements of his early administration. Although BYU was still unable to compete in salaries with many other schools, faculty income rose more rapidly than the cost of living. From 1951 to 1960 the average earnings increased as follows: deans from \$5,980 to \$10,420, professors from \$5,130 to \$8,150, associate professors from \$4,240 to \$7,506, assistant professors from \$3,980 to \$6,500, and instructors from \$3,360 to \$5,550.⁶ While the cost of living rose 16.5 percent from 1951 to 1960, average faculty salaries at BYU rose 62.4 percent during the same period. These salary increases were supplemented by faculty benefits, which ranged from as much as \$1,700 for instructors to \$2,900 for deans. Wilkinson always maintained that the Trustees were sensitive to the needs of the faculty. When the facts were fully presented by President Wilkinson the Trustees generally approved his recommendations for increases.

There were, of course, some who never felt they were justly recompensed, but most faculty members were grateful for the increases. One faculty member wrote to Wilkinson in May 1952,

I am aware that the salary increase and the retroactive payment has come about as a direct result of your own personal efforts. Our whole family is certainly appreciative of this generous interest on your part. . . . To indicate how timely and worthwhile the money which has come and continues to come [is], it will provide: A new suit for our son at his graduation — he was not to have one until this came about; a more adaptable adjustment to our monthly contribution to our ward building fund; a better feeling in our tithe payments; and now maybe we can just feel a little more like taking a few days' vacation this summer without scrimping.⁷

When internationally recognized Dean Thomas L. Martin received a raise which gave him a salary of more than \$5,000, he went to President Wilkinson's office with tears in his eyes and danced a jig, exclaiming

5. Faculty member to Ernest L. Wilkinson, January 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

6. See charts, book 2, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

7. Faculty member to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 28 May 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

jubilantly that he thought he would never see the day when he would be paid more than \$5,000 at Brigham Young University.

Despite the relatively large increases, there still remained a problem in the area of retention and recruitment of qualified faculty members. A professor of psychology wrote that while his department was treated generously compared with other departments in the University, "we cannot help but appraise our situation in comparison with that of [other psychologists]." ⁸ He pointed out that many teachers were forced to weigh their loyalty to BYU against the higher salaries they could receive elsewhere. Another faculty member wrote Wilkinson,

I enjoy the association and opportunity to instruct the youth of the Church, but at the same time we must be practical. The pay differential of associate professor and professor in comparison to assistant professor and instructor is certainly not adequate, and certainly out of line with other institutions. Likewise, the small increase in salary given for advanced degrees and advance in rank lacks incentive as far as the faculty is concerned. . . . Most of us who could gain more lucrative employment on the outside have remained at the BYU because we have had a desire to be of service to the Church. ⁹

While President Wilkinson continuously worked to improve faculty salaries, he never did believe in a standardized salary schedule for those of the same academic rank or for those having the same degree. He felt that such a policy gave no encouragement to the best teachers, reducing them to the status of bricklayers who were all supposed to lay a standard number of bricks in a day. He agreed with the viewpoint of Adam S. Bennion, who commented that some faculty members were worth ten times as much as others, although both realized that as a practical matter a salary differential of that magnitude was out of the question.

Reserve Officer Training Corps

One of the faculty suggestions was that the school should establish some reserve officer units for the U. S. Air Force, Army, and Navy. Despite warnings from some faculty members that the Trustees would not look with favor on these programs, President Wilkinson asked for permission to apply for charters. Surprisingly to some, the Board of Trustees enthusiastically approved his recommendation. The school immediately applied to the military, and an Air Force unit was established at BYU in 1951. The Army did not authorize new ROTC units until 1968, when BYU was granted a unit. The ROTC program soon became a most successful part of BYU's offerings.

8. Faculty member to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 11 May 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

9. Faculty member to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 7 December 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

College of Commerce

President Wilkinson's first personnel triumph was to engage William F. Edwards as dean of the College of Commerce. Edwards was eminently qualified for the position. As Edward L. Christensen commented, "For the first time in its thirty year history, the deanship of the College" would be assumed by a man with "the highest of academic credentials and with prestigious financial experience."¹⁰ Edwards was born in 1906 in Emery, a rural community in eastern Utah. His father died shortly before his birth, and Edwards was forced to make his way independently in the world of higher education and the competitive world of finance. While working his way through BYU he served as president of his junior and senior classes. In 1928 the University awarded him a B.S. degree in business. On 6 September 1929 he married Catherine Eyring, his senior class vice-president.

Continuing his education in New York City, Edwards received an M.S. degree in 1930 and a DCS degree in 1937 from New York University. During his years in New York City he held positions as a member of the research department of the Bank of Manhattan (now Chase Manhattan); as a staff member of Goldman, Sachs, and Company; as a member of a leading New York brokerage and investment firm; as an organizer and research partner of Naess and Thomas, an investment counseling firm; and as vice-president of Hugh W. Long Investment Group. At the time of his appointment he had charge of investment trusts having a value of around \$70,000,000. By coming to BYU he left a substantial salary and the prospect that as senior vice-president of his company he was next in line to become president with a salary of around \$250,000 per year.

BYU was very proud of its new dean, believing that there would be "few business schools in the country which will have a dean who has had the broad business experience of Dr. Edwards."¹¹ When he left the frantic activity of Wall Street for the subdued pace of Provo, Dean Edwards found the College of Commerce housed, for the most part, in the creaking, one-story North Building, a former military barracks given to drafts, dust, heat, and cold on the present site of the Harold B. Lee Library.¹² The college's physical inadequacies were surpassed only by its academic deficiencies. Of the nineteen faculty members, only three had doctor's degrees. Other faculty members with doctor's degrees had left the University for higher salaries elsewhere. Faculty research and publication were negligible inasmuch as teaching loads were 18 hours a term, not including evening school or extension classes. Accreditation of the college, although discussed from time to

10. Edward L. Christensen, "College of Business: A Century of Progress at Brigham Young University," 15 September 1973, p. 177.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

time, had never been given serious consideration because of these defects in the academic program.¹³

Dean Edwards set about restructuring course offerings to emphasize modern business methods that would give each student the skills and knowledge he would need to face the realities of the business world. This involved an expanded curriculum and a commitment to the newly formulated objectives of the college.

In his efforts to upgrade the faculty Edwards was not able to offer enough money to attract many qualified Latter-day Saint businessmen-scholars from their lucrative positions, but he encouraged many faculty members to go on sabbatical leave to complete their doctoral programs. By 1957 the college had ten faculty members with doctor's degrees. Edwards was so successful at BYU that in 1957, after having performed a special job for the First Presidency of the Church, he accepted an invitation to become their financial adviser.

Poverty of Space and Facilities

The College of Commerce faced problems at the beginning of the Wilkinson administration that were representative of the troubles of the whole school. Biological science classes suffered from a lack of adequate housing, equipment, and supplies. The social science professors desperately needed more office and classroom space, while library resources were deficient, particularly in political science and history. The social science departments lacked qualified faculty members to offer courses which would provide students with necessary professional skills.

The College of Fine Arts in particular was in desperate need of better facilities. In 1953 the Department of Music reported, "Our greatest weakness is inefficiency resulting from the fact that we are spread all over the campus; that our classes are frequently interrupted because we do not have a place of our own in which to work. We are shifted constantly out of our rehearsal area, in order to accommodate plays and other activities which need the Joseph Smith Auditorium. *What we need most in our department is a new music building in which we can work together and without interruption.*" President Wilkinson found that in some instances musicians were practicing in the outer vestibules of rest rooms.

The Music Department also needed a larger faculty: "Our faculty members are almost all overworked to the extent that they do not have sufficient time for adequate study, preparation, or creative work."¹⁴ Wilkinson immediately set about to remedy these situations but at the same time was not deterred from establishing new programs.

13. Ibid., p. 158.

14. "BYU Department of Music Annual Report," 27 June 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

The School of Nursing

In 1949 LDS Hospital officials held discussions with BYU President Howard S. McDonald and Vasco Tanner concerning the possibility of setting up a Nurses Training School at BYU. Soon after this meeting, the Presiding Bishopric of the Church convened a meeting of hospital and BYU officials, from which the BYU School of Nursing was born. Wilkinson found the Board of Trustees was enthusiastic about the new program, and so he gave the fledgling school a generous budget. It was decided to open the new School of Nursing in the fall of 1952.¹⁵

Vivian Hansen, who had a master's degree and substantial field experience in nursing, relinquished a prestigious position in Colorado to accept the deanship of the new College. The favored position of the training program is reflected in the fact that it was housed in the attractive new Eyring Science Building. However, there was continued resistance from the University of Utah College of Nursing, which felt one nursing school in Utah was enough, and it seemed that this sentiment carried over into the State Board of Nursing. This was a delicate problem inasmuch as the Utah State Board of Nursing had only granted the school provisional accreditation when it opened its doors in the fall of 1952. Another problem was finding an adequately trained LDS nursing faculty. In fact, when Dean Hansen resigned in 1954 it became necessary to hire a non-LDS dean.

Because of the unique demands made upon BYU faculty, it was rarely possible to find non-LDS teachers or administrators who felt comfortable in accommodating to the BYU pattern of education. However, the new School of Nursing was an exception. By 1956 its faculty of twenty members had only six with master's degrees, and all of these were non-LDS. The generous and warmhearted spirit in which these well-trained nursing teachers accommodated to the Mormon culture is typified by the comments of Martha Jenny, who assumed the primary responsibility for the public health nursing program at BYU:

I came to BYU with the understanding that this would be a one-year appointment, which was what I particularly wanted. I stayed twelve years, telling myself each year this would be the last. I've always liked adventures and coming to BYU was probably the greatest. Being non-Mormon and coming to a completely different and, what seemed to me, almost an unreal situation was both fascinating and disquieting. . . . I was thrilled with the assemblies and especially appreciated the devotional programs where I learned more about the Mormon religion. One thing troubled me, though. I did not know many of the hymns, and everyone sang heartily without a hymn book. When I mentioned my dilemma at lunch one day, Stella Rich . . . said, "We must have a hymn sing for

15. For a more extensive discussion of the origin of the College of Nursing, see Maurine M. Harris, "History of the College of Nursing," 1 March 1974, BYU Archives, pp. 1-17.

Miss Jenny.” In a short time I was invited to her home with a number of charming BYU women. Naomi Rich Earl . . . brought an old hymn book, and together the group checked hymns that were most often used. I spent a number of evenings copying those hymns on 3 x 5 cards which I carried in my purse regularly. At the beginning of devotional assemblies I took the appropriate card out and with surreptitious glances at it could sing lustily with the others.¹⁶

Engineering

In 1951 the administration began investigating the desirability of including engineering in the curriculum, even though the Board of Trustees was sensitive about venturing into this area, partly because of the high projected cost of equipping a department with the necessary facilities. Joseph F. Merrill, formerly dean of the School of Engineering at the University of Utah and Church commissioner of education during the bleak days of the Depression, was the strongest opponent of the proposed program. He was well acquainted with the financial burden a school of engineering entailed and felt it would not be wise for BYU to strike out in this direction. President Wilkinson respected Elder Merrill’s opinion but thought that perhaps a more objective evaluation of the need for engineering at BYU was contained in the recommendations of Nephi A. Christensen, a BYU graduate who was director of the School of Civil Engineering at Cornell University:

I agree with you that the BYU is now large enough to almost require that engineering be taught. . . . Three curricula should be offered to start with: Civil, Mechanical, and Electrical Engineering. Accreditation by [the] Engineers Council for Professional Development is absolutely necessary. Their policy is not to accredit until graduates have been produced. If you start engineering, be prepared to treat it like a favored child, at least until graduates have been produced and accreditation has been achieved.¹⁷

Over Merrill’s sincere protests the Board approved President Wilkinson’s proposal to establish an Engineering Science Department, with the stipulation that it not pursue extended research but teach elementary engineering principles.

The greatest boon to the new department was Harvey Fletcher’s return from the Bell Telephone Laboratories in 1952 to become dean. With such a figure involved in the engineering program, the Board of Trustees was more willing to allow the new department to grow. To compensate for curriculum deficiencies, BYU entered into a five-year agreement with Columbia University. Under this plan a student enter-

16. Maurine M. Harris, “History of the College of Nursing,” 1 March 1974, BYU Archives, pp. 35-36.

17. Nephi A. Christensen to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 27 November 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

ing Brigham Young University and following a course of study as outlined by both schools could transfer to the Columbia School of Engineering at the end of three years and, after successfully meeting the graduation requirements of both institutions, be granted the appropriate bachelor's degree from each. The Columbia School of Engineering agreed to accept any student recommended for transfer by Brigham Young University under this plan.¹⁸

Under this arrangement and with further progress by 1956 the Board of Trustees authorized the creation of three new departments, breaking the Engineering Department into the departments of Civil Engineering Science, Electrical Engineering Science, and Mechanical Engineering Science. This change permitted the engineering training at BYU to enjoy substantial growth.

Teachers of Men

Some of the biggest academic changes during the early Wilkinson years occurred within the College of Education. Since Karl G. Maeser's time there had been an emphasis at BYU on teacher training, and it was therefore virtually inevitable that the BYU College of Education would attain a position of preeminence over other colleges and departments. Soon after his appointment President Wilkinson wrote to Franklin S. Harris about a critical situation involving the College of Education:

From what I learned during the week, one of the real problems that I must immediately meet concerns a fundamental dispute between the College of Education and other colleges on campus. . . . The College of Education grew very fast (as I understand it) under the administration of President McDonald. . . . It has sought to draw students to itself away from the other colleges, has pretty much alienated cooperation, and has antagonized the rest of the institution. . . .

If you would care to give it, I would appreciate being informed of what you know. . . .¹⁹

Harris replied,

I note your worry about the Dean of Education. There is a bit of a problem there, but I do not believe it will give you too much concern when you get closer to it. In many institutions this particular area gives trouble. The U. of U. and the U.S.A.C. have frequently had their educational dean at outs with the rest of the institution because of the very nature of teacher training. . . .

In large Universities like Columbia the question is resolved by having a complete curriculum of academic subjects independent of the rest of the University. . . .

18. J. R. Dunning, dean of the School of Engineering of Columbia University, to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 2 April 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

19. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Franklin S. Harris, 23 October 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Part of the trouble comes from the fact that the Deans of Education of our medium schools of Education want to ape the larger universities.²⁰

In the same letter President Harris agreed with Wilkinson that it would be a mistake to make subject matter departments less important than Methods departments, on the grounds that the skill of a teacher must be rooted first in the subject matter he is teaching and second in the methods which he uses to communicate this knowledge.

President Wilkinson also sought advice from A. C. Lambert, a former member of the BYU College of Education faculty. Lambert said that

The biggest single decision internally at BYU is the place of "education" among the numerous other fields of the University. It is one, but only one area. It is a service area, not a master area which demands the service of all the academic departments; . . . All *other* departments *teach*, and teach well; they teach better in numerous cases than does the education department itself. It is clear knowledge of this fact among the sound heads of the faculty and the best students that raises hob when the education department . . . make[s] not only an implicit but an overt and offensive assumption to the contrary, and claim a monopoly of insight into the total educative process and into the techniques of actual instruction.²¹

At bottom, there were four major criticisms of the College of Education. First, some observers believed the college was dominating the University's curriculum. Second, many objected to the college's desire that all students who planned to enter teaching select education as a major in preference to subject matter areas. Third, many felt that the placement bureau for teachers should operate independently of the College of Education. And fourth, faculty members objected to the College of Education's insistence that the graduate school not encroach upon the graduate program of the College of Education. The spokesman for the college was Dean Reuben Law, and its main opponent was Asahel Woodruff. As Dean Law expressed it, the debates between the two factions resulted in an academic "cold war" on campus.

Several years later President Wilkinson summarized what eventually happened:

While I was in the process of trying to resolve the differences between these two factions on the campus, Dean Reuben Law, who was Dean of our College of Education, was appointed President of the new Church College of Hawaii. That gave me a real opportunity to resolve the differences. I did it by appointing Dr. Asahel Woodruff as the new Dean of the College of Education. . . . Under

20. Franklin S. Harris to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 31 October 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

21. A. C. Lambert to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 12 November 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

his leadership and with my complete support, he changed our basic thinking on campus.

We did it by providing that students could qualify for teaching in any one of the ten colleges of the University, provided they took certain basic courses in the College of Education. The result has been a revelation to all of us. The College of Education is now accepted on this campus as being on a par academically with any of the other Colleges.

The result also is that instead of our training 1700 students for teachers, as was the case in 1955-56, this last year we were training 3400 students for teachers, and I am sure they will be much better teachers.²²

First College of Family Living

Among the numerous aspirations which President Wilkinson had for BYU was the development of a College of Family Living — the first of its kind in the United States.²³ Once more he reached out in many directions for professional advice in order to have the strongest possible case when he presented his proposal to the leaders of the Church. Prominent among those with whom he corresponded was Leah Widtsoe, granddaughter of Brigham Young and wife of John A. Widtsoe. She had been a home economics professor at both BYU and USAC. Wilkinson wrote to her,

I am about ready to propose to the Board of Trustees that they authorize me to establish a separate College of Home Living, in which we would teach the traditional subjects taught in home economics schools such as nutrition, foods, clothing, home management, and also other subjects such as child psychology, nursing and related subjects. I believe that if we launched out boldly with a separate college of that kind it would catch the imagination of our people and also of the girls of our student body and that we could have the greatest home living center in the world.

While we have talked a lot about this in our Church, we have never done much about it and I have been embarrassed from time to time when the Brigham Young University has gone out of state to get people to lecture in home living during our summer schools. We should have the greatest authorities in home living in the

22. Ernest L. Wilkinson to John Fitzpatrick, 2 August 1958, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

23. Wilkinson avidly supported family studies, wherever they were carried out. On 3 July 1952 the *Universe* reported that Wilkinson "recently became a solid supporter, financially speaking, for one of his school's greatest opponents, the University of Utah. . . . President Wilkinson presented a personal check for \$1,000 to aid in building construction at Utah. The donation was specifically intended to aid in completion of the Home Economics Practice House on the Ute campus. In making the donation, Dr. Wilkinson emphasized the importance of maintaining a wholesome family life and the need for greater emphasis on the art of homemaking in all levels of the educational program."

world on our campus. Further, I am afraid that unless we launch out boldly in this way and really create a big school I will not be able to draw to Brigham Young University the type of leadership which we need.²⁴

Both Leah Widtsoe and her husband gave Wilkinson their support.

In November 1951 Wilkinson presented to the Deans Council statistics indicating that there were 2,000 LDS women at BYU compared to a combined total of less than 1,700 at the University of Utah and Utah State Agricultural College. Because of this concentration of LDS young women at BYU the Deans' Council and later the Board of Trustees readily approved Wilkinson's idea for the new college.²⁵

President Wilkinson asked Virginia Cutler, a faculty member at the University of Utah, to serve as the first dean of the College of Family Living. Upon the presentation of Dr. Cutler's name to the Trustees, the Board instructed Adam S. Bennion, formerly a professor at the University of Utah, to accompany President Wilkinson to the office of President A. Ray Olpin of the University of Utah to obtain his reaction. Olpin vigorously objected to Cutler leaving the University of Utah. He pointed out that she was the center of a major development in the Home Economics program at the University of Utah, and her resignation would cause irreparable damage. Wilkinson reported the substance of his conference with Olpin to President McKay and again expressed in writing his reasons for desiring to persuade Dr. Cutler to transfer to BYU:

Despite the fact at the present time we have two and one-half times as many girls as the University of Utah, nevertheless our Home Economics staff is the weakest Home Economics faculty in the State. . . . In the past, both the University of Utah and the USAC, by offering larger salaries and more tempting positions, have taken a number of members of our faculty. . . . Now, however, that the Brigham Young University has become the largest school in the state, it is only to be expected that some faculty members from the other institutions will ultimately desire to come to the BYU.²⁶

President McKay spoke by telephone with President Olpin to assure him that the decision must rest with Cutler as to whether or not she would make the change and that "There is no coercion whatever from a religious standpoint — it is left entirely with her."²⁷ In this difficult situation Dr. Cutler chose for the time being to remain at the University of Utah. However, she expressed willingness to do all she could to support the new college and gave constructive advice for its improve-

24. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Leah Widtsoe, 28 January 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

25. BYU Board Minutes, 14 March 1952.

26. Ernest L. Wilkinson to David O. McKay, 7 March 1953, David O. McKay Papers.

27. David O. McKay, diary, 9 March 1953.

ment. Years later, after some time at the University of Utah and a long tour of voluntary duty for the U. S. Government in Thailand, Dr. Cutler came to BYU as dean of the College of Family Living.

In the meantime Royden Braithwaite, who was in charge of a number of academic areas at BYU, was asked to be temporary dean.²⁸ The final selection of a co-dean for the college was prompted when Leon D. Windsor, dean of the School of Education at Cornell University, who had taught with President Wilkinson at Weber Junior College, suggested the name of Dr. Marion Pfund, a member for 25 years of the Cornell faculty. President Wilkinson promptly invited Pfund to BYU for an interview in May 1954. He was impressed with her credentials. She had her doctorate from Yale and was fascinated by the potential of the family living program and the active interest of the LDS people in family relationships. Pfund was also intrigued by the novelty of having a man and a woman serve as co-deans of the new college, as was suggested to her by President Wilkinson. Pfund readily accepted President Wilkinson's offer, and he appointed her co-dean with Royden Braithwaite, professor of psychology.

Unfortunately for the college, the University soon lost the services of Dr. Braithwaite, who in December 1954 accepted the position of director (equivalent to president) of the College of Southern Utah, now Southern Utah State College, in Cedar City. Marion Pfund was then appointed dean of the college, which was divided into six departments: Clothing and Textiles, with Eleanor Jorgensen as acting chairman; Economics and Management of the Home, with Beth Hinman as chairman; Food and Nutrition, with Marion Bennion as chairman; Homemaking Education, with Virginia Poulson as chairman; Housing and Design, with Beth Hinman as chairman; and Human Development and Family Relationships, with Blaine Porter as chairman.²⁹

The completion of the first and second of the Heritage Halls student residence buildings further assisted the growing college. With the advice and help of Virginia Cutler, these buildings were designed by architect Fred Markham as housekeeping apartments for women students and also served as laboratories for the College of Family Living.

With the help of Dean Pfund and Blaine Porter, arrangements were made for carefully screened students to attend the famous Merrill-Palmer School in Detroit, Michigan, for a quarter and receive full credit from BYU for their work. This proved beneficial, for students were able to attend certain courses which at that time were not offered at BYU.

The new college improved dramatically during its early years of operation. Dr. Pfund functioned as dean until she felt she had fulfilled

28. "Progress Report of Royden Braithwaite to Harvey L. Taylor," 24 April 1954, files of Marion C. Pfund, UA 309, BYU Archives.

29. Virginia Poulson, "History of the College of Family Living," BYU Archives, p. 70.

her goals. She then resigned to make room for Virginia Cutler, who had completed her tour of duty in Thailand. As the college acquired new facilities and attracted prestigious faculty members, it became recognized as one of the leading centers for family research in the United States. Blaine Porter, the present dean (1975), served as president of the National Council on Family Relations during 1963-64 and has been chairman of that council's Committee on Family Life Education since 1965. Other members of the faculty have been prominent in national organizations. J. Joel Moss has been secretary of the National Council on Family Relations; Eleanor Jorgensen has been on the National Steering Committee for the Association of College Professors of Textile and Clothing; and Marion Bennion has been on the Defense Advisory Committee of Women in the Services.

Tillers of the Soil

Wilkinson and his associates also worked to strengthen the agricultural work of the University. Because he had been general counsel for the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives and had done legal work for the American Farm Bureau, he was particularly interested in this area. Until 1954 the Animal Husbandry and Agronomy departments were part of the College of Applied Science. Because of low funding, the agriculture program had not grown much for 30 years, although the courses offered were excellent. The one spurt of growth came with John A. Widtsoe's outstanding year at BYU during the early days of the Brimhall Administration. And although during the Harris administration Dean Thomas L. Martin had given unusual leadership, the department had little monetary support. Further, Martin had retired as dean of the College of Applied Science in 1950, and he was replaced by Robert H. Daines from Rutgers. Daines stayed for only a part of a year and then was released from his contract to return to Rutgers. Wilkinson asked Martin to reassume the deanship in spite of his age. Shortly thereafter Martin's wife died, and he was granted a one-year leave of absence. Raymond B. Farnsworth was appointed as acting dean until Martin's return. This unstable situation did not help the agricultural work, but Wilkinson persisted in his plans.

Before the University could begin more extensive work in agronomy and animal husbandry, Wilkinson had to get permission from the Board of Trustees. This was difficult because of the lack of an agricultural tradition at the University. Wilkinson also needed to recruit a dean with credentials and a working knowledge of the needs and problems of the new college.

The first hurdle was overcome by indicating to the Board that the establishment of a College of Agriculture would not be a threat to Utah State Agricultural College because over half of the agriculture students at BYU came from outside Utah. The second obstacle was more difficult. For some time President Wilkinson had been seeking the ser-

vices of Clarence Cottam, a prestigious BYU graduate who was affiliated with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, acting as assistant director of the Fish and Wildlife Service.

When the College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences was formed during the campus-wide reorganization of colleges in 1954, President Wilkinson announced that Clarence Cottam would be the first dean. Unfortunately, Dean Cottam remained only a year, resigning to accept the directorship of the Welder Wildlife Refuge in Sinton, Texas. Cottam left Provo because the new college did not fulfill his expectations. He told Wilkinson, "You tried for three years to get me to come to the B.Y.U., and in your eloquence you convinced me that this position I was to fill afforded not only a great challenge, but a tremendous opportunity to render service. . . . Despite all this, and my own vigorous efforts this year, when I look objectively at the accomplishments of the past year in this college, I am quite disappointed because I can see nothing of significance that has been accomplished beyond the daily routine."³⁰

Cottam was succeeded by Rudger Walker of Utah State Agricultural College. Walker, who had been a student of Dr. Martin, was eminently qualified. He was the first of Martin's students to go on for a Ph.D., which he completed at Iowa State College. He occupied a number of prestigious positions, including dean of agriculture at Utah State University, and was elected a fellow of the American Society of Agronomy and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. After he was appointed to the BYU faculty, the American Society of Agronomy at their annual meeting held in Las Vegas in 1973 had a special dinner in his honor, attended by 125 to 150 of the leading professors of agronomy in the country, at which they recognized him as being one of the leading agricultural authorities in the country.

Under Walker's leadership, conditions in the College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences did improve, and the college soon took its place beside the College of Family Living as a significant part of BYU's growth.

Graduate School

According to George H. Hansen, a past dean, when Wilkinson arrived the BYU graduate school "had just been teetering along."³¹ Although the graduate program was authorized in 1916, it was very slow in developing. During the 1952-53 school year only 43 students graduated from BYU with master's degrees. Almost a third of these graduates were in education, and the rest were spread among 18 other departments. Twenty-one of the University's departments awarded no

30. Clarence Cottam to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 21 June 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

31. Harvard S. Heath, interview with George H. Hansen, 8 July 1974.

advanced degrees at all that year.³² There were several reasons for this situation, the main one being the lack of emphasis given graduate programs by the Board of Trustees. Funding was weak, and some thought there was also a lack of qualified faculty.

In a perceptive letter to President Wilkinson, Christen Jensen pointed out

That the Graduate School's growth has been rather slow when compared with the growth of some other graduate schools. Most of the efforts of faculty members during this period have been devoted to the instruction of undergraduate students. . . . We have done little in the way of attracting graduate students to our campus. . . .

Another factor which in the past has militated against the faster growth of our graduate school has been the feeling that our graduate faculty has been lacking in scholarship. . . . Exclusive of ROTC officers and special teachers, I find that our entire faculty can be classified as follows: 28 percent hold the doctor's degree, 43 percent have a master's degree, 24 percent have only a bachelor's degree, and less than three percent are holder's of CPA or the LL.B. degrees. . . . Not only should faculty members attain as high a scholastic degree as possible, but they should also realize that they must be engaged in continuous study and research in order to keep up-to-date in their fields of work.

Dr. Jensen saw that the University needed greater library resources for graduate students, and he also felt there was no

genuine academic atmosphere upon our campus. I believe that we are over socialized. There are so many parties, dances, elections, queen contests, athletic events, social units and club functions that I sometimes wonder how our students find time to accomplish the fundamental purposes for which they came to this institution. . . . A more scholarly atmosphere would help to improve the intellectual objective of the university.³³

Many of the faculty concurred with Jensen's evaluation of the Graduate School. Following Jensen's advice, Wilkinson inaugurated a policy prodding members of the faculty to obtain their terminal degrees at prestigious universities. As faculty qualifications improved, Wilkinson worked with the faculty and with the Board of Trustees to increase graduate offerings and to initiate doctoral programs.

Faculty Recruitment

With the reorganization of the colleges and the extraordinary

32. Christen Jensen to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 13 June 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

33. Christen Jensen to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 7 January 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

growth of BYU from 1951 to 1956, faculty recruitment fell behind. It became increasingly difficult to find qualified LDS scholars and lure them away from more lucrative positions. On the suggestion of President Wilkinson, a Dean's Council committee compiled a booklet of LDS scholars at universities throughout the country, which was kept up to date and republished every three years during the Wilkinson administration, which helped in recruiting.

The administration was equally concerned with improvement of the current faculty. Those who did not have their doctorates were strongly encouraged to attend an out-of-state university in order to bring to BYU a "well-balanced educational offering."³⁴

Actually, faculty recruiting followed a standard procedure. The names of outstanding prospects were first turned over to the appropriate dean for a preliminary investigation, after which President Wilkinson completed the screening process. Although academic qualifications varied according to individual circumstances, the President sought teachers with competence in their disciplines, usually accompanied by a doctor's degree. He investigated the applicant's activity in the Church and his adherence to its principles. He also wanted professors with good teaching ability. President McKay and the Board of Trustees left most of this screening to the administration; few of the recommendations were disapproved. Subsequent interviews conducted by members of the Board of Trustees were mainly concerned with the prospective teacher's moral character and his adherence to the standards and practices of the Church.

Though some exceptions were made, the Board of Trustees discouraged administrators from recruiting faculty members from the teaching forces of Utah State Agricultural College and the University of Utah.³⁵ Wilkinson was advised to consult with the presidents of state schools before offering positions to members of their faculty.

By 1955 faculty qualifications had improved substantially: 71 professors held doctorate degrees from 27 different universities. Nine faculty members held doctorates from Stanford, eight from the University of California at Berkeley, seven from the University of Chicago, and six from the University of Wisconsin. The statistics were not so impressive for those holding master's degrees. Of 100 professors with master's degrees, 60 had received them from Brigham Young University. Only a few held degrees from academically prestigious universities, and 50 of the 71 teachers holding bachelor's degrees had received them from BYU.³⁶ But as years passed, academic inbreeding became less of a problem at BYU.

34. Deans Council Minutes, 7 May 1951.

35. BYU Board Minutes, 10 January 1952.

36. See "Origins of Degrees Held by Members of BYU Faculty," November 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Maintaining a Team Spirit

Until Wilkinson could build a finely tuned administrative machine he felt compelled to handle more and more of the work himself. Although operating at exhausting speed, he could not help but feel that the sacrifice and exertion were warranted since the fruits of success and achievement began pouring in from every side. In this situation some members of the faculty and a number of department heads began to feel they were being relegated to the sidelines. A spirit of alienation and hostility began to emerge in spite of the fact that they could not help but respect what Wilkinson was accomplishing. No one, not even the President himself, had envisioned the complexity of the demands which descended upon him: Wilkinson not only had the task of expanding, organizing, and staffing every dimension of the school's academic offerings and physical facilities, he also had the task of correlating the entire Church school system. Because of these exigencies, Wilkinson was compelled to operate from moment to moment and day to day under intense pressure. His only recourse was to maintain a rigid schedule of priorities which left little room for interruptions or diversions unless there was a critical emergency.

As early as November 1951, Dean Asahel Woodruff of the Graduate School, one of the most outspoken men on campus, told Wilkinson he felt the faculty was being neglected. Out of what was probably an extreme situation, he wrote,

For some ten days I have been trying to reach you on the phone or by appointment, without success. Your secretaries are unwilling to interrupt you when we call, so we cannot find out where we stand. The secretary put me down for an appointment Tuesday morning, but when I reported for it I discovered that you were not in and could not be disturbed. The secretary had been too busy to notify me in advance and save that interruption of my program. I wonder if you realize to what extent this has developed into a reputation. There is scarcely a day someone on the campus does not comment on it in my hearing, including deans and department heads.

Dean Woodruff was aware of the many problems with which the new President was burdened and he recognized that his orientation was in the field of law rather than education. He assured President Wilkinson that

You are rightly engrossed in relations with the Board, public relations, finance, and increased plant and student body. . . . You will undoubtedly always need to give all of your energy to such matters. Let me say, however, that in the long run the contribution any university makes to society depends mostly on the freedom of action given the faculty in academic matters, and the maintenance of circumstances which coax the highest type of creativeness and

productivity out of all the faculty members. . . . The real soul of a university grows up from the faculty.³⁷

Woodruff and other faculty members had hoped for a strengthening of ties between faculty and administration. Most of the faculty remembered the hectic days following World War II when the campus was flooded with returning GIs and President Howard S. McDonald had little time to ventilate routine faculty problems. This period was then followed by the caretaker administration of Christen Jensen. The coming of President Wilkinson was looked upon as a bright new era, when the University could be brought back to even keel. Faculty members were anxious to play a significant part in reorganizing and restructuring the University. The faculty were aware that ultimate sovereignty lay with the Board of Trustees, which looked to the President of the University for guidance, but many felt they were being left out, and interpreted this as either indifference or a lack of confidence in their ability to make a contribution.

Sensing the growing division between administration and faculty, President Wilkinson employed Harvey L. Taylor to act as liaison between the faculty and administration. Dr. Taylor performed yeoman service in advising the faculty of what the President was doing to improve their status. This included salary increases, modern physical facilities, and increased status and prestige for the University both in and out of the Church. At the same time, Taylor related the feelings of the faculty to the President. In August 1956 he wrote, "When I came to the University a little over three years ago, one of the first assignments you gave was, to become acquainted with the faculty, both individual members and the entire group, and to keep you informed as to their needs and interests." After hundreds of conferences, Taylor reported three main areas of complaint.

1. The faculty would like to be able to set up some kind of an organization with authority to pass on certain issues which they feel are well within its jurisdiction. . . .
2. In the area of communication, most of the faculty feels that it needs to be closer to the administrative setups of the University. In other words, it wants to be "in on things," not particularly to determine overall basic University policy, but it wants to feel that it has the confidence of the Presidency.
3. The third area . . . would be the appointment of an educational vice-president or a Dean of the Faculty, who would work with the Presidency and the faculty on problems peculiar to the academic program of the school.³⁸

37. Asahel Woodruff to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 14 November 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

38. Harvey L. Taylor to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 7 August 1956, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

With the approval of the Board the President did appoint an academic vice-president, but the establishment of a faculty senate, which many of the faculty wanted, was frowned upon by the administration and the Board of Trustees.

The Accreditation of 1956

While President Wilkinson was seeking to improve his relationships with the faculty members, the entire University underwent an evaluation by the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools. For some time this association had been accrediting Brigham Young University and had fully approved the school in 1952. As early as 1954 President Wilkinson had begun to prepare for the Accreditation Committee by organizing a committee to prepare a self-evaluation report. The two-volume report was a 500-page comprehensive evaluation of every aspect of the school. The first volume discussed objectives, finance, physical plant, materials and equipment, curriculum, admissions, administration, and students, while the second volume included a detailed discussion of each college and a list of the strengths, weaknesses, needs, and projected growth of every department in the University. These reports were lauded by the Accreditation Committee and were instrumental in their decision in favor of the University.

In general, the Accreditation Committee report complimented the University on the quality and training of the faculty, along with their enthusiasm and dedication. It reported that the students appeared to be of high quality, with excellent morale. However, problems throughout the University included excessive work load, inadequate facilities, and low salaries. The Accreditation Committee granted full accreditation with the hope that during the next five years a reexamination of the school's performance would demonstrate that it had fulfilled its high aspirations to improve wherever it was lacking, either academically or in physical resources.³⁹

An overall view of the school in 1956 may be gained from some of the observations of the Accreditation Committee. The committee thought the instruction on the undergraduate level in the College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences was excellent, but they discouraged the implementation of a graduate program until additional graduate staff and facilities were available. While evaluating the College of Fine Arts, a member of the Accreditation Committee attended rehearsals of several choral groups and found their work to be of superior quality, but thought that because of religious education requirements, another year should be required to obtain a bachelor of music degree. In the College of Commerce the committee not only noted the deficiencies

39. Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools, "Reevaluation Report on Brigham Young University, November 1956," BYU Archives, p. 92.

apparent throughout the University, but claimed that “academic freedom does not appear to exist 100 percent in the field of economics. Capitalism and the free enterprise philosophy appear to be given strong preference at the administrative level.”⁴⁰ In appraising the College of Education, the Accreditation Committee commended its creativity and imagination, along with general faculty and student morale, which appeared to be “definitely above average for the typical institution of higher education.”⁴¹ The shortcomings were the extensive inbreeding and high percentage of personnel holding only a bachelor’s degree. The committee recommended against doctoral work until adequate corrections could be made in “library facilities, curriculum laboratory facilities, professional courses, faculty members in specialized fields, and professional and academic standards.”⁴² The observers were impressed with the quality of the engineering faculty.

The Accreditation Committee was also favorably impressed with the goals, philosophy, curriculum, faculty, physical plant, and students in the College of Family Living. The College of Humanities and Social Sciences was singled out as exemplifying the problems faced by the University. The committee was also critical of journalism for the same reasons, but commented that despite the problems, “The department appears to be achieving its objective of preparing people for the journalistic fields.”⁴³ Because the School of Nursing was only four years old, the Accreditation Committee did not feel it should be evaluated, but was pleased with its prospects.

Even considering some serious handicaps, the evaluators considered physical sciences and mathematics to be two of the stronger academic areas at BYU. The academic preparation of the senior staff was “excellent — much better than would be expected in a university which has developed so recently as BYU. Although most of [the faculty members] were BYU alumni, and some have two degrees from this school, there is an excellent spread of representation among schools in which they received the doctorate.” The only major undesirable condition was the shortage of competent instructors. Too many unqualified graduate assistants were teaching classes that needed the attention of senior faculty members. The faculty-student ratio was one to 137 in chemistry; 152 in physics; 131 in geology; and 370 in mathematics.⁴⁴

The committee commended the faculty of archaeology, geography, political science, psychology, and sociology for their excellence in scholarship, cooperation, and stimulating students. There was an ideal

40. Ibid., p. 30.

41. Ibid., p. 38.

42. Ibid., p. 42.

43. Ibid., p. 72.

44. Ibid., pp. 80-82.

faculty-student relationship in these departments which allowed "close and personal faculty attention."⁴⁵

The Graduate School evaluation focused on the doctoral program under consideration. The committee felt the master's program was "carried on with relatively high standards . . . as is often the case in an institution which does not carry on a doctoral program." The committee felt that only a few departments were ready to pursue a doctoral program: Chemistry, Physics, Geology, Botany, Zoology, and History. But the committee particularly emphasized that in all areas of graduate work the library lacked "holdings of a research nature," teaching loads needed to be reduced to support a doctoral program, and salaries would "certainly have to be raised substantially . . . if good quality staff is to be attracted and retained." The committee contended "that BYU should not undertake work at the doctoral level unless it is willing to pay the price. Advanced graduate education does not come cheap. It is likely that as much time, effort, and money will be spent on ten doctoral students as on two hundred undergraduates. But the program is worth it in terms of the quality of staff which can be attracted and retained in no other way."⁴⁶

Summarizing its observations about the whole institution, the Accreditation Committee reported that

The most outstanding single fact about the Brigham Young University is that its enrollment has been approximately tripled in the past ten years, making it now the second largest institution in the area served by the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools. The manifold problems resulting from this phenomenal growth — a growth which, apparently, has been more or less sought by the administration and by the LDS Church — have in general been vigorously attacked, particularly since President Ernest L. Wilkinson took office in 1951. Yet it is apparent that what is needed most now by the University is a period of relative calm for several years during which it may assimilate this tremendous growth, and consolidate its gains, particularly in relation to physical plant, administrative and faculty organization, faculty salary structure and personnel policies.⁴⁷

45. Ibid., p. 84.

46. Ibid., pp. 60-61.

47. Ibid., p. 5.

24

Bricks and Mortar: Accomplishments and Frustrations

The most immediate sign of BYU's growth and the Church's commitment to the school's continuation was the amazing campus construction and beautification program, which transformed the entire campus and provided the University with a physical plant worthy of its destiny.

Flashback

At the time of Wilkinson's appointment in 1951, 720,000 square feet of floor space was sparsely scattered in buildings on the 282 acres of upper campus, including the Maeser Memorial Building, the Grant Library, the Brimhall Building, the Joseph Smith Building, and the new physical sciences building, dedicated on 17 October 1950.¹ Lower campus included the Education Building, College Hall, the Training School, and the Art Building, and across the street the Women's Gymnasium and the small Industrial Arts Building.

Besides these academic structures there were some physical plant facilities and student housing accommodations, though these were inadequate. Housing for women included Knight Mangum Hall, which housed 340 girls, and Amanda Knight Hall on Eighth North and University Avenue, which housed 140 girls. Men's residences consisted of Allen Hall on Seventh North and First East, which housed 110, and seven units of Wymount Village, a complex of 26 barracks buildings obtained from the Federal Government's Ogden Arsenal soon after the close of World War II, which housed 350.² Individual residences called co-op houses, purchased from local citizens, housed 111 students, mostly women, while Wymount Village housed some 200 married students and their families.

1. Sam F. Brewster in "Inside the Wilkinson Era," 25 May 1971, BYU Archives, p. 11.

2. Ephraim Hatch, "A History of the Brigham Young University Campus and the Department of Physical Plant," BYU Archives, V:11.

Nor was the 1951 campus a model of picturesque beauty. Faculty member Weldon J. Taylor wrote President Wilkinson,

There is absolutely no precedent in the Latter-day Saints Church or in the universities of America for the grounds keeping demonstrated on our campus. We have numerous visitors from California and Arizona, and they invariably express disappointment in the appearance of the campus. The upper campus dorm [Knight Mangum Hall], at the entrance of the grounds, has been completed for several years, and yet the landscaping, which appears to have been done in a piecemeal half-hearted manner, has never been cared for. . . . I could mention the trash pile in the heart of the campus, the failure to plant lawns around temporary buildings, and many other evidences of failure to provide an atmosphere of beauty and order.³

Actually, these circumstances were not so much an evidence of neglect as they were the symptoms of BYU's impoverished past when the University was continually struggling for its survival. But by 1951 both students and faculty felt certain that BYU was finally coming into its own. Evidence of BYU's new-found solidarity was the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse, which was authorized by the Board of Trustees in 1945, although construction did not begin until the spring of 1950. With \$500,000 in Church appropriations and an equal amount from local businesses, townspeople, and Church members, the fieldhouse was finally completed at a cost of more than \$1,000,000 and dedicated in December 1951. Used for commencement exercises in June 1951, the new building occupied a site west of Temple Hill and just south of the old football stadium.

Early Projects

Under Wilkinson's direction, building programs for academic purposes and for student housing were immediately considered. On 8 November 1951, one month after his inauguration, President Wilkinson presented a building program to the Deans' Council. Discussions centered around a family institute building to serve as a home for the new College of Family Living, a proposed student union building, and the need for much more student housing.⁴

The Herald R. Clark Building

Because of the pressing need for a larger bookstore and student offices, the school received authorization to construct a new service building in 1952. The new building was constructed just east of the physical sciences building. The L-shaped two-story structure (one un-

3. Weldon J. Taylor to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 19 January 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

4. Deans' Council Minutes, 8 November 1951.

derground) covered 30,000 square feet. This small but attractive structure was designed by Fred L. Markham and was finished in golden buff brick and white stone to harmonize with the more recent architecture on campus. Cost of construction and furnishings amounted to \$430,000, of which \$175,000 was financed from bookstore profits, \$150,000 from a Church loan to be paid back from bookstore profits over the next five years, and the balance from a Church capital project appropriation.⁵

The relatively small amount of appropriated Church funds was one of the important reasons the Board readily agreed to support the project. The building was later named after Herald R. Clark, a beloved faculty member who for many years had served as director of the bookstore, dean of the College of Commerce, and director of lyceums for BYU. At the dedication services for the bookstore Harold B. Lee of the Quorum of the Twelve declared with optimism, "This building is just the first link in a chain of buildings that will be built on the campus in the next few years. These new buildings and the increased effort to furnish them with the proper instructors will make BYU the greatest university in the world."⁶

Need for a Campus Master Plan

Long before the Herald R. Clark Building was completed President Wilkinson was determined that a master plan for the campus should be devised in order to accommodate anticipated large-scale developments. R. B. O'Connor, an expert in this field from Stanford University, explained why a master plan is so necessary for systematic campus growth:

It does, it is true, tend to minimize interferences and back treading, which means worthwhile economy and efficiency in the long run. But the more impelling reason is that the physical surroundings in which we live and work, and I hope dream, influence us in myriad ways beyond our knowing. As Sir Winston Churchill said in a famous speech on the reconstruction of the House of Commons during the War, "We shape our buildings but they in turn shape us."⁷

At a Deans' Council meeting in the spring of 1952, President Wilkinson found a consensus that the school would have at least 10,000 students by 1962. The campus plan was designed for a maximum enrollment of 12,000. School administrators saw good reasons for this. Rather than make BYU too big, most of the deans agreed with the administration that it would be preferable to have branches of

5. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 22 May 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

6. "Church Section," *Deseret News*, 28 March 1953.

7. R. B. O'Connor, "Trends in College Architecture," *College and University Business* 22(May 1957):44.

Brigham Young University built in various parts of the Church, making BYU with its branches “the largest university in the world.”⁸

Adoption of the Master Plan

By mid-1952 President Wilkinson noted with considerable alarm that properties near the school were gradually being purchased by private interests, and unless the school moved quickly, the purchase price for many lots would become prohibitive. The plan was also urgently needed in order to set new buildings in their proper place in relation to the whole campus plan; to establish adequate access roads, campus roadways, walks, and parking areas; and to incorporate newly acquired property into the campus master plan. The survey was approved by the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees on 16 April 1953. Ben E. Lewis, a talented administrator who joined the BYU staff in March 1952, was one of the principal supporters of the plan. One of his major responsibilities as associate treasurer was to supervise building construction and campus development. George H. Smeath, Salt Lake City and County planning director, served as chairman of the planning committee. Along with Ben E. Lewis, other committee members included William Wurster, dean of the College of Architecture and Planning at the University of California; architect Fred L. Markham of Provo; Leland M. Perry, superintendent of buildings and grounds at BYU; and Wesley P. Lloyd, dean of students.⁹

The planning committee produced the 1953 “Master Campus Development Plan.” As Markham recalled, “Bill Wurster made three visits to the campus, spending about two days each time, and then we would absorb his ideas and put them into another scheme for him.”¹⁰ On 26 June 1953 a scale model of the proposed campus layout was presented to and approved by the Board of Trustees. It was agreed that all future academic buildings would be of a permanent rather than temporary nature. This policy called for the removal of existing temporary buildings whenever construction of replacements began. Buildings were to be spaced across campus to take full advantage of the scenic view of the Wasatch Mountains and Utah Valley, without destroying functional relationships between departments. The buildings were to be designed to harmonize with one another and with their natural surroundings.¹¹

Acquisition of Additional Land

While the master plan was being developed, the administration was making painstaking preparations to persuade the Board of Trustees to

8. Ernest L. Wilkinson, “Future Building Plans of the University,” 19 March 1952.

9. Hatch, “A History of the BYU Campus,” VI:36.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

11. “Overall Campus Plan,” June 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

recognize the need for large financial appropriations to acquire acreage for future expansion. Wilkinson engaged expert real estate men to make studies and recommendations, and as a result of the studies the Board of Trustees approved a \$500,000 appropriation which was used to purchase the Ekins, Phillips, Smeath, Patton, and Isaacson properties, along with other smaller parcels of land.¹² The Isaacson property, a 50-acre tract southwest of the present site of the Provo Temple, was an especially important acquisition.

At a May 1953 Board meeting Wilkinson discussed in great detail the needs of the campus and his plans for the future of Brigham Young University. At the end of his presentation he requested an appropriation of \$10,000,000, half of which would be spent on student housing and the other half of which would go toward the construction of academic and service buildings, including a family living center, an administration building, an engineering building, a health center, a greenhouse, and a warehouse. The plan called for the largest single university building program in the history of Utah to that time. It would increase the academic floor space of the University by half and nearly double the student housing capacity.¹³ After careful deliberation, the Board unanimously approved the entire proposal.

The Student Housing Boom

As of September 1951 the school had accommodations for only 709 women, 350 men, and 200 married students, for a total of 1,259 of the 5,957 students enrolled for the 1951-52 school year.¹⁴ Applications for student housing numbered 2,000, and only “by an intensive door-to-door canvass of Provo homes” were enough places located to accommodate the overflow.¹⁵ There was little doubt in the minds of BYU leaders that the scarcity of proper housing facilities was one predominant reason why many parents were not sending their children, especially their daughters, to Provo.

Heritage Halls — Named after Noble Women

The idea of building apartments with cooking facilities to give female students practical homemaking experience along with their academic training was appealing. At a special meeting in late March 1952 the Board authorized an expenditure of \$2,342,400 for the construction of 16 housing units. Funds were obtained through a 40-year loan from the Church at a favorable interest rate.¹⁶

12. “Real Estate Purchases as of 10 August 1953,” Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

13. “Wilkinson Plans Reveal Seven New Buildings,” *Universe*, 28 May 1953.

14. “Memo on Student Housing,” 26 September 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

15. Ernest L. Wilkinson to David O. McKay, 12 May 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

16. BYU Board Minutes, 28 March 1952.

This plan provided housing for approximately 800 single women students in 16 two-story halls designed to accommodate 48 students each. Twenty-four women would live on each of the two floors, with six to an apartment. An apartment was also provided for a head resident to insure proper supervision.¹⁷ The site chosen for the development was on the northeast corner of campus just west of Ninth East.¹⁸ The Church Building Committee supervised construction with the assistance of Glenn Enke, head of the civil engineering program at BYU.¹⁹

Fred L. Markham was architect for the project. Paulsen Construction Company was the successful bidder, and construction began early in the fall of 1952. Two units were scheduled for completion by 15 November, four by 15 December 1952, and eight by 1 January 1953,²⁰ but none of these deadlines was met. All 16 units were completed by 3 October 1953 at a final cost of \$3,032,000,²¹ and the complex was named Heritage Halls.²² Made available to women students for \$20 per month, the units quickly filled to capacity.

Because of the complexity of the expanding housing system, the administration of student housing was transferred from the dean of students to a new director of housing, Fred A. Schwendiman of Salt Lake City, who assumed his position in May 1953.²³

It soon became evident that the first phase of Heritage Halls would barely accommodate new housing applications for the 1953-54 school year. By 1 October 1954 a total of 2,615 female students had applied for the 1,445 available on-campus living spaces, 878 males had applied for 426 on-campus accommodations, and 459 married couples had applied for 200 apartments. Clearly there was a housing shortage in all sections of the University community, but many more girls had to be turned away than men and married couples combined.

To alleviate this situation, Wilkinson proposed to the Board of Trustees on 7 October 1954 the construction of sixteen new units (later reduced to eight) similar to those in Heritage Halls. The new units which were approved differed from the other Heritage Halls in size and layout. Instead of being two stories in height with two basement

17. These supervisors were originally LDS widows who were active in the Church, but young married couples were later chosen to act as supervisors.

18. "New Y Dorms to Be Situated Adjoining Wymount Location," *Universe*, 1 August 1952.

19. Ernest L. Wilkinson to David O. McKay and members of the LDS Church Appropriations Committee, 12 May 1952, Stephen L Richards Papers.

20. *Universe*, 7 October 1952.

21. Hatch, "A History of the BYU Campus," VI:9; and Fred A. Schwendiman to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 29 May 1956, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

22. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 6 May 1954.

23. "Salt Laker Appointed to Housing," *Universe*, 14 May 1953. Schwendiman had established a top reputation in government administration with the Veterans Administration and the Civil Service Board.

apartments in each building, the new structures were to be three stories high with no basement apartments. Each unit was to accommodate 72 students as compared to 60 in the older halls. The homemaking orientation of the other buildings was retained.²⁴

By the fall of 1956 the Heritage Halls complex for women included housing for 960 girls in the two-story buildings and 576 girls in the three-story units. The 24 buildings, erected at a total cost of over \$5,000,000, housed 1,536 girls and provided 382,000 square feet of floor space. With these additions, the University operated housing facilities for almost 2,000 women.²⁵ The Heritage Halls were named individually after noble Mormon women who had served well and unselfishly in varied fields of activity. (Short biographical sketches of each of them are included in *Brigham Young University, The First One Hundred Years*, Vol. 2, pages 725-33.)

Helaman Halls — Named after Courageous and Faithful Men

Money had been earmarked for campus housing for male students as early as November 1952, but several revisions in plans and relocations of the proposed buildings caused delays for four years. In 1954 a survey of male students revealed that, although a few preferred batching, an overwhelming number favored new permanent dormitory-type accommodations, especially because they would provide much better food. Before plans were finalized, Ben Lewis, Arnold Ehlers, and Glenn Enke toured dormitory units at other universities in America to get ideas for the new facilities.²⁶ The final proposal called for a large dining hall and 1,170 accommodations in five three-story dormitories.²⁷ Total cost of the project was estimated at more than \$5,000,000, to be funded from Church loans to be amortized over 40 years at modest interest rates.²⁸

Construction of the complex, heralded as the largest single housing project in the state, began in the spring of 1957. Lowell Parrish was selected as architect of the central building, later named Cannon Center, and the Los Angeles firm of Kegley, Westphall, and Arbogast designed the residence halls. Okland Construction Company and Garff, Ryberg, and Garff Construction Company were chosen as joint contractors.²⁹ During the course of construction two more units were

24. "Construction to Start Soon on New Residence Halls for Coeds," *Universe*, 6 January 1955.

25. Fred A. Schwendiman to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 29 May 1956, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

26. Ben E. Lewis to William F. Edwards, 18 June 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

27. BYU Board Minutes, 15 June 1956; and *Daily Universe*, 18 September 1956.

28. *Daily Universe*, 22 March 1957; and First Presidency to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 18 March 1957.

29. *Daily Universe*, 22 March 1957.

added at a cost of over \$1,600,000.³⁰ When the complex was completed, on-campus housing for men at BYU more than tripled, from 500 spaces to over 1,600, removing one of the most embarrassing physical inadequacies of the school. The complex was named Helaman Halls because of the courage and faith of the sons of Helaman in the Book of Mormon.³¹ The nine individual buildings, including the Cannon Center, were named after men who had been courageous and faithful members of the Church — nearly all of whom had contributed directly to the growth of Brigham Young University. (Short biographical sketches of each of them are included in *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, Vol. 2, pages 734-38. An additional building was added later and named after Jean Fossum May, in honor of a woman who had been an outstanding head resident and who encouraged hundreds of her residents to go on missions. She called them her “Sons of Helaman.”)

Finished in Deseret Coral brick and white stone, the new men’s halls were modern, practical, and well equipped. To insure proper supervision, a male head resident or supervisor was appointed on each floor. Family prayers were to be conducted under the supervision of these head residents every evening, and efforts were conscientiously made to create a wholesome and spiritual atmosphere among the young men.

Wymount Village — Temporary Housing for Married Students

Besides meeting the need for men’s and women’s housing on campus, the University was faced with solving an ever-growing married students’ housing problem. In the 1951-52 school year more than 24 percent of the men and 5 percent of the women attending BYU were married. By 1956-57, those percentages had increased to 31 percent and 8 percent.³² Meanwhile, married couples competed for accommodations in Wymount Village or were forced to search for off-campus apartments. Wymount Village housed only 200 married families. The advantages of the village were its proximity to campus and its low rent — in 1956 only \$34 a month for a one-bedroom unit.³³ On the other hand, everyone knew Wymount Village was a temporary facility. BYU was obliged to spend substantial amounts to repair and maintain the dilapidated buildings. In addition, Wymount Village looked more like an army base than a school housing facility.

In 1956, when the situation had become desperate, BYU received an unexpected offer from a private contractor for 150 two- and three-

30. First Presidency to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 28 July 1958, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

31. BYU Board Minutes, 3 September 1958.

32. “Seven Year Report,” p. 168.

33. “A Report to the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools: Self-Evaluation Report I,” 1 October 1956, BYU Archives, p. 177.

bedroom prefabricated houses then at Mountain Home Air Force Base in Idaho. In 1957 a stream of convoys engaged by BYU made the 450-mile trip from the Air Force base to Provo. The units were installed northeast of the present site of the Marriott Center. One hundred of the units were two-bedroom homes with 480 square feet of floor space. The other 50 had three bedrooms and 650 square feet of floor space. Many were practically new. Some had never been occupied, and all were equipped with new refrigerators, electric water heaters, bathroom fixtures, and kitchen cabinets.³⁴ In August 1957 the complex was named Wyview Village. Officials expected the buildings to be usable for at least 12 years.³⁵ Though it was only a temporary solution to a persistent problem, it helped surmount the crisis. The project cost the University a total of \$559,000, including the \$160,000 purchase price of the houses.

Off-Campus Housing

As early as the Maeser years, students had been living in the homes of Provo residents under the supervision of the Domestic Department. Off-campus housing remained an important part of BYU student life, not only because it gave students a place to stay, but also because it included local residents in University activities. Off-campus facilities continued to provide the bulk of housing accommodations for the student body during the years 1950 through 1957. In the fall of 1955 some 5,000 of the 8,000 students enrolled — over 60 percent — were living off campus in private dwellings or, to a much lesser extent, with relatives or at home.³⁶ The official University policy was to allow the community to house at least half of the student population. As Ben E. Lewis explained it, this approach “would make for better community relationships and ease the misunderstandings which might arise during the period of transition to more University housing.”³⁷

To counter the difficulty of obtaining adequate facilities and to better supervise students, the administration appointed a special housing committee in 1952, composed of selected students and faculty members, with the intent of improving the quality of off-campus student housing. Provo landlords agreed to improve inadequate facilities while students promised not to vacate during the school year “without just causes.” Fred Schwendiman and his assistant, Rulon Craven, worked patiently with local residents to formulate a working relationship between school and town through which better housing

34. *Daily Universe*, 2 January 1957.

35. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 29 August 1957, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

36. “Summary of Student Housing Potentials for Fall Term 1955,” 30 June 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

37. Ben E. Lewis to William F. Edwards, 18 June 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

could be provided, school standards maintained, and both landlord and tenant satisfied.

The first years of the Wilkinson period were an important period for student housing at Brigham Young University. From 1951 through 1958, 32 separate housing units were constructed at a cost of \$12,211,973, providing 710,883 square feet of floor space, room enough to house nearly 3,000 students³⁸ — and this does not include the \$374,347 spent for married student housing.

Student housing construction was only a part of a larger program of campus growth. By the summer of 1953 the school stood at the threshold of an astonishing academic building program. Chairman Ben E. Lewis, Leland Perry, and Glenn Enke of the Physical Plant Committee supervised the construction program. Perry had been superintendent of the Department of Buildings and Grounds since 1947. The name of the department was changed to Department of Physical Plant in 1954, and Perry continued as superintendent until 1957.

The Fletcher Engineering Building

The first new building after the student service center was the Fletcher Engineering Building, constructed immediately east of the student service center. One of Wilkinson's first academic decisions was to initiate an Engineering Science Department and in November 1951 the Board of Trustees officially granted approval for its establishment. Harvey Fletcher was appointed director of research in the new department and soon became dean of the College of Physical and Engineering Sciences. Recognizing the need for expanded facilities, the 68-year-old department chairman encouraged the construction of a separate engineering science building. The plan approved by the Board of Trustees included administrative and faculty offices, classrooms, and laboratories.³⁹ The Tolboe and Harlin Construction Company of Salt Lake City was awarded the contract, and Lawrence D. Olpin of Ogden, Utah, served as architect. Construction began in July and was completed in October 1953. The H-shaped building included four wings with classroom and laboratory space for civil, electrical, mechanical, and chemical engineering. The central space was reserved for faculty offices.⁴⁰ In 1954 a second floor was added to three of the four wings. The second floor over the fourth wing was built later.⁴¹ Total expenditures, coupled with later remodeling, brought the cost of

38. "Permanent Buildings Constructed or Under Construction, 1951 to 1964," Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

39. Clyde D. Sandgren to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 21 July 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

40. Wayne B. Hales, "History of the College of Physical Sciences," p. 114.

41. Hatch, "A History of the BYU Campus," VI:14.

the engineering building to more than \$1,000,000.⁴² It was later named the Harvey Fletcher Engineering Sciences Laboratory.

The David O. McKay Building

In February 1954 the University announced plans for the construction of a large multipurpose classroom building. Prior to the completion of this new facility, the College of Education had been housed in the Education Building on lower campus near the Laboratory School. Office space was severely limited, and facilities were generally dilapidated.

Plans for the new building called for a three-story structure with more than 60,000 square feet of floor space. The new building would contain 110 offices and 8 classrooms, two of which, constructed like auditoriums, would be capable of seating 200 students each. The Language Department was to have 23 small phonetics laboratories and conversation rooms. The site selected for the structure was west of the Eyring Science Center on what was then a parking lot on the western brow of the hill.⁴³

The Church appropriated \$1,000,000 for the building's completion. Fred Markham was architect for the project and Christiansen Brothers of Salt Lake City was chosen as contractor.⁴⁴ To ensure completion by the scheduled deadline of late 1954, President Wilkinson drafted a construction contract containing a liquidated damage clause which bound the contractor to reimburse the school for every day required for construction beyond the proposed deadline. Within nine months of the groundbreaking the building stood completed. The Board of Trustees decided to name the structure in honor of Church President David O. McKay. President and Sister McKay cut the ribbon to officially open the structure at a special dedicatory service on 14 December 1954.

The dedication service, the satisfaction of having the job finished on schedule, and the expressions of support from Stephen L Richards, David O. McKay, and many other Board members and friends of the University prompted Wilkinson to record in his personal journal that 14 December 1954 was "one of the great days of history in our institution." He wrote,

Since buildings are necessary but can never supply the intimate relationship between teachers and students, my hope and prayer is that we shall be as successful in the accomplishing of the spiritual purposes of this institution as we have been in acquiring buildings. All in all, I have had almost complete support from the Board of

42. "Permanent Buildings Constructed or Under Construction, 1951 to 1964."

43. *Universe*, 11 February 1954.

44. "McKay Building Dedication Today," *Universe*, 14 December 1954.

Trustees and feel that I have been very much blessed by our Heavenly Father since taking over this position.⁴⁵

Almost immediately after the dedication, the College of Education and the departments of English, Modern Languages, and Political Science and History moved into the new building.

The Benjamin Cluff, Jr., Plant Science Laboratory Building

The College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences had been lobbying for greenhouse facilities and botanical laboratories for years, and there was a genuine need to expand facilities to house agronomy, botany, and horticultural activities and studies. Until 1953 a small, inadequate greenhouse on lower campus was all that was available.⁴⁶ Under the leadership of Dean Clarence Cottam the College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences encouraged the administration to gain approval from the Board for the construction of botanical laboratories providing approximately 12,000 square feet of floor space, one-fourth of which would be used for new greenhouses and the balance for laboratories in a two-story building.⁴⁷ Approval was granted.

The initial phase of the building was designed by Arnold H. Ehlers and constructed by Lynn Groneman and Company on a site away from the heart of campus, south of University hill on Eighth North between Fifth and Sixth East. Completed in the summer of 1955 at a cost of \$150,000, the building was designed for easy enlargement, and in later years several additions were made to the greenhouses and to the building itself.⁴⁸ Both the greenhouses and the brick portion of the laboratory were designed to provide a maximum amount of natural sunlight. A two-story blue-tinted glass window on the south side of the building provided light for the main stairway and hall, and the overall design furnished sunlight to the planting rooms. Sturdy plants not requiring greenhouse protection were used for landscaping around the building, affording practical opportunities for students in landscape architecture.⁴⁹ Because of his interest in botanical studies, the facility was named for President Benjamin Cluff, Jr.

The Howard S. McDonald Student Health Center

The Student Health Service had been established in 1946 with one part-time doctor and one full-time nurse. Vasco Tanner of the biology faculty served as chairman of the Health Services Committee, which administered health services on campus from 1946 until 1956. As enrollment increased the existing health services and facilities became

45. Ernest L. Wilkinson, diary, 14 December 1954.

46. BYU Board Minutes, 18 May 1953.

47. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 25 March 1954.

48. Hatch, "A History of the BYU Campus," VI:22.

49. *Universe*, 5 August 1955.

inadequate. In the fall quarter of 1952 the staff was flooded with 8,539 office calls.⁵⁰

In order to combat the problem of insufficient facilities, a student health center was high on the list of construction priorities. However, even though the Trustees gave approval for a health center, various problems delayed construction for two years. For one thing, the University had to wait a year for completion of the campus master plan. In addition, the LDS Church acquired Utah Valley Hospital, making it inadvisable to have as large a college health center as had been planned.

Finally the BYU Air Force unit of the ROTC broke the impasse by agreeing to become a co-tenant of the new building. This unit had been established at BYU in April 1951 and proved so successful that permanent facilities were required.⁵¹ Up to that time the Air Force ROTC had been housed in the Grant Building and later in the basement of the Fletcher Engineering Building. On the strength of Delbert L. Stapley's recommendation, new drawings were formulated to house the ROTC downstairs and the Student Health Services on the second floor of a larger building, at a cost of \$230,000.

Construction began late in the fall of 1954, two years after the original approval had been given. The health services unit included 12 beds, emergency treatment and examination rooms, a lead-lined X-ray room, a hydrotherapy room, a reception and waiting area, and offices and storage and library facilities for doctors and nurses.⁵² The basic concept in building was to avoid unnecessary duplication of existing Provo hospital facilities while providing means for the treatment of minor student ailments. The building was not to be a hospital or surgical center. Reasonable rates were established for the student body by providing for adequate health insurance coverage both on and off campus.

As with the Cluff Building, Arnold Ehlers of the Church Building Committee served as architect and Lynn Groneman and Company of Provo was contractor.⁵³ Accumulated cost amounted to a little over \$300,000 for the 16,371-square-foot edifice, built on the slope south-east of the Joseph Smith Memorial Building and southwest of Knight-Mangum Hall.⁵⁴ The building was completed in the early fall of 1955, fulfilling the needs of two "strange bedfellows," the Student Health Services and the Air Force ROTC. The student health center was named after former President Howard S. McDonald, who had

50. BYU Board Minutes, 18 May 1953.

51. "Brigham Young Awarded ROTC Unit Site by U.S. Air Force Officials," *Universe*, 24 April 1951.

52. "Expansion Program Continues with Two Buildings Underway," *Universe*, 23 September 1954; and *Universe*, 5 August 1955.

53. Hatch, "A History of the BYU Campus," VI:24.

54. "Permanent Buildings Constructed or Under Construction, 1951 to 1964."

originally established the Student Health Service. From 1946 on, various medical doctors served as directors of the center, including Carlos N. Madsen, Seth Smoot, Ariel Williams, Allan H. Barker, Jack B. Trunnell, and Cloyd Hofheins.

The Joseph F. Smith Family Living Center

The largest academic building constructed in the 1950s was the family living center. Ironically, it received the earliest thought, preparation, and approval, but was the last to be erected. President Wilkinson always expressed enthusiasm over John A. Widtsoe's earlier proposal to establish an institute of family living. Both men were committed to the challenge of making BYU a leader in the field of family relations, stressing the Mormon emphasis on faithful, harmonious, and spiritual family life. As a good starting point, Myron J. Abbey, a non-Mormon friend of President Heber J. Grant, had left nearly \$70,000 to Brigham Young University before Wilkinson became President. The Executive Committee of the Board later designated the money as a home economics building fund. In May 1951 the Board authorized Wilkinson to prepare plans for a home economics building. With the Abbey fund and \$270,000 acquired by the school through the ten-dollar building fee paid quarterly by each student, President Wilkinson was able to assign \$340,000 of University funds toward the completion of the building.⁵⁵

Initial drawings called for a very large structure of 150,000 square feet to cost approximately \$2,400,000, more than any other single campus structure. The Board appropriated money for the family living center on 14 November 1952. Elder Widtsoe was not present at the meeting, but knowing of his great interest in the project President Wilkinson visited the ailing leader at his home immediately after the Board meeting. Upon hearing this cheering news, Elder Widtsoe's "entire face radiated joy, and he exclaimed, 'Thank God — the BYU has at last come into its own.'"⁵⁶ Widtsoe died less than two weeks later.

Construction was delayed because of BYU's initial inability to persuade Virginia F. Cutler of the University of Utah to head the College of Family Living, which left the University without anyone experienced in the designing of the home economics features of the building.⁵⁷ The Family Living Center also had to wait until the campus master plan was approved. Then too, with at least 156 teachers claim-

55. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Memorandum in Support of the Motion for Appropriating Certain Monies for the Construction of a Family Relations Center," 16 June 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

56. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Leah D. Widtsoe, 1 December 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

57. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Memorandum in Support of Cutting Down on the Size of the Authorized Family Living Center and Also Building a Classroom Building Containing Offices for Faculty Members," 25 June 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

ing they did not have satisfactory offices, the administration proposed that the original \$2,400,000 earmarked for the family living center be divided to provide almost \$1,000,000 for the construction of a classroom-office building of 60,000 square feet. Plans were also modified to reduce the size of the family living center from 150,000 to 100,000 square feet.⁵⁸ The revised plan released the funds needed for the construction of the David O. McKay Building.

Basically, the family living center was divided into two parts — one for technical work and laboratories and the other for classrooms.⁵⁹ The structure was intended to house all six departments of the College of Family Living, in addition to the new School of Nursing and the departments of Sociology and Psychology. Architect Fred Markham stated that the building would be “unique as a whole, being the first college building in the United States having all the family studies together.”⁶⁰ Planners designed an indoor-outdoor nursery school for the east end of the building to provide practical experience for pupils studying child training and development. Modern kitchens, sewing rooms, and child observation facilities were included in the plans, and space for the entire campus telephone exchange was provided in the basement.⁶¹

Construction began in the spring of 1956 with Christiansen Brothers of Salt Lake City as contractor. The building was completed on schedule on 19 April 1957. The new structure, including furnishings, cost over \$2,200,000 — more per square foot than any other major building completed during the early Wilkinson years. It was named after Joseph F. Smith, sixth President of the LDS Church, who is especially remembered for having promoted wholesome family living. One of the most handsome and utilitarian buildings on campus, the Joseph F. Smith Family Living Center completed the beautiful southern quadrangle of the upper campus. This quadrangle includes the Joseph F. Smith Family Living Center on the north, the Joseph Smith Memorial Building on the south, the David O. McKay Building on the west, and the Eyring Science Center on the east.

Emergency Interim Buildings

With completion of the Smith Family Living Center the initial academic building program was over. Some smaller buildings were completed between 1951 and 1957. A metal quonset building for the mechanical engineering laboratories and physical plant motor pool, a central warehouse for supplies, a small temporary motion picture studio, a sheet metal shop, a physical plant shed, and other smaller structures were also finished. Ticket offices for the stadium were

58. Ibid.

59. BYU Board Minutes, 26 June 1953.

60. “Trustees OK Plan for New Building,” *Universe*, 16 November 1954.

61. Ibid.

constructed on the brow of the hill west of the Smith Family Living Center.

In 1954 BYU purchased a farm at 180 East 1325 North in Provo to be used as a poultry laboratory under the direction of Lawrence Morris of the Animal Science Department. A number of war surplus buildings, including the Butler Huts that had housed the speech center, were moved to this farm.⁶²

Beautifying the Landscape

Another important aspect of the building program was the landscaping of the campus and the improvement of utilities. Between 1950 and 1957 the total area of lawns, shrubs, and flowers on campus more than doubled; the amount of curb and gutter increased nearly 50 times; the number of subsurface drainage lines doubled; gas lines increased by 40 percent; water mains more than doubled; sewer mains increased by half; asphalt parking multiplied 30 times; and a host of other improvements were made, including extended peripheral roads and sidewalks.⁶³ The number of full-time employees in the Department of Physical Plant grew from 52 to 97, while the number of part-time employees more than doubled from 113 to 238.⁶⁴

The success of the building program was indisputable. The Board and President Wilkinson worked closely to foster this remarkable growth in physical plant, and the enthusiastic response and encouragement given by the faculty and student body were also significant. The Physical Plant Committee of Ben E. Lewis, Leland Perry, and Glenn Enke served especially well.

In terms of dollars and cents, the total new investment for land, buildings, furniture, and equipment for academic and service buildings from 1951 to 1957 amounted to over \$5,000,000, all but \$70,000 of which came through nonreimbursable grants from the LDS Church. When coupled with costs for student housing, expenditures totaled almost \$10,000,000. By 1957 the total investment in the BYU physical plant had almost tripled, from \$6,350,000 in 1950 to almost \$16,000,000 in 1957. Total academic floor space increased from 565,000 to 865,000 square feet, but because of increased enrollment, square footage per student actually decreased from 119 to 96.7, an indication that the construction program would have to be continued. Main campus acreage had increased from 236 acres to over 400 acres (excluding farms) in 1957.

By 1955 the operation of the physical plant was divided, with Ben Lewis becoming director of Auxiliary Services, Joyce W. Tippitts director of Campus Development, and Leland Perry director of the Department of Physical Plant. This revised Physical Plant Committee was

62. Hatch, "A History of the BYU Campus," VI:15-16.

63. "Seven Year Report," p. 262.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

responsible for making recommendations to vice-president William F. Edwards.⁶⁵ Later the committee became the Campus Coordinating Committee, which had more administrative authority.

Unfortunately, this expanded working arrangement did not meet expectations, causing serious delays in construction of the badly needed student union building, the administration building, permanent married student housing, and other buildings.⁶⁶ This deeply disturbed President Wilkinson. Scarcely anyone on the outside would have guessed there was any problem. The physical facilities were growing at a much faster rate than had been anticipated by anyone — including himself. Nevertheless, with his impatient nature he was seriously concerned over the delays and spent days and nights trying to solve the problems.

Heart Attack

In this situation the first part of the Wilkinson administration abruptly ended when the President suffered an almost fatal heart attack in early October 1956. This was the last thing he expected. When he heard of his brother Robert's heart attack in the spring of 1956, he confidently recorded, "I had never thought of myself as being at all susceptible to any heart trouble and still do not."⁶⁷ However, his mother experienced frequent heart ailments and was required to move to a lower altitude in California; his brother Claude died of heart failure at the age of 42; and his sister Elva had constant heart trouble.⁶⁸ Wilkinson resolved to lose weight and to exercise regularly, but he did not follow his resolution. As his work schedule intensified, he spent 70 or more hours a week at the office. He worried to some extent over the 1956 accreditation report, but his greatest frustrations were the delays in the building program. All of these factors certainly contributed to his massive heart attack at the age of 57.

Just before the heart attack President Wilkinson and his wife attended a party at Dean Asahel Woodruff's home. Wilkinson recorded, "As soon as we had had dinner, I became very ill and had to leave the party. I don't know what the trouble was, but I seemed to become ill throughout my entire body and spent a restless night."⁶⁹ That weekend he went to Salt Lake City to be examined by his son Ernest Ludlow

65. Ernest L. Wilkinson to William F. Edwards, Joyce W. Tippetts, Ben E. Lewis, and Leland Perry, 22 November 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

66. William F. Edwards to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 25 April 1957, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

67. Ernest L. Wilkinson, diary, 26 March 1956.

68. *Ibid.*, 29 September 1956.

69. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Harold B. Lee, 27 December 1961, Harold B. Lee Papers, Office of the First Presidency. Since then his sister Elva and his brother Robert have died of heart attacks.

Wilkinson, a skilled cardiologist. He planned to be finished with the examination in time to attend the LDS general conference at 10:00 a.m. After examining him, however, his son told him he was not to go to conference, though he permitted him to take care of some business in town. He was to return to the hospital immediately and go to bed, where he was to undergo rest and observation. Wilkinson reported back to the hospital around noon with a large briefcase full of papers which he began studying in his room. Later, a nurse came in and berated him, saying, "Anyone with serious angina of the heart such as you have must go to bed." That night, as he lay in the hospital listening to the University of Utah trounce BYU in football, he suffered a massive heart attack. Fortunately, one of his son's medical partners was immediately available. Apostles Harold B. Lee and Marion G. Romney responded promptly and administered a priesthood blessing of health and strength to the stricken patient. Throughout the rest of his career, Wilkinson remembered this act of service and often expressed his belief that the intervention of the priesthood was a major reason for his recovery.⁷⁰ Medically there had been grave doubt whether he would recover.

Near the end of his stay in the hospital Wilkinson began holding conferences in his bedroom and dictating University correspondence. After 31 days in the hospital he was taken to his home in Provo in an ambulance. That afternoon, contrary to the instructions of his doctors, he held a meeting with the Accreditation Committee in his home on campus. One of the nurses on the team saw he was in no condition to work and reported it to his doctors. The next morning an ambulance appeared and, against his protests, took him back to LDS Hospital in Salt Lake City.

After an additional three weeks in the hospital, Wilkinson was ordered by his doctors to go to Palm Springs, California, for total rest and recuperation. Upon hearing this, President McKay recorded in his journal, "I told President Wilkinson that I am glad that it has come to the point where he is forced to take a rest; that he may be assured that he goes with our love and blessing."⁷¹ Even in Palm Springs, however, he continued to hold conferences with people from BYU. It was not until January of the following year that the doctors were willing to permit Wilkinson to return to work — under orders to reduce his working schedule substantially. During Wilkinson's absence Harvey L. Taylor took charge of the academic areas of the Church school system, William F. Edwards managed finances, and William E. Berrett super-

70. Heber G. Wolsey later said of the President's hospital office, "He had two secretaries and two or three beds with all his work piled around. I really didn't realize why he was in the hospital, because he certainly wasn't relaxing"; "Inside the Wilkinson Era."

71. David O. McKay, diary, 3 December 1956.

vised seminary and institute programs. They were a congenial team that worked effectively.

On 7 May 1957, four months after Wilkinson's return to campus, the University held dedicatory services for 12 new buildings, including 8 three-story units of Heritage Halls, the Harvey Fletcher Engineering Building, the Benjamin Cluff, Jr., Plant Science Laboratory, the Howard S. McDonald Student Health Center, and the Joseph F. Smith Family Living Center.⁷² This dedication symbolically brought to a close the first part of the Wilkinson Administration and foreshadowed the exciting developments that characterized Wilkinson's succeeding years at Brigham Young University.

72. *Daily Universe*, 15 April 1957. Whenever practicable, BYU buildings were dedicated en masse, such as in 1954 when many housing units were dedicated and on this occasion in 1957.

25

The Building Boom: From Blueprints to Blackboards

The year 1957 brought several important challenges to President Wilkinson, who was recuperating from his recent heart attack. Student enrollment, already much higher than five years before, began to increase even faster, and campus facilities quickly became inadequate.

At this crucial time the administrative staff was temporarily weakened by the loss of William F. Edwards, dean of the school of Commerce and BYU vice-president of finance. Edwards had just finished a study having to do with the financial operation of the LDS Church for the First Presidency. He did such a good job that President McKay appointed him secretary of finance for the First Presidency in February 1957.¹ He had to be replaced quickly, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain the services of G. Roy Fugal, manager of personnel practices for General Electric Company in New York.² Then Joseph T. Bentley, an expert accountant, was released by the Church from his position as president of the Northern Mexico Mission to become special administrative assistant to President Wilkinson in charge of finance.³

With this change, by the beginning of the 1957-58 school year the BYU administration had a new look. Harvey L. Taylor, formerly executive assistant to the president, became vice-president in charge of public relations, adult education, extension services, Ricks College, Juarez Academy, student personnel services, and many other areas within the University and the Church school system. Taylor was also in charge of BYU whenever President Wilkinson was away.⁴ William E. Berrett retained his position as vice-president in charge of religious

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1. BYU Presidency Meeting Minutes, 16 February 1957, BYU Archives.
 2. Ernest L. Wilkinson to G. Roy Fugal, 27 May 1957, Harold B. Lee Papers, LDS Church Historical Department.
 3. Transcript of telephone conversation between Ernest L. Wilkinson and David O. McKay; David O. McKay, diary, 5 August 1957. *See also* Ernest L. Wilkinson to David O. McKay, 23 July 1957, David O. McKay Papers.
 4. "Statement of Responsibilities," 15 August 1957, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, BYU Archives.

education at BYU, Ricks College, LDS Business College, and all seminaries and institutes, for which he was responsible directly to President Wilkinson and the Church Board of Education. BYU's academic program, with the exception of religious education, was under the direction of Earl C. Crockett, while the religious education program remained directly under President Wilkinson. As administrative assistant, Joseph T. Bentley supervised finances, auxiliary services, LDS Business College, and all investments, budgets, and auditing.⁵

The Administrative Council

In September 1958 the Board of Trustees suggested a major administrative change to further centralize authority in the office of the President. A new Administrative Council was formed

to consist of the President as Chairman, the Vice-Presidents, the Administrative Assistant, and the General Counsel of the Institution, together with such other members as the President designates from time to time, either permanently or temporarily; said Council to serve in an advisory capacity to the President.⁶

A similar administrative council was established at the same time for the seminaries and institutes, with Wilkinson as chairman and William E. Berrett, A. Theodore Tuttle, Boyd K. Packer, and Leland Anderson as members.⁷

As the University grew, new members were added to the Administrative Council. John T. Bernhard was appointed administrative assistant to the president in May 1959. A convert to the Church of 12 years, Bernhard had been a staff assistant to Howard Hughes in charge of Hughes Enterprises political and public relations.⁸ Bernhard relieved Joseph T. Bentley of some of his heavy responsibilities — Bentley was simultaneously assistant to the president, *de facto* comptroller of the school, and general superintendent of the LDS Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association of the Church. Later, Bentley was released from his MIA assignment so he could devote full time to his duties as comptroller of BYU and the Church educational system.

In November 1959 Ben E. Lewis, director of Auxiliary Services, was appointed to the Administrative Council.⁹ In 1961 both Lewis and Clyde Sandgren were elevated to the position of vice-president, reflect-

5. " 'Top' Gets New Look," *Daily Universe*, 16 October 1957.

6. Ernest L. Wilkinson to William E. Berrett, Earl C. Crockett, Harvey L. Taylor, Joseph T. Bentley, and Clyde D. Sandgren, 19 September 1958, Wilkinson Presidential Papers; and BYU Board Minutes, 3 September 1958, BYU Archives.

7. Ibid.

8. "Bernhard Becomes New Administrative Helper," *Daily Universe*, 15 May 1959.

9. "Lewis Placed on Administrative Council at BYU," *Daily Universe*, 1 October 1959.

ing their contributions and increasing responsibilities.¹⁰ Further changes were later made in the BYU Administrative Council and the council over Church education. In 1961 Dale T. Tingey was made special assistant to William E. Berrett, vice-president in charge of seminaries and institutes, replacing Boyd K. Packer, who was called to be a General Authority.¹¹ Alma Burton later replaced Tingey. In 1962, eight months after being appointed dean of students, J. Elliot Cameron, formerly dean of students at Utah State University and president of Snow College from 1956 to 1958, was asked to serve on the Council.¹² Cameron showed special concern for the students of BYU that extended beyond his training in educational administration.¹³

Engaging Sam F. Brewster

At the time of his heart attack President Wilkinson was encountering frustrating delays in the construction of a number of key buildings, such as the new library, the administration building, and the student union building. With the resignation of Joyce W. Tippetts in June 1957¹⁴ Wilkinson began searching for a successor. Unable to find anyone in the Church trained in the field of supervising the growth of college campuses, Wilkinson made a special trip to Washington, D.C., to consult with Ernest V. Hollis, director of the College and University Administrative Branch of the Department of Education, who told him about Sam F. Brewster, superintendent of buildings and grounds and director of campus planning and development at Alabama Polytechnic Institute at Auburn, Alabama. Hollis thought Brewster was the best man in the nation for the BYU position. Moreover, non-Mormon Brewster conformed to LDS standards of conduct.

A Texan by birth, Brewster received a bachelor of science degree in landscape architecture at Texas A & M and an MIA degree in landscape architecture in 1932 at the University of Massachusetts. He had also studied landscape architecture overseas. For five years he served as landscape specialist for the Alabama Extension Service in Auburn. From 1933 until 1937 he supervised recreation and conservation for the Tennessee Valley Authority and became Tennessee commissioner of conservation in 1937. In 1940 he accepted the position of director of Auburn University's department of buildings and grounds, which he held until 1957. His work in Alabama, where he supervised a

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10. "BYU Names Two Vice Presidents," *Daily Universe*, 23 February 1961.
 11. "Dr. Tingey Appointed Member of Y Administrative Council," *Daily Universe*, 6 November 1961.
 12. "New Dean of Students Joins Staff," *Daily Universe*, 23 February 1962. See also "BYU Dean of Students Accepts Council Post," *Daily Universe*, 17 October 1962.
 13. Richard E. Bennett, transcribed interview with Elliot Cameron, 23 September 1974, BYU Archives.
 14. BYU Board Minutes, 28 June 1957.

\$20,000,000 campus planning project, brought him widespread recognition and acclaim. During the interim between the death of a president and the appointment of a successor he was appointed to a committee of three to operate the university. He represented the school in appearances before the Alabama state legislature in support of the school budget. During this period he served as president of the National Association of College Superintendents of Buildings and Grounds.

Wilkinson quickly obtained permission from President McKay to permit him to employ Brewster. Brewster later recalled what happened next:

I was sitting at my office in Auburn University . . . when the telephone rang. The voice on the other end said, "I am Ernest Wilkinson, President of Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. I want you to come out here and go to work for me." That was his introduction. I said, "I have never heard of Brigham Young University. Where is it?" Well, that wasn't exactly true, but he had been so gruff to me that I thought I would retaliate.¹⁵

Brewster made it clear he was not really interested in leaving Alabama to move to Utah; however, informed that Brewster was planning a vacation to Texas, Wilkinson sent two airplane tickets so that the Brewsters could extend their August vacation and come to Utah "just for a visit":

So we came to Utah on a vacation. [Wilkinson] met us, showed us a great time, took President [Harvey L.] Taylor and myself on a trip around the Alpine loop, and scared us to death with his wild driving. But, I thought at that time, he was the most human man I had ever met. He had done a lot of research on my background; he knew that I loved the outdoors. He knew that I loved to hunt and fish, and he was a great man to expound the theories of hunting and fishing. I found out later that he had never been hunting or fishing in his life, but I didn't know it at that time.¹⁶

Although 53-year-old Brewster "liked the president . . . almost from the very beginning," the proposed move to Utah was a difficult decision for him and his family to make. Their roots were deep in the South and their position was secure. But the family finally decided to come west. They liked the scenery, the people, and above all the challenge of the work. Brewster was excited about the prospects of expanding BYU, and was particularly attracted by the possibilities of building new junior colleges from the ground up.

Brewster was hired at a substantial salary, which Wilkinson later said was one of the best investments the school ever made.¹⁷ Leland Perry,

15. Sam F. Brewster in "Inside the Wilkinson Era," 25 May 1971, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, p. 10.

16. Ibid.

17. After his retirement in 1975 Brewster wrote Wilkinson, "I note what you

superintendent of buildings and grounds, unselfishly suggested that Brewster be put in charge of both the planning and maintenance of the physical plant. Therefore, shortly after Brewster's arrival, the two departments were combined into the Department of Physical Plant with Brewster as director. Two subdepartments were created, the Division of Planning and Construction and the Division of Maintenance and Operation. Perry would have stayed on as a part of the new organization, but he was called to be president of the West Spanish-American Mission.¹⁸ With the full support of the administration Brewster immediately reorganized the Department of Physical Plant.

The 1957 Master Plan

The 1953 plan for campus development had served the school well. Six impressive buildings were erected, landscaping improved, and the peripheral road concept implemented. Nevertheless, enrollment had increased to 15,000, whereas the earlier plan was based on a maximum enrollment of 12,000. An increase in out-of-state students argued for an expansion of campus housing facilities, and the creation of the BYU Stake had a direct influence on campus accommodations. As a result, from 9 to 12 November 1955, Simon Eisner, a consulting planner from Los Angeles, Carl E. McElvy of the University of Southern California, and Robert J. Evans, supervising architect for the University of California system, visited the BYU campus and reviewed all previous work.¹⁹ These outside consultants conferred with the standing BYU Planning Committee consisting of Ben Lewis, chairman, J. W. Tippetts, Fred L. Markham, Leon Frehner, Robert B. Fowler, Dale W. Despain, and Leland M. Perry.²⁰ On 15 August 1957 this committee gave President Wilkinson an updated report on a revised campus plan patterned after the plan approved in 1953.

Eager to get Sam Brewster's opinion on the revised plan and willing to let Brewster take the lead as head of campus planning, Wilkinson appointed another committee with Brewster as chairman and with Ben Lewis, Milton Marshall, Armin J. Hill, and Guy Pierce as members. This Campus Planning Committee continued to function without in-

had to say about inducing me to come to BYU. I have not regretted making the decision, and I thoroughly enjoyed working under your direction. You were a good boss. Together, with a lot of help from other people, we put together a physical plant that has caught the attention of people throughout the country"; Sam F. Brewster to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 21 July 1975, Wikinson Presidential Papers.

18. Perry was called to organize the West Spanish American Mission, which was to include Spanish-Americans living in the entire area from Sacramento, California, to Ensenada, Mexico, and east to Douglas, Arizona, including Phoenix and Tucson.
19. "Comprehensive Campus Plan: Report of the Planning Committee," 15 August 1957, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, p. 8.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

terruption and with only a few changes in personnel from 1957 until 1971. Besides the six men previously mentioned, Rudger H. Walker and Robert K. Thomas also served on the committee.²¹

Incorporating the peripheral road and centralized construction concepts of the 1953 plan, the 1957 plan called for much greater construction and development. It was predicated upon an expected enrollment of 15,000 with a possibility of even more.

One of the plan's important qualities was flexibility. Most structures inside the peripheral road were to be academic in nature, and those outside were generally to be supportive buildings for student housing and athletics. Buildings would be connected by sidewalks and malls, and most parking facilities would be kept outside of the main campus in order to keep the academic centers quiet and undisturbed. Since the campus would be developing northward the concept was to keep most of the new buildings in three corridors — physical education on the west, academic buildings in the center, and housing on the east.

Massive Building Program

With the new possibilities for expansion, President Wilkinson began to plan for a much larger library, an enlargement of the Smith Fieldhouse, a modern fine arts building, an auditorium large enough for 10,000 students, a building for the College of Biological and Agricultural Science, a building for the College of Commerce, an administration building, a long-awaited student union building, and more residence halls for students and visitors.²² At the 22 November 1957 Board meeting he presented the master plan. To his delight it was given "general approval."

Now that a general campus plan had been approved and a capable director appointed, Wilkinson immediately launched a massive building program. As if to ring in the second era of campus construction in the Wilkinson administration, the first item to be erected was the Old Y Bell shrine on the site of the old bell tower at the top of the stairs between the Smith Fieldhouse and upper campus. Groundbreaking occurred in February 1958 and the tower was completed shortly thereafter.²³ The bell served not only to ring out the school's athletic victories but also to remind everyone of the school's confidence in its own strength and future growth.²⁴

21. Ephraim Hatch and Karl A. Miller, "A History of the Brigham Young University Campus and the Department of Physical Plant," 1974, unpublished work on file in BYU Archives, Vol. 7, book 2, p. 111; hereafter cited as "Physical Plant History." Most of the account of construction related in this chapter is drawn from this work.

22. Ernest L. Wilkinson to G. Robert Ruff, 19 November 1957, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

23. "Groundbreaking Set; Wilkinson Turns Sod," *Daily Universe*, 26 February 1958.

24. Tradition has it that the first Y Bell came to Utah with the early pioneers

Motion Picture Studio

The first large building constructed in 1958 was the BYU Motion Picture Studio. As early as the summer of 1952 the General Authorities of the Church had expressed a desire to initiate a motion picture program to produce films for the Church's auxiliary organizations, priesthood quorums, bishop training seminars, and welfare programs. They were convinced that BYU was the ideal place to launch such a program.²⁵ That same year Church leaders asked Wetzel "Judge" Whittaker, director of animation at Walt Disney Studios, to head the new nonacademic Department of Motion Picture Production.²⁶ Not long afterward, Wetzel's brother Scott, a professional screenwriter, also joined the staff. The new department was built around these talented brothers.

From 1953 to 1958 the Motion Picture Department was housed in a temporary building with a small sound stage east of the North Building at the present site of the Harold B. Lee Library. In April 1958 construc-

who used it to call meetings and prayers. Shortly after Brigham Young Academy began meeting in the Lewis Building, the bell was given to the school to begin and dismiss classes. The 1884 fire destroyed that bell. A steel triangle bell was temporarily used in the ZCMI warehouse, but it was replaced by a cast iron bell purchased by the students at a cost of \$60. Although in use from 1912 to 1919, the cast iron bell did not have a pleasing sound and was replaced in 1919 by a nickel bell obtained when the Provo meetinghouse was razed. From 1919 until after World War II the bell was housed in the Education Building on lower campus, and for years it was activated by pulling on ropes that hung from the bell tower in the attic. The year 1949 witnessed the revival of the old custom of ringing the bell after basketball and football victories. Shortly thereafter, the bell was cracked by overenthusiastic ringing after a BYU victory over the University of Utah. The crack resulted in the beginning of the Belle of the Y contest. To raise the necessary money to recast the bell, the Intercollegiate Knights and Y Calcares sponsored a contest to find the young lady who best represented BYU. Proceeds from this contest went to recast the bell. Despite fears that the bell might never again ring true, Karl Miller, foreman at the BYU boiler house, got the expert advice and assistance of John Shampaux, an instructor in the use of oxyweld equipment and a consultant for the Union Pacific Railroad on difficult welding problems. Under his professional tutelage Frank H. Hemingway, a welder employed by Union Pacific Railroad, rewelded the bell. It was then put on a trolley so that it could be taken to athletic events. However, after the bell was stolen and feared lost, though it was later discovered in a swamp near Springville, it was decided to build a permanent bell tower on upper campus. The bell was later cracked again after some mischievous students from another campus cut the supports and the bell fell to the cement at the first subsequent ringing. This time it was electrically rewelded. See "Centennial History of the Student Body and Student Activities," BYU Archives, pp. 25-26.

25. Cleon Skousen to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 21 July 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
26. "Ex-Walt Disney Associate Will Direct New Department of Motion Pictures," *Daily Universe*, 8 January 1953.

tion of a new studio began on a secluded 15-acre rural tract in the Provo River bottoms north of Provo.²⁷ Eleven months later the 13,160-square-foot structure was dedicated by Carl W. Buehner, then a counselor in the Presiding Bishopric of the Church. It was divided into three wings: a sound stage, a two-story office wing to the north, and a storage wing to the west. The large concrete sound stage contained facilities for the production of most kinds of motion pictures. In the fall of 1964 a second sound stage was finished, but unfortunately it was destroyed in a September fire. Reconstruction began immediately so that the expanded studio occupied 36,077 square feet.²⁸ Judge Whittaker described the completed studio as “the finest motion picture production studio in the country for its size.”²⁹ The total cost of nearly \$230,000 for constructing and furnishing the two-story building was financed by a loan from the Church to be repaid from the proceeds of the motion pictures produced.³⁰ The Department of Motion Picture Production was at the time solely a production organization for the Church and not a part of the University’s academic curriculum.³¹

J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Library

Perhaps the most urgently needed building in 1958 was a new library. The Heber J. Grant Library was no longer large enough to contain the materials necessary for the growing curriculum. It had been built to serve a student body of no more than 5,000. With a 1958 enrollment of over 10,000, the lack of study and shelf space was critical. Materials were kept in several different buildings on and off campus. Since 1950 the physical science library had been housed in the Eyring Science Center. The life science library, started in 1957, was located on the first floor of the Smith Family Living Center. The music library was housed on the third floor of the same building. To alleviate congestion in the Grant Building, all bound periodicals issued before 1940 were deposited in a storage area in the Joseph Smith Memorial Building, while the reserve library was in the McKay Building. Other books were stored in the attics of the Maeser Building, Joseph Smith Memorial Building, and Women’s Gymnasium, and even in an old warehouse in downtown Provo. Librarians provided services from these depositories by taking requests from users at the main circulation desk and making a trip each day to the stipulated storage area to pick up and return requested materials.³²

27. “New BYU Movie Studio Completed,” *Daily Universe*, 10 December 1958.

28. Hatch and Miller, “Physical Plant History,” 7:1:10.

29. “BYU to Dedicate ‘Little Hollywood,’” *Daily Universe*, 18 March 1959.

30. William F. Edwards to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 4 March 1957, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

31. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Kenneth H. Goddard, 24 March 1960, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

32. Hattie M. Knight, “Brigham Young University Library Centennial His-

On 4 July 1956 President Wilkinson met with Keys D. Metcalf, librarian-emeritus of Harvard University, who had agreed to serve as special consultant for the new structure. S. Lyman Tyler, director of the BYU Library, Joyce Tippetts, then in charge of campus construction, and Fred Markham, general school architect, were also present. By this time the construction program was so extensive that Markham's firm could not handle all the architectural work, and other firms were also engaged to plan buildings. They were, however, required to obtain the approval of Markham as to design and architectural homogeneity with the rest of the campus. Under his direction, all the buildings were in general to be made of reinforced concrete with golden buff brick and cast stone on the exterior walls.

Wilkinson recorded,

They are recommending a library of 200,000 sq. ft. at \$20/sq. ft. which will total \$4,000,000. This assumes a student body of 12,000 . . . 25% of whom may at one time be in the library. The cost . . . will be a shock to the Board of Trustees, but is probably necessary to accomplish our destiny.³³

Not only did the board consent to the plans, but it urged that the building be so constructed as to allow further additions.³⁴

The architectural firm of Lorenzo S. Young of Salt Lake City was engaged to prepare drawings and specifications. Lorenzo Young, Lyman Tyler, and Ephraim Hatch of the Department of Physical Plant visited six university libraries in the East in search of the most economical and utilitarian plan for construction.³⁵ It was agreed to construct the library north of the Herald R. Clark Service Center and northeast of the Smith Family Living Center.

The building contract was awarded to the Garff, Ryberg and Garff Construction Company. Groundbreaking ceremonies were held in the summer of 1959.³⁶ Completed in 1961, the five-story structure (two stories are underground) had 205,747 square feet of floor space, making the building more than twice as large as the Smith Family Living Center. There were three reasons for the two stories underground: by having the center story on the ground level no elevator would be needed for the general student traffic, underground stories where no sun penetrated were better for the preservation of certain documents, and in the case of civil disorders over 7,000 students could be temporarily located underground. The total cost of finishing the building, including furnishings and landscaping, was \$3,764,000, paid

tory, 1875 to 1975," August 1974, unpublished typescript in BYU Archives, pp. 81-82.

33. Ernest L. Wilkinson, diary, 4 July 1956.

34. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 17 April 1958, BYU Archives.

35. Hatch and Miller, "Physical Plant History," 7:1:29.

36. "Library Groundbreaking Ceremonies Set for Tuesday; Construction Begins," *Daily Universe*, 21 July 1959.

for by a Church project allocation.³⁷ The library originally contained shelving to accommodate 600,000 volumes, and it was designed to eventually house 1,000,000. It could provide seating for 3,000 persons or about 25 percent of the student body.³⁸ With its completion BYU had one of the largest school libraries in the intermountain area. In October 1962 the library was named in honor of the late J. Reuben Clark, Jr.

The Jesse Knight Building

Plans for a College of Commerce building were approved in November 1958,³⁹ and construction began in the late spring of 1959.⁴⁰ William Rowe Smith and Fred W. Needham served as architects, and the Okland Construction Company was awarded the contract. The structure, to be built northwest of the proposed library, was envisioned as the first of four buildings which would enclose a second major quadrangle on campus.⁴¹ The 66- by 312-foot four-story structure contained 34 classrooms. Many of these were large case study classrooms patterned after those at Harvard Graduate Business School. Some others were amphitheater-type classrooms. The building also contained 68 faculty offices. From the beginning it was intended that an addition would be constructed later.⁴²

Completed before its target date of August 1960, the structure comprised a total of 78,687 square feet at a cost of almost \$1,500,000. It was named the Jesse Knight Building in honor of the loyal BYU supporter during the Brimhall and Harris eras.

William H. Snell Industrial Arts Building

On 5 November 1958, the same day that plans for the Jesse Knight Building were approved by the Board, an industrial arts building was authorized.⁴³ The new building was to be east of the central heating plant. Dean L. Gustavson was chosen as architect, and Garff, Ryberg and Garff Construction Company received the contract to build the 34,593-square-foot building.⁴⁴ Construction began in May 1959, and

37. "Permanent Buildings Constructed or under Construction (Main Campus) at BYU from 1951 to 1964," unpublished document in Department of Physical Plant Files; hereafter cited as "Permanent Buildings Constructed, 1951-64."

38. "Library Groundbreaking," *Daily Universe*, 21 July 1959.

39. BYU Board Minutes, 5 November 1958.

40. "Business Building Rites Slated for Friday Noon," *Daily Universe*, 29 May 1959.

41. Contemplated administration and fine arts buildings, along with the new library, would complete the quadrangle.

42. Hatch and Miller, "Physical Plant History," 7:1:17.

43. This would have pleased Brigham Young, who thought that every young man should learn a trade; BYU Board Minutes, 5 November 1958.

44. Hatch and Miller, "Physical Plant History," 7:1:21.

the building was completed early in 1960 at a cost of just over \$700,000. A comparatively small building, it was nevertheless felt it would satisfy the requirements of the industrial and technical education programs of the school. Drafting rooms, woodshops, metal shops, and faculty offices were included in the two-story structure. Eventually named after William H. Snell, who served 51 years as an industrial arts teacher at BYU, the Snell Building is attractive and functional.⁴⁵

Addition to the Fieldhouse

Starting in May 1959 work began on a 28,950-square-foot addition to the Smith Fieldhouse. The annex, costing about \$300,000, provided an indoor area for outdoor sports in which baseball, football, and track teams could practice during the off season or during inclement weather.⁴⁶ Thus by the summer of 1959 four major facilities were under construction on the BYU campus, representing the largest expansion program to that time in the school's history.

Abraham O. Smoot Administration Building

In the fall of 1959 work began on another long-awaited facility which, according to the 1957 master plan, would enclose the northern end of the new quadrangle north of the library. For decades the University's administrative offices had been housed in the Maeser Memorial Building. With BYU's rapid growth during the Wilkinson administration, these facilities became inadequate. In 1958 Henry P. Fetzner was engaged to produce drawings and specifications. His final blueprints called for an innovative X-shaped structure. Careful study demonstrated the utility of this modern design. The four separate wings provided a feeling of roominess and permitted movement from office to office with little disturbance. The north doors would be approached by a circular drive with parking on both sides, while the south doors faced the main campus. The exterior would feature light brown precast stone.⁴⁷

Construction on the four-story building (one underground) began in October 1959 with Garff, Ryberg and Garff Construction Company as contractor. The building was finished on 16 July 1961, just a few weeks before completion of the library. The 100,377-square-foot building, including furnishings, cost more than \$2,700,000.⁴⁸ Immediately south of the building a large plaza contained an illuminated fountain and pool, with a flagpole and a statue of Brigham Young nearby. The building was named in 1962 after Abraham O. Smoot,

45. Ibid.

46. "Start Fieldhouse Work," *Daily Universe*, 25 May 1959.

47. "Plan Administration Building: Work on Drawing in Advanced Stage," *Daily Universe*, 29 April 1959.

48. "Permanent Buildings Constructed, 1951-64." See also Office of Space Utilization, "Inventory of Buildings," September 1973, p. 5.

President of the original Board of Trustees and frequent financial savior of the Academy in its early struggles for existence. The Smoot Administration Building is devoted almost entirely to 250 offices, including space for BYU's administrative offices, the registrar, records, security, financial services, housing, purchasing, the dean of student life, the graduate dean, the Graduate School, the placement bureau, student counseling, development (fund raising), and many other supporting agencies. When the administration left the Maeser Building, the English Department moved into the top floor, while the Archaeology Department was established downstairs. After the English Department moved to newer facilities in the mid-1960s, the History and Political Science departments moved into the Maeser Building.

Alumni House

For years the affairs of the Alumni Association were handled by a part-time director and a part-time student secretary. Beginning in 1952, however, a full-time executive secretary was chosen and several full-time and many part-time assistants were gradually added to the staff. Since 1945 the Alumni Association had been housed in temporary quarters at seven different campus locations.⁴⁹ As the number of alumni grew it became imperative to construct a permanent facility. Officers of the Alumni Association wanted their building near the entrance to the campus, away from the academic center of the school. On 8 November 1957 the Campus Planning Committee recommended that the Alumni House be built at the northwest corner of campus on the brow of the hill, overlooking the baseball diamond.⁵⁰

In March 1961 work began on the building, and it was completed within the calendar year.⁵¹ A comparatively small structure — 11,000 square feet — the Alumni House cost less than \$260,000 to build and furnish. Almost half of the money was raised by the Alumni Association, while the rest was supplied by the Church.⁵² It was constructed in a simple L shape with two floors in one wing and a high ceilinged reception hall in the other.

49. Hatch and Miller, "Physical Plant History," 7:1:25.

50. Ray Beckham to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 26 May 1958, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

51. No doubt one of the primary reasons for the delay in approval was the fact that a full-scale fund-raising program which was underway for the entire University, spearheaded by Noble Waite, did not raise as much money as anticipated, and the administration felt it could not use funds earmarked for other purposes for the Alumni House. *See* Ernest L. Wilkinson to Grant S. Thorn, then president of the Alumni Association, 4 December 1958, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

52. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Grant S. Thorn, 19 November 1958, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Ernest L. Wilkinson Center

Less than four months after groundbreaking for the Alumni House, construction began on the largest and most expensive structure on campus to that time. Generations of BYU students had hoped in vain to see a student union building constructed during their college stay. Since the Wilkinson administration began, full-time students had been paying \$30 per academic year (\$10 per quarter) as part of their tuition and fees at registration time, and by the summer of 1959 this student fund had reached a total of \$2,500,000.⁵³ Enrollment, already more than 10,000, was expanding, and students and administration alike agreed that BYU needed a center for student activities. The bookstore, which had been housed in the Herald R. Clark Building, now required much larger facilities, and the cafeteria in the basement of the Joseph Smith Memorial Building was also inadequate. Large banquets were being held outside on the lawn — when the weather cooperated. Student government lacked adequate office space. Moreover, the student wards of the BYU Stake were clamoring for space on campus, and a large ballroom was needed.

Since so many different groups would benefit from the building, 60 percent of the costs were paid from student funds, with the Church paying 22 percent (for Church facilities) and the remaining 18 percent coming from auxiliary funds.⁵⁴ Construction began on 16 June 1961, with Garff, Ryberg and Garff and the Okland Construction Company as joint contractors. Fred Markham, who designed the student union buildings at the University of Utah and Utah State University, was architect. Thirty-four months later, at a cost of over \$6,000,000, the student center stood completed.⁵⁵ Larger than the University of Utah and Utah State University student centers combined, it is one of the largest, most functional student service buildings in America today. In October 1968, four years after the building was completed, 34,328 persons were counted entering the building in one day, though some individuals probably entered more than once.

Among the multitude of facilities and services provided on the first floor of the new building were a University post office, a 20-lane bowling alley, a games center, a barber shop, a photo studio, a hobby shop, music audition rooms for the Program Bureau, and accommodations for a credit union operated for the faculty and staff. The second floor housed a ballroom large enough to accommodate 2,000 couples at one time, a cafeteria and adjoining snack bar large enough to seat 1,000 persons, a two-story bookstore, a motion picture theater, and a small art library and listening library in the Memorial Room. The third

53. Wesley P. Lloyd to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 27 January 1959, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

54. Hatch and Miller, "Physical Plant History," 7:1:41.

55. Ibid.

floor contained the upper extension of the ballroom, a dozen business offices, banquet and luncheon rooms, and faculty conference rooms. The top three floors formed a tower rising from the rest of the building, and so were considerably smaller than the lower floors. The fourth floor provided offices for student government. The fifth floor was designed for 15 offices and workshops for student publications. The top floor featured a skyroom for luncheons, dining, and dancing, with a panoramic view of the surrounding area. More heavily utilized than any other building on campus, the student center has become a meeting place for all the members of the campus community.

At a Board meeting held on 3 April 1965, shortly before the dedication ceremonies, President Wilkinson was asked by President McKay to leave the room while the Board discussed a confidential matter. Wilkinson afterwards explained that he wondered whether his building proposals had cost so much that the Board was going to fire him. On being invited back into the meeting he was startled to be informed that the new building would be called the Ernest L. Wilkinson Center, the only building to be named after a BYU President still in office.

Physical Plant Building

Six months after work began on the Wilkinson Center, construction started on the Physical Plant Building. This was not an academic building project, but it provided facilities for the growing Department of Physical Plant.

The original projection called for an expenditure of \$975,000. Construction on the Physical Plant Building began on 15 December 1961 and was completed on 21 September 1962.⁵⁶ The Physical Plant Building included administrative offices for the Physical Plant Department, a drafting room, a warehouse for building and maintenance supplies, shops for electrical work, carpentry, air conditioning, plumbing, painting, and typewriter repair, storage space for grounds maintenance, a motor pool, and a repair shop for University vehicles.⁵⁷ Constructed on two levels with an inner court for automobile entry, the \$950,000 structure was finished in standard gold buff brick in accordance with the overall design of Markham. Designed by Lorenzo S. Young and Partners and built by the Paulsen Construction Company, the building was constructed at the southeast corner of campus.

As evidence of the University's efforts to abide by the Board's direc-

56. During excavation for the foundation of the structure, workers uncovered an old junk yard of materials. A discovery of some mastadon bones set geologists at the University to rejoicing, but when workers later discovered a model T Ford even deeper, there were some good-natured taunts. Investigators later learned that the vehicle, along with much other debris, had been left in a gulley which was since covered over, whereas the bones were found in the upper bank of the ravine.

57. Hatch and Miller, "Physical Plant History," 7:1:33.

tive to cut costs in construction, the Physical Plant Building was, for its size, the least expensive building on campus built after 1950. It cost \$11.27 per square foot, compared to \$23.56 per square foot for the Alumni House and \$18.22 per square foot for the library.⁵⁸

Franklin S. Harris Fine Arts Center

The last major academic structure to be erected during the 1957-64 period of the Wilkinson era was the Harris Fine Arts Center. Drama, music, speech, art, communications, and numerous other departments were in need of sophisticated equipment and ample space. Stage and theatre facilities on campus were embarrassingly inadequate. Rehearsals for dramatic productions were held in shifts in the Joseph Smith Memorial Building, one shift starting in the afternoon, another in the evening, and the last around midnight, continuing until daylight. Concerts were staged in the acoustically poor Smith Fieldhouse.

Obstacles to be overcome in gaining approval for the fine arts center included other construction priorities, clearance with the Church Building Committee, and the projected cost. The Board was presented with a \$5,000,000 proposal, and unlike the Wilkinson Center, the fine arts center would have to be paid for largely by the Church. President Wilkinson presented his proposal on four occasions before obtaining final approval. The building plans were approved in the summer of 1959 with the understanding that the Church would provide 80 percent of the total cost.⁵⁹ The balance would ultimately be obtained from the student building fund.⁶⁰

Because of the enormous cost of the facility, the Board constantly reminded the school to cut all the frills and plan for the most pragmatic, functional structure possible. William L. Pereira of Los Angeles, an architect of international reputation who designed a fine arts center for the University of California at Los Angeles, was engaged to plan the building. Aware of the Board's concern over the cost and following his own frugal instinct, Wilkinson wrote an architect's agreement which provided that if the bids were higher than the budget authorized, the architect would have to redo the plans. This proved to be a wise stipulation, for when the bids were opened they exceeded the budget and the plans were redrawn at no additional cost to the University. The construction was finally let to the Alfred Brown Construction Company of Salt Lake City. Work started in June 1962, and in the fall of 1964 the building was completed at a total cost of slightly more than \$7,000,000, making the fine arts center the most expensive building on campus to that time.

The building was named for Franklin S. Harris because of his great

58. "Permanent Buildings Constructed, 1951-64."

59. BYU Board Minutes, 3 June 1959.

60. Ibid., 2 September 1959.

contribution to BYU as its President for 24 years and because of his love for and support of the fine arts. The Harris Fine Arts Center and the Ernest L. Wilkinson Center were dedicated on 3 April 1965 by President Joseph Fielding Smith, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board.⁶¹

One of the most comprehensive, functional, and beautiful buildings of its kind, the five-level Harris Fine Arts Center covers approximately two acres of land and contains 268,286 square feet of floor space. The structure resembles an immense *H* form, with four wings connected to a central or grand gallery 165 feet long, 65 feet wide, and more than 50 feet high, which serves as the main foyer for the building. The structure includes a 1,451-seat concert hall, a 612-seat drama theatre, a 280-seat experimental theatre, a 150-seat arena theatre, and a 436-seat recital hall. Other facilities include an opera workshop, an art storage area, band and symphony orchestra rehearsal rooms, 64 classrooms, laboratories, and studios, 112 offices and conference rooms, 57 music practice rooms, 26 speech practice rooms, theatre storage, scenery construction, and dressing rooms, rehearsal areas, lobbies and foyers, and television, radio, and recording rooms.⁶² While it is still a utilitarian structure, the Harris Fine Arts Center has become a show-place, and is so recognized throughout the country.

The Cougar Stadium

Although BYU possessed an unenviable record in intercollegiate football, school spirit and local support brought large crowds to home football games. The old stadium off the brow of the hill west of the Smith Family Living Center was altogether too small. In any event, it was faced with eventual destruction when the anticipated physical education building would be built on the site.

Following the basic plan of having an athletic corridor that ran north and south on the west side of the campus, planners wished to place the new stadium on the extreme north end of the corridor. Purchase of the necessary 35 acres of land cost about \$475,000.

Since facilities for intercollegiate sports could not be paid for by Church tithing funds, other means of financing had to be arranged. The total expenditure eventually amounted to \$2,477,818, financed as follows:⁶³

61. "Smith to Dedicate Centers: Ceremonies Planned April 3," *Daily Universe*, 22 March 1965, and "Campus Prepares Dedication Ceremony," *Daily Universe*, 2 April 1965.

62. Hatch and Miller, "Physical Plant History," 7:1:47-49; and "BYU Awards Contract for New Fine Arts Center," *Daily Universe*, 19 June 1962.

63. Lyman J. Durfee to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 29 December 1965, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Stadium Gifts, primarily from U.S. Steel, which donated large amounts of steel	\$527,595
Student Building Fees	207,144
Notes Payable to the BYU Development Fund (practically all paid afterwards)	1,543,079
Athletic Fund	200,000
Total	<u>\$2,477,818</u>

A Stadium Fund Drive, spearheaded by DaCosta Clark, was initiated in the fall of 1963 to raise money to help pay funds advanced by the BYU Development Fund. Almost \$800,000 was raised, primarily through the sale of season or lifetime seat passes for football games.⁶⁴ Subsequent student building fees also were used to repay the Development Fund.

After the 2 June 1962 approval by the Board of Trustees, construction began, with the Tolboe Construction Company of Salt Lake City and the Pittsburgh-Des Moines Steel Company of Provo implementing the plans of architect Fred Markham. Completed prior to the beginning of the 1964 football season, the stadium seated 30,000 spectators. A rubberized asphalt track originally enclosed the field. In 1974 a new synthetic material, Chevron 440, replaced the earlier track. A two-level pressbox large enough for 120 reporters was set above the west stands. Team dressing rooms, storage areas, and food preparation facilities were located under the seating areas.⁶⁵ A 4,800-seat addition was constructed in 1966. The enclosed area under the stadium (32,776 square feet in 1964 and 80,300 square feet in 1972) has been used by various departments, including the seminary and institute system.

The stadium was first used in October 1964, but it was not dedicated until it was completely paid for in 1970. Ezra Taft Benson gave the dedicatory prayer. A block *Y* was erected at the north end of the football field for the traditional torchlighting ceremony at the beginning of each home game. BYU played Wyoming for the championship in the last conference game of the season. Wyoming won the game by a score of 47 to 14 before a crowd of 38,333 persons, the largest attendance ever at any athletic contest in Utah.⁶⁶

Dairy Products Laboratory Building

The last major academic building to be added to the campus during this period was the Dairy Products Laboratory Building, operated and partly funded by Auxiliary Services. Prior to November 1964 the University dairy operated from a temporary quonset building north of

64. Raymond E. Beckham to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 24 October 1966, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

65. Hatch and Miller, "Physical Plant History," 7:2:148.

66. David A. Schulthess to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 24 February 1975, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

the Central Heating Plant. Plans were drawn by Lorenzo S. Young of Salt Lake City, and the Tolboe Construction Company was the general contractor for the new building. The site chosen was on the northeast corner of campus east of the present site of the Marriott Center. Nine months were required to erect the \$430,000 building. Its 21,170 square feet of floor space include a storage area and mechanical rooms in the basement, a service dock, a can washing room, a processing room, a refrigeration room, a cheese curing room, a sales room where customers purchase dairy products, a testing laboratory, and an office.⁶⁷

Miscellaneous Smaller Buildings

Besides the major units constructed on campus between 1957 and 1964, several smaller building projects were conducted. These included the Zoological Research Laboratory at 535 East 800 North, built to house research and other academic activities; an engineering machine shop south of the Fletcher Engineering Building, which underwent various additions; a physical plant greenhouse erected in 1963 to raise plants for eventual use in campus buildings; the Herbarium and Range Science Laboratory on the south edge of campus; and a boathouse at Utah Lake to house equipment and provide research facilities for the College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences. Major additions to existing facilities included a modern underground physics laboratory next to the Eyring Science Center, built at a cost of more than \$280,000. The prime reason for this addition was to provide a well-shielded location for a nuclear accelerator. A planetarium was added to the science center in 1957, and a 24-inch telescope was mounted in the observatory dome in 1959. The planetarium was named for Hyrum B. Summerhays, a generous contributor to the planetarium building program.

The most important purchase of homes and buildings was that of the two-story Page Elementary School property at 1650 North Canyon Road in 1958. Primarily purchased for the land, the school has nevertheless been used for women's physical education activities, life sciences laboratory work, and more recently as a repair shop for the Department of Electronic Media.⁶⁸

Besides the visible buildings, progress was made in utility construction. Heating, air conditioning, electricity, water, and sewage systems were vastly improved and streamlined. A system of heating using high temperature water under pressure was one of the primary innovations. Later, a chilled water plant was added to the heating plant complex. The utility costs involved in operating the campus increased from \$112,973 in 1957 to \$438,002 in 1964-65.⁶⁹

67. Hatch and Miller, "Physical Plant History," 7:1:54.

68. Ibid., p. 4.

69. In 1957 the school operated on the basis of a calendar year. In 1964 the

Grooming the Grounds

Sam Brewster envisioned not only a large campus but also one that would be beautiful and well manicured. He suggested five factors to improve the appearance of the campus:

1. The buildings, incorporating principles of attractive contemporary design, were of compatible color and made from similar materials.
2. With the removal of most temporary buildings, landscaping was vastly improved.
3. The campus plan resulted in a compact and yet uncrowded visual setting complemented by the beautiful Wasatch Mountains.
4. The buildings were large enough to accommodate BYU's current needs, and most were constructed so as to allow for additions.
5. All the buildings and facilities were well maintained inside and out, making the campus one of the cleanest anywhere.⁷⁰

Almost invariably those who visit the campus proclaim it to be one of the most beautiful in America. Three men deserve credit for persevering in this endeavor long before improvements were financially feasible: B. T. Higgs, J. W. Sauls (father of Kiefer B. Sauls), and K. A. Miller, who with limited assistance from others maintained the buildings and grounds of BYU through the Depression and two world wars.

Significance of the Building Program

During the period from 1957 to 1964 the value of BYU's physical plant increased 250 percent. In 1957 the combined worth of all University buildings, equipment, library books and holdings, property, and all other materials was around \$30,000,000. By August 1964 the facilities were worth almost \$80,000,000, representing a growth of approximately \$50,000,000. As far as buildings were concerned, BYU was well on its way.

school changed to a fiscal year system running from September through August.

70. Transcribed interview of Sam F. Brewster by Richard E. Bennett, 7 July 1974, BYU Archives, p. 3.

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The BYU Dilemma: How Big and How Broad

Changes in Church Leadership

In 1951, the first year of President Wilkinson's tenure, the membership of the Executive Committee¹ was changed,² and during the first ten years of his administration, he lost through death three of the original Executive Committee,³ and two members of the First Presidency who had given him vigorous support — Stephen L Richards and J. Reuben Clark, Jr.

Stephen L Richards passed away in the spring of 1959. His death was a severe loss to the Church school system, for he consistently supported the growth and funding of Church education. He perceived educational needs clearly and probably exercised more influence with President McKay than any other single adviser. In the estimation of President Wilkinson, Richards, by his leadership in having the Board of Trustees composed of General Authorities, was "in a large part responsible for transforming Brigham Young University from essentially a local institution to the great senior university of the Church."⁴ Richards served as a General Authority for 42 years.

Two years later, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., died. For more than 28 years he had served faithfully in the presidency of the Church under Heber J. Grant, George Albert Smith, and David O. McKay. He was a man of unusual experience and great intellectual strength, and had consistently maintained that the primary purpose of Church education was to instill faith and testimony in the hearts of Latter-day Saint students.

The vacancies created by the death of Stephen L Richards and J. Reuben Clark were filled by Henry D. Moyle and Hugh B. Brown. About this same time vacancies in the Council of the Twelve were filled

1. Joseph Fielding Smith, Stephen L Richards, John A. Widtsoe, Albert E. Bowen, and Joseph F. Merrill.
2. Joseph Fielding Smith, Harold B. Lee, Henry D. Moyle, Marion G. Romney, and Adam S. Bennion.
3. John A. Widtsoe, Albert E. Bowen, and Joseph F. Merrill.
4. "Funeral Services Set for President Richards," *Daily Universe*, 20 May 1959.

by Howard W. Hunter, Gordon B. Hinckley, and Thomas S. Monson.

The complexion of the BYU Board of Trustees was further altered in 1962 when the membership expanded to include Marion D. Hanks and A. Theodore Tuttle, both of the First Council of Seventy, Boyd K. Packer representing the Assistants to the Twelve, and John H. Vandenberg representing the Presiding Bishopric. President Wilkinson recommended this enlargement although he made no recommendations as to personnel.

Administrator to Chancellor

On 28 April 1960 President McKay changed Wilkinson's title from administrator to chancellor. McKay explained to his counselors "that administrator is a title given to educators on a lower status than that of the president of a university, and that where one is head of several universities he usually has the title of chancellor, as is the case in various educational setups throughout the United States."⁵ During these years William E. Berrett continued to be in charge of seminaries and institutes. He was assisted in turn by A. Theodore Tuttle, Boyd K. Packer, Dale Tingey, and Alma P. Burton.

Pressure Created by Increased Enrollment

By the 1956-57 academic year, BYU's cumulative enrollment had reached 10,542. President Wilkinson and others suggested an enrollment ceiling of 12,000 as the ideal, and suggested that in no event should it exceed 15,000. It seemed to Wilkinson that since increased enrollment would call for an enlargement of existing facilities, these might as well be scattered among the major centers of Church population in the form of junior colleges. Nevertheless, while these ideas were developing in the minds of Church leaders, enrollment at BYU continued to grow rapidly. After the ceiling of 12,000 was reached, a strenuous effort was made to hold the line at 15,000. For a while this partially succeeded, but eventually the flood of new students and transfer students crashed through the ceiling. By 1963 there were more than 6,000 freshmen enrolled, and by 1964-65 cumulative enrollment had reached 18,496. It was obvious that it was going to be extremely difficult to put a ceiling on BYU enrollment unless the Church developed a network of decentralized schools to accommodate all the undergraduate students who wished to obtain their education at a Church school. The early recruitment drives of the Wilkinson administration and the growing prestige of the institution were paying richer recruitment dividends than anyone expected.

The Expanding Institute and Seminary Program

As administrator of the Unified Church School System, Wilkinson

5. Ernest L. Wilkinson, diary, 28 April 1960.

tried to relieve some of the pressure on BYU by encouraging institute enrollment for LDS youth at other universities and by establishing new institutes wherever practical. He encouraged directors of institutes and seminaries to recruit students in their respective areas as BYU faculty members had done. This policy was confirmed and reinforced by an official letter of the First Presidency in 1958 which gave institute personnel "authorization to participate in quarterly [stake] conferences, occupying such time in those services as may be considered wise and proper in discussing the Church's educational program."⁶

Six years later the First Presidency sent a stronger letter to all local authorities, which stated,

Obviously, all of the LDS students who study at the post-high school level cannot enroll in one of the Church schools [BYU and Ricks]. . . . When an LDS Institute of Religion is available at a nearby college, we believe that in many cases it would be wise for the student to complete his freshman year where the influence of the home could be a supportive factor.⁷

While this program did not stop increases in enrollment at BYU, it substantially increased institute enrollment. From 1951-52 to 1963-64 the number of Latter-day Saints attending institutes grew at a faster pace than enrollment at BYU. During Wilkinson's tenure as chancellor from 1953 to 1964, the number of students attending LDS institutes increased from 4,565 to 19,205, the number of full-time institutes grew from 17 to 42, and the number of part-time institutes grew from 6 to 124.

High school LDS seminaries were also growing at a phenomenal rate. Between 1953 and 1964 enrollment climbed from 34,467 to 91,236. At the beginning of this period most of the seminaries were in the intermountain area, but they soon expanded to 17 other states and to Mexico. The enthusiasm of students and teachers in the program is indicated by the fact that in many of these states the students, not permitted by law to attend seminary during daytime class periods, had to attend early morning classes before the regular school hours.⁸

When Wilkinson became administrator in 1953 it was feared by some that since he was serving as President of BYU at the same time it would be difficult for him to administer the seminary and institute program

6. First Presidency to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 5 February 1958, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

7. "BYU Plans to Limit Enrollment to About Its Present Size," *Daily Universe*, 9 December 1964.

8. While Wilkinson did not continue as chancellor after 1964, Harvey L. Taylor and William E. Berrett, whom he had appointed, continued in charge of Church schools outside of BYU and seminaries and institutes until October 1970, when they were retired. At that time there were 44,005 students attending 303 institutes in 34 states and 6 foreign countries. There were also 132,053 students attending LDS seminaries in all 50 states and in 11 foreign countries.

fairly. It was true that Wilkinson had a strong conviction that Church schools offered a plan of education superior to secular schools, even with institutes; however, he gave strong support to the growth of the institute and seminary program. This is reflected by the fact that between 1957 and 1964 operating appropriations for the seminaries and institutes multiplied three and one-half times — as compared with an increase for BYU of less than three times. There was also an increase of 700 percent in monies earmarked for capital projects and construction for seminaries and institutes.

From 1957 to 1964 the overall percentage of Church education funds allocated to BYU decreased from 72 to 49 percent while the percentage of funds allocated to institutes and seminaries increased from 19 to 30 percent.⁹ Wilkinson also recommended that institutes and seminaries be established in Europe and Asia, but the Board did not seem ready for it.¹⁰

The Movement to Establish Junior Colleges

As early as 1953 President Wilkinson requested that a special study be made by Howard C. Nielson to estimate the growth of the Church and the probable number of LDS college students. This study suggested to Wilkinson the need to establish a system of junior colleges throughout the West, principally as branches of BYU. However, there was opposition to the idea almost from its inception. For one thing, a referendum by the voters of Utah overwhelmingly opposed the transfer of three Utah junior colleges back to the Church. Furthermore, the decision of the Trustees to reduce Ricks College to the status of a two-year junior college to feed into BYU met with considerable opposition in Rexburg. Nevertheless, President Wilkinson was not alone in feeling that enrollment pressures would force the Church to enlarge its higher education facilities. The First Presidency had a similar attitude.¹¹

Land Acquisitions

President Wilkinson appeared before the Church Board of Education in October 1957 with Howard Nielson's detailed charts and figures showing the prospective growth of the Church. The charts showed that BYU could not provide for the anticipated number of college-age Latter-day Saints. Several new Church junior colleges were proposed as branches of BYU. Although institutes would be built next to secular institutions of higher learning wherever there were enough LDS stu-

9. "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Unified Church School System — Approved Budgets for 1957 and 1964," Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

10. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Richard E. Bennett and Harvard S. Heath, 9 October 1974, Centennial History files, BYU Archives.

11. BYU Board of Trustees minutes, 7 September 1970.

dents to warrant them, Wilkinson felt that LDS youth could obtain a better foundation in the LDS faith and lifestyle at Church-sponsored junior colleges. He pointed out that teachers would be free to discuss religious truths in classes dealing with secular subjects, which would be forbidden in a public institution. Furthermore, a far larger number of students would get a religious education in a system of junior colleges, since according to experience only a portion of the students attending non-Mormon schools enrolled at the local institutes.¹²

After this presentation Church leaders authorized the purchase of a campus site in Salt Lake City, three additional sites in Los Angeles, and one site each in Phoenix, Arizona; San Francisco, California; Portland, Oregon; Spokane, Washington; and Boise-Caldwell, Idaho.¹³

Plans for a Junior College in Salt Lake City

As early as April 1957 David O. McKay expressed approval of the possibility of establishing a junior college in Salt Lake City where the population was then about 71 percent Mormon and it was believed that at least 4,000 LDS youth would attend a junior college if one were established.¹⁴

Upon receiving permission to buy property in Salt Lake City, Wilkinson, at the request of President McKay, conferred with Governor George Clyde to get his appraisal. Clyde, himself an educator, offered no objection to the proposal, saying that the Church could create a junior college with no fear of duplication of facilities because of what he believed to be the growing need for such a Church school.¹⁵ Furthermore, as a member of the Church, the governor "was enthusiastic about Church junior colleges" generally and thought a series of junior colleges in the West would be akin to a new missionary system and would give great prestige to the Church.¹⁶ The governor and other leading state officials agreed, however, that for public relations purposes it would be unwise to have the proposed junior college in Salt Lake City become a branch of BYU, and so it was decided that the school would be an independent junior college.

On 19 June 1958 the Church purchased 169 acres of land between 6th and 10th West and 35th and 39th South in Salt Lake City.¹⁷ However, within a few months Catholic publisher of the *Salt Lake*

12. For example, less than 30 percent of the LDS students at the University of Utah at that time were enrolled at the institute.

13. General Church Board of Education Minutes, 6 December 1957. *See also* General Church Board of Education Executive Committee Minutes, 24 October 1957 and 5 December 1957.

14. General Church Board of Education Executive Committee Minutes, 25 April 1957.

15. David O. McKay, diary, 4 January 1958.

16. General Church Board of Education Executive Committee Minutes, 23 January 1958.

17. BYU Board Executive Committee Minutes, 22 May 1958.

Tribune John F. Fitzpatrick, who was on friendly terms with Wilkinson, informed him that the city was willing to sell the Forest Dale Golf Course, consisting of 64.5 acres in the Sugar House area of Salt Lake. Because this site had many advantages over the original site and establishment of a junior college at this location had the warm approval of Mormon and non-Mormon business and community leaders, it was also purchased.

Meanwhile, an undercurrent of opposition developed at the University of Utah. Certain officials at that school pointed out that BYU was already becoming highly competitive with the state school and that a local junior college would make it even more so. They recalled the time in the 1890s when at the urging of the University of Utah the Church gave up building a large university in Salt Lake City to support the University of Utah. For this and a number of other reasons, principally financial, the construction of a junior college in Salt Lake City was postponed.

Land Purchases outside Utah

Meanwhile, junior college sites outside Utah were being purchased. During 1957 a 280-acre site was purchased in Idaho Falls, Idaho, in contemplation of the transfer of Ricks College from Rexburg to Idaho Falls, where the Church had already built a hospital and a temple, and which many thought would soon become the largest city in the state.¹⁸ The following spring the Church purchased about 257 acres of ranch property from G. Henry Stetson in the San Fernando Valley northwest of Los Angeles.¹⁹ Another parcel of 138 acres in the heart of Anaheim, California, was purchased. Still another site in LaVerne (the northeast part of Los Angeles), consisting of around 200 acres, was donated to the Church by Mrs. Jacqueline E. Lewis of Lido Isle, California, a friend of LeGrand Richards. In 1960, 313 acres of land were purchased in Portland, Oregon. Two months later 199 acres were purchased in Fremont City, south of Oakland, California.²⁰

Central Arizona was enthusiastic about the establishment of a Mormon junior college, but it was hard to find a good location. Finally, Delbert L. Stapley and President Wilkinson held a conference with Governor Paul F. Fannin, a non-Mormon, who prevailed on the Arizona State Legislature to enact legislation putting the state hospital farm in east Phoenix up for public auction. This was a choice plot since it was near the center of the Mormon population. Certain business interests who would have otherwise purchased and developed the

18. BYU Board Minutes, 7 May 1958. *See also* "History of Junior College Property," 1971, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

19. BYU Board Minutes, 28 March 1958. *See also* Ernest L. Wilkinson to A. C. Lambert, 21 October 1958, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

20. "History of Junior College Property." *See also* BYU Board Minutes, 4 November 1959 and 6 January 1960.

property declined to bid in opposition to the Church at the public auction. Consequently the Church was able to purchase the 249 acres for a very reasonable price.²¹

Not only was the Arizona land purchased at a bargain price, but through excellent negotiating by Ben E. Lewis, some of the other sites were obtained at prices considerably lower than they could have brought from other buyers. Even though they were not members of the Church, the owners were eager to have Mormon educational institutions built on the land they were selling. The Stetson Ranch was sold to the Church at a very substantial discount from the Church's own appraisal because the owner (not a Mormon) wanted the LDS Church to have it in preference to another church which was negotiating for the land. In accordance with instructions, the original attempt to purchase the Fremont property was made without disclosing the purpose for which the land was to be used. The owner refused to sell it. Later, on learning of the intended use, the owner searched out those trying to purchase it and told them if he had known of its intended use in the beginning he would have given a different answer. The Church purchased it. President Wilkinson construed these favorable purchases as providential.²²

Altogether, between 1957 and 1960 the Church purchased approximately 1,650 acres of land in five states at a cost of more than \$8,000,000. These were also suggestions from prominent members of the Church, including President Wilkinson, that long-range plans be formulated to establish similar educational opportunities for members of the Church in other parts of the United States and in Mexico and Europe. Indeed, a site for an entire campus was offered free by the authorities of a Florida community near the Church ranch in that state.²³ However, no further purchases were made.

Reluctance to Construct Junior College Buildings

Although the properties were purchased with full authorization of the Board, there was not unanimity among the highest leaders of the Church as to the time of construction of each college. It was understood that further authorization would be required in each instance. Opposition centered on three major areas of concern. The first was whether the Church could afford to construct and maintain so many new junior college campuses and at the same time continue to meet all its other financial commitments without going into debt.²⁴ This same

21. "BYU Buys Phoenix J. C. Site," *Daily Universe*, 27 July 1960.

22. Minutes of conferences between Ernest L. Wilkinson and Ben E. Lewis, November 1974, Centennial History files, BYU Archives.

23. BYU Board Minutes, 15 October 1958 and 12 May 1960.

24. The Church had obligated itself for other large expenditures such as the purchase of large tracts of land for farming and the building of ward and stake meetinghouses.

consideration frustrated the efforts of Karl G. Maeser in the 1890s to build a large string of Church academies and forced the Church to convey to the state in the 1930s all the junior colleges in Utah and Gila College in Arizona to the county in which each was located. Second, while some, including the First Presidency, firmly believed that junior colleges were the answer to the challenge of educating an ever-increasing number of Latter-day Saint college students, others maintained that the institutes could do an acceptable job of giving religious education at far less cost. The issue centered on the question of which plan, considering the limited funds available, could more effectively further the goals of the Church. The third area of conflict, the proposed plan to move Ricks College from Rexburg to Idaho Falls, involved deep-seated personal feelings and the fear of depreciating property values in Rexburg.

The Ricks College Controversy

There were many reasons for the original approval of the transfer of Ricks College to Idaho Falls: future growth of the Church, accessibility of transportation routes, more employment and housing opportunities for students, the presence of a Temple, and the expectation that with a junior college Idaho Falls would probably become the largest center of population in the state of Idaho. All of these had prompted the unanimous action of the Board of Trustees.

But after the purchase of the land for the new site a storm of protest arose from Rexburg residents. The townspeople and their leaders pointed out that Ricks College had survived the transfer of all Church colleges to state government in the early 1930s because the residents were willing to assume the responsibility for the financial survival of the school, and did so until the Church reassumed it. Local community and Church leaders claimed that if the move were made the city would lose its main industry, property values would fall, businesses would be hurt, and the faculty would be faced with the necessity of selling their homes on a depressed market in order to move to Idaho Falls. The issue therefore became much more important than merely closing one school and constructing another. It was not just a question of bricks and windows — families, traditions, feelings, and honor became involved.

Nevertheless, the proposed change received strong support from many sources outside Rexburg. On 8 April 1957 during a general conference in Salt Lake City, 15 stake presidents from southeastern Idaho met with Church officials, and most of them favored the transfer. Eight days later the Church Board of Education unanimously agreed that Ricks College should be moved.²⁵

The immediate reaction in Rexburg was so agitated that Delbert G. Taylor, president of the Rexburg Stake, wrote Harold B. Lee,

25. General Church Board of Education Minutes, 16 April 1957.

The tension [in Rexburg] is serious. We cannot understand all the reasons involving the proposal to move Ricks College elsewhere. If Dr. Wilkinson could only have come to Rexburg and advised us how best we could serve the Church and the community through Ricks College, I am sure things would have been different. . . . Rexburg can and will fill every need of the Church in the education program and do it more effectively than any other community.²⁶

The most serious objection was that many of the residents and patrons of Ricks felt that President McKay had committed himself to retain the school in Rexburg.²⁷ Accordingly, President McKay invited Ernest L. Wilkinson to accompany him on a visit to the campus to discover whether the school buildings, if vacated in Rexburg, “would be left standing as ghosts” to discourage and irritate the local populace. He also wanted to know whether Ricks College, if left at Rexburg, would need only a few new buildings, and he was anxious to understand the situation firsthand.²⁸ President Wilkinson explained the reason for the proposed move to the leading citizens of Rexburg but no decision was made at this time.

On June 1, 15 stake presidents from southeastern Idaho and 6 invited civic leaders from Rexburg met in Idaho Falls to review the situation. President Wilkinson and members of the Church Board of Education also attended. Those who were for and those who were against the plan freely expressed themselves. After five hours of frank discussion the meeting was dismissed with President McKay asking all present to personally write him their “views of what should be done about Ricks College.”²⁹ The requested mail demonstrated that there were about as many for the proposal as there were against it. Generally speaking, ecclesiastical and civic officials representing Rexburg and surrounding areas were opposed, while their counterparts from in and around Idaho Falls approved of the proposed transfer. Finally, on 11 July 1957 President McKay announced that although he had seen the merits of the transfer argument and had voted for it, he had not been irrevocably converted to the proposal. He felt it would not be “worth the cost to move Ricks College from Rexburg to Idaho Falls.”³⁰ Later in the day, President McKay met with the Executive Committee of the BYU Board of Trustees and of the Church Board of Education and announced the transfer would not be made. He stated that although every reason advanced for removal of the school to Idaho Falls was sound, it was not worth the price.

26. Harvey Taylor to Harold B. Lee, 21 May 1957, Harold B. Lee Papers.

27. Howard E. Salisbury to Harold B. Lee, 21 May 1957, Harold B. Lee Papers.

28. David O. McKay, diary, 21 May 1957.

29. *Ibid.*, 1 June 1957.

30. *Ibid.*, 11 July 1957.

This decision put the Ricks College controversy to rest until October 1958, when President McKay was advised by five stake presidents that the state of Idaho was expecting to establish a junior college in Idaho Falls if the local residents voted for it. This resulted in a reconsideration of the entire Ricks College question, and after extensive deliberation the Church Board of Education once more unanimously recommended that Ricks College be transferred to Idaho Falls.³¹ An announcement to this effect successfully halted the state junior college petition campaign in Idaho Falls and leading Church officials were sent to Rexburg to explain to the people why it was felt this reversal of policy was necessary. In a meeting of some 135 ecclesiastical officers almost all expressed approval of the decision.

Nonetheless, many in Rexburg were disappointed and some were outspoken. The feeling became so intense that the First Presidency, accompanied by Marion G. Romney of the Council of the Twelve, a Ricks College graduate, spent November 15 in Rexburg, meeting with community leaders. The purpose of the visit was not to get feedback but simply to explain the decision. Reviewing the reasons for their reversed stand, the First Presidency pointed out the recent request of the Idaho Falls stake leaders to reconsider the issue, the fact that much larger population centers would be serviced at Idaho Falls, the public interest in that city to petition for a state junior college, and the promising future of Ricks College if established at Idaho Falls. They feared that enrollment at Ricks would dwindle seriously if it had to compete with a more modern, larger state college a few miles away at which the Church would have to build a first-rate institute.³²

The whole question took a different turn in the fall of 1959 when the Church Budget Committee strongly opposed the transfer because the Church could not at that time afford the \$5,000,000 proposed for the construction of the new campus in Idaho Falls.³³ It appeared that the Church was over-committed in a number of areas and the budget

31. General Church Board of Education Minutes, 31 October 1958.

32. President McKay recorded in his diary that he told the Rexburg Stake Presidency,

I was pretty close to Weber [College at Ogden] and thought that school would last. It hurt like everything to lose Weber. I was Commissioner of Education when this was begun, to close the academies and substitute seminaries. I was very happy when Ricks was saved, and you have been the beneficiaries of it for many years, and there is no intention now of closing Ricks. It is deemed advisable to have a big school dominate the entire area and influence that area and have Ricks the largest school in that area. You are not losing it. Rexburg is losing the campus, but Ricks is going on just the same.

Impressions of a meeting between David O. McKay and President Delbert G. Taylor and counselors, David O. McKay, diary, 28 December 1958.

33. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 29 December 1959, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

report therefore had a decisive impact on the leaders of the Church. In May 1960 President McKay revisited the Ricks campus, and at a meeting with the General Authorities on 30 June 1960 it was decided that the college would not be moved. The President said that “he could not feel right about moving the school from Rexburg to Idaho Falls, and spending seven million dollars in building a new school, leaving standing at Rexburg at least three new buildings on the campus,” even if it meant a competing junior college would be constructed in Idaho Falls.³⁴

Wilkinson had stated all along that if the ultimate decision was to keep Ricks at Rexburg, Wilkinson would work to build up the campus there. He kept his word. The following year he proposed construction of a library, a gymnasium, and other buildings. This was approved, and the school embarked on a building program which by 1975 had cost over \$17,000,000.

Opposition to the Entire Junior College Program

By the time the problem in Idaho was resolved the Church was just completing its purchases of junior college sites on the west coast and in Arizona. The Ricks College issue did not appear to affect the decision to go ahead with the other junior colleges, but the rising anxiety over finances did. It was also emphasized by a number of leaders of the Church that while the training of LDS youth at institutes may not be as good as at Church schools, it would be acceptable and much less expensive. For example, George Romney, president of the Detroit Stake and head of American Motors, wrote President McKay questioning whether the Church was in a position to embark on a junior college building program. He also asserted that certain Michigan parents would sooner have their children go to undergraduate schools near home. He didn't think junior colleges should take the place of institutes. Indeed, he did not think BYU should compete with the University of Utah in graduate work.³⁵ At the request of President David O. McKay, Wilkinson replied, pointing out that junior colleges were to be built only in areas of large Mormon population; that if any college had an enrollment of as many as 50 LDS students, a part-time institute program would be initiated and that land had already been purchased for an institute at the University of Michigan. As to graduate work at BYU, Wilkinson relied on population studies which indicated that by the year 2000 the Church would have a membership of more than 6,000,000, whereas the state of Utah would have a population of only about 1,700,000; that it was therefore necessary for BYU, as the Church University, to build a larger school than the University of

34. David O. McKay, diary, 30 June 1960.

35. George Romney to David O. McKay, 2 February 1959, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Utah; that the very growth of the institute program required preparation of teachers with doctoral degrees; and that the kind of instruction they needed could be given only at a Church university.

A. Theodore Tuttle, president of the South American Mission, joined in Romney's views:

If one believes in centering as many Latter-day Saint youth as possible in variously selected spots — in junior colleges as in BYU — it can easily be argued that certain values can be obtained — and in this way only. But if one believes in decentralizing Latter-day Saint youth in many more and smaller centers — like in Institutes of Religion — it can be easily argued that other values can be obtained through this system and only through this system. Among the latter values is the missionary potential of a vigorous institute program among many non-Latter-day Saint students — the kind of people we would like to have as converts to the Church. Another significant factor is the lower cost per student in the institute program as compared to the cost per student at the BYU or a junior college. Another consideration is the “coverage” we can give to more Latter-day Saint youth as against the opportunity for schooling if they all have to travel to the centers where colleges would be.³⁶

Others took the opposite position. Congressman Henry Aldous Dixon, who had spent many years as president of Weber College, when it was operated by the Church and later by the state with an institute program, besides serving as president of Utah State College where an institute was located, wrote,

You might be somewhat surprised to know that as one who strongly opposed the Church taking over Weber College, I am enthusiastically in favor of the Church's plan to expand its Junior College program. The Church institutes are good, but full-time attendance at a Church School is much more effective from a purely religious point of view than merely two or three classes each week. It is my firm conviction that the Junior College is one of the real answers to our problem of higher education. Twenty years' experience at Weber College has brought me to this firm conviction. . . . The Junior College is a natural in the light of the present educational situation of our Church.³⁷

These conflicting arguments were resolved not on their merits but by the necessity, during the 1959-60 school year, of trimming the proposed budget of the Church Board of Education by almost 40 percent. The biggest cut came in new building construction, which eliminated the funds for any of the junior college projects then under

36. A. Theodore Tuttle to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 1 December 1962, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

37. Henry Aldous Dixon to George Romney, 24 April 1959, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

consideration. However, the First Presidency unanimously indicated that based on its merits, the institute program “could never fill the need expressed in the junior college proposal.”³⁸ Nevertheless, the First Presidency “agreed that until the income of the Church will justify the junior college program, it should not be undertaken.”³⁹

Educational Needs in Underdeveloped Countries

Between 1951 and 1963 the membership of the Church had doubled and the stakes had risen from fewer than 200 to more than 400. Much of this growth was in Central America, South America, and other parts of the world where the general population was relatively uneducated. Because of the strong commitment of the Church to education, Church leaders felt an urgent need to supply basic education to these new members. This need was eloquently expressed in 1963 by Boyd K. Packer, newly appointed assistant to the Council of the Twelve, who had spent his adult life in the institute program and was a longtime advocate of its benefits. He suggested to the First Presidency that it would be better to invest money in educating illiterate members in Mexico and other underprivileged countries than to spend millions of dollars for junior colleges in the U.S. He asked for a reexamination of the whole question.⁴⁰

The issue was discussed over a period of several days at meetings of the Executive Committee of the Board of Education. On 1 March 1963 the Executive Committee resolved “that the Church should not at this time embark upon a program to build junior colleges.”⁴¹

Four days later the committee met with the First Presidency and recommended the abandonment of the proposed junior college program. At the end of this meeting, all that remained to be done was to have this approved by the Board of Trustees. President McKay then noted that Wilkinson was not present and inquired if the BYU President had been notified of the meeting. When told that he had not, President McKay ordered a new meeting at which Wilkinson could be heard.

After preparing a revised report of the previous junior college proposal, President Wilkinson met with the Board on 3 July 1963. He stated that in view of the recent financial problems of the Church, he had modified the original 15-year proposal for junior colleges previ-

38. BYU Board Minutes, 7 September 1960.

39. David O. McKay, diary, 21 September 1960.

40. Boyd K. Packer to the First Presidency, 18 February 1963, David O. McKay Papers.

41. General Church Board of Education Executive Committee Minutes, 1 March 1963, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. Members of the Executive Committee included Joseph Fielding Smith, Harold B. Lee, Delbert L. Stapley, LeGrand Richards, Howard W. Hunter, Gordon B. Hinckley, and Boyd K. Packer.

ously before the Trustees and had a new one to present, which called for the completion of Ricks Junior College, the construction of a normal school in Mexico City to train teachers, the establishment of a junior college at Anaheim, California, and the founding of a junior college at Phoenix, Arizona. He suggested that the Phoenix school be especially designed to provide for the needs of Indian students as well as others preparing for admission to BYU from Arizona. All of this was to be accomplished between 1964 and 1970. Meanwhile institutes of religion would be established "wherever there are sufficient students to justify them."

Realizing that there were some who thought that the religious training of students in institutes was of nearly the same quality as that in Church schools, Wilkinson gave the Board of Trustees a 42-page memorandum containing evidence which indicated the superiority of Church schools over institutes. The report pointed out that practically all LDS students attending Church colleges receive courses in fundamental religious subjects whereas only 54 percent of the LDS students attending other universities enrolled at local institutes. It was further pointed out that courses in religion at Church schools are considerably more intensive, involving examinations and credit-earning procedures which were not always followed at institutes. He also reiterated that gospel principles are not confined to courses of religion at Church schools but could be incorporated in every part of the curriculum, something which the state schools would not permit. Reference was also made to Church standards in dress, grooming, morality, and other LDS qualities of character which are usually lacking at nonreligious institutions. Students had a greater opportunity for Church-oriented counseling when attending Church schools and available studies indicated that a much larger percentage of graduates from Church schools remain active and faithful in the Church.

President Wilkinson reported that 16 of 18 BYU faculty members who had previously been associated with various institutes were of the decided opinion that the Church schools were superior in their overall religious influence.⁴²

In conclusion President Wilkinson argued that as far as BYU was concerned the proposal would not cost the Church any more than its present program. If the money were not spent on junior colleges, it would have to be spent on BYU to accommodate the tremendous influx of students anticipated over the next decade. Statistical projections showed that the increased tithing of graduates of the Church colleges would pay for the cost of their education within eight years after they left school.⁴³

42. *Proposed Pilot Plan for Junior Colleges*, as presented to the Board of Education of the Church and the Board of Trustees of BYU, 3 July 1963, by chancellor Ernest L. Wilkinson, BYU Archives, pp. 30-32.

43. *Proposed Pilot Plan for Junior Colleges*, p. 88.

Following this presentation there ensued a full and animated discussion. Nearly everyone present was impressed with Wilkinson's arguments and took heart from his pledge that there would be no increase in the percentage of monies required for Church education if his proposals were followed. At the end of the meeting a motion was unanimously approved to build a junior college at Anaheim.

Climax to the Junior College Issue

Soon after the July meeting the spectre of financial difficulty reasserted itself when William F. Edwards, financial adviser to the First Presidency, wrote to Delbert L. Stapley,

I can see no way in which the Church can go forward in accordance with its commitments and operate with a balanced budget. Many of these commitments can be financed only out of the reserves of the Church, and there is in my mind a question as to whether the potential commitments are not beyond the available excess reserves.⁴⁴

The Budget Committee therefore felt the Church could not afford to begin construction on the junior colleges at that time. In January 1964 Ernest L. Wilkinson, the staunchest defender of the junior college proposal, resigned from his position as President of BYU to run for the U.S. Senate, and his 11-month absence was a fatal blow to the already stumbling proposal.

Before handing the administrative reins of the Unified Church School System to Harvey L. Taylor, Wilkinson recommended the establishment of a committee of educational leaders to examine the future educational needs of the Church and formulate a "statement of educational policy to guide the Church in the future." Specifically, the committee was to recommend a policy for the Church as to the number of students to be enrolled at BYU; to judge between the merits of the junior colleges as opposed to those of the institutes; and to present new methods of raising the much-needed financial help for the Unified Church School System.⁴⁵ This proposal was not acted upon until 22 October 1964, when a committee of seven General Authorities and J. Elliot Cameron, dean of students at BYU, with Harold B. Lee as chairman, was directed to make the study.

The completed study amounted to a multivolume work referred to as the Cameron Report. The report assembled a large amount of material on the Church school system and generally reflected the attitude of those not in favor of the junior college proposal. It recommended little or no future expansion in secular education on the

44. William F. Edwards to Delbert L. Stapley, 10 September 1963, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

45. Ernest L. Wilkinson to members of the proposed committee, 2 January 1964, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

college level anywhere, including BYU. It did recommend providing for the secular education of Church members at elementary and secondary levels in all parts of the world where public schools were inadequate. It concluded that necessary religious education could be “adequately provided by the home, the auxiliary and priesthood organizations and by seminaries and institutes,” and that BYU should be limited largely “to a four-year teacher training institution with carefully limited graduate work.”⁴⁶ Cameron concluded that it was not “economically feasible for the Church to consider building additional institutions of higher learning.”⁴⁷

The report contained no financial information and was never acted upon by the General Authorities.

By the time Wilkinson returned to BYU as President in December 1964 the junior college program was dead. Church leaders felt the Church could not stand the burden of a junior college program added to an already heavily burdened Church budget. The worldwide growth of the Church, particularly among poorly educated people, created a pressing demand upon the Church to provide basic educational training for its growing membership. However much the Church might need a vast educational system on every level and in every country, finances compelled the General Authorities to pursue only the very few most urgently needed programs.

This had happened before. In a meeting of the Board of Education on 3 March 1926, John A. Widtsoe recalled “that Karl G. Maeser in his book *School and Fireside* had outlined a policy for Church School education in his day which contemplated a complete set of Church Schools duplicating the public schools.” Widtsoe thought the Maeser theory was the “*ideal thing* if the Church had the money.”⁴⁸ Similarly, in his report to the Board Dean Cameron stated, “There are few individuals who would not favor all Church members attending Church schools, if it were feasible.”⁴⁹

On a number of occasions local Church officials from those areas initially designated as junior college sites visited Salt Lake City to urge a reconsideration.⁵⁰ But most returned after being briefed concerning

46. Earl C. Crockett, undated memorandum referring to volume 4 of the Cameron Report, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

47. J. Elliot Cameron, “Survey of Basic Educational Needs: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” 1965, unpublished report in possession of J. Elliot Cameron, p. 697.

48. Ibid., p. 20.

49. Ibid., p. 698.

50. In 1964, ten stake presidents from the Phoenix area presented a resolution asking the General Authorities “to proceed with plans for the construction and operation of a Branch University on the property owned by the Church.” They felt “that the existence of the Branch University will render a real service to the Church membership, and in particular the young people of this and future generations, and that the operation

the worldwide educational needs of the Church with a greater appreciation of the steps taken, and all, including President Wilkinson, have supported the decision to abandon the junior college proposal. For the present the junior college proposal must take its place beside Karl Maeser's envisioned network of stake academies: while attractive in principle, Church finances were an insuperable barrier.

of the Church College in Arizona will develop many great leaders and will greatly further the work of the Lord throughout the Kingdom"; Maurice R. Tanner to President David O. McKay, 17 January 1967, found in David O. McKay, diary, 18 January 1967, LDS Church Archives. In 1965, six stake presidents from the Los Angeles area visited with many of the General Authorities, expressing their belief that "the junior college is a better solution" than the institutes; minutes of the First Presidency, 26 April 1965, David O. McKay, diary.

A Political Hiatus; Accreditation; More Tabernacles of Learning

In the election year of 1964 President Wilkinson was under a great deal of pressure to enter the political arena. Several times before he had been urged to seek office. In 1954 John H. Fitzpatrick, publisher of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, a non-Mormon, proposed that Wilkinson run for the U.S. Senate. Wilkinson replied, “[I] burned my political bridges when I accepted my present position.”¹ The next year Adiel Stewart, mayor of Salt Lake City, strongly urged Wilkinson to run for governor of Utah.² Public sentiment seemed strong enough that Wilkinson felt it proper to consult with the Board of Trustees on the matter. They asked him to stay at BYU, although some Church leaders felt he should begin “looking forward toward running for the Senate at the next opportunity.”³

In 1957 Governor J. Bracken Lee, a non-Mormon, strongly recommended that President Wilkinson seek the Republican Party’s nomination for senator in 1958. In explaining his decision not to run, Wilkinson wrote Governor Lee, “Eventually the Mormon Church will mean more to the world than the American Congress or the American Government, and I feel I can probably do more good in developing a great educational system for the Church than by going to Washington.” When Wilkinson declined, J. Bracken Lee himself decided to run against Senator Watkins. When he failed to get the nomination of the Republican Party he ran as an Independent, thereby splitting the Republican vote. In the ensuing election Democrat Frank Moss defeated Senator Watkins.

Over the years President Wilkinson had been identified as a leading spokesman for traditional American conservatism and a strong opponent of the trend toward centralization of authority in Washington. His sense of responsibility in political affairs intensified when President David O. McKay gave him a special blessing in April 1960. Calling Wilkinson his “beloved associate” and “esteemed friend,” President

1. Ernest L. Wilkinson, diary, 18 March 1954.

2. Ibid., 5 March 1956.

3. Ibid., 18 April 1956.

McKay blessed him to be a great fighter against Communism and a stalwart “defender of capitalism.”⁴

Decision to Run for the Senate

As early as 1961 Wilkinson began to consider running for the United States Senate in 1964.⁵ In 1962 President McKay informed Wilkinson that if he desired to run the Church would not insist that he remain at BYU.⁶ On 20 November 1963 President Wilkinson announced to the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees his intention to seek the nomination. On being informed of this President McKay was reluctant to have President Wilkinson immediately resign his position at BYU, and suggested that he “should remain as president of the Brigham Young University while he is seeking the nomination, and if he gets the nomination then we can consider finding a successor. If he is not elected, then he should continue at the school.”⁷ However, President Wilkinson thought that such an arrangement was neither proper nor politic and informed President McKay that he was resigning with no strings attached. To this the Church President responded by saying that even though the resignation was unconditional he did not intend to appoint a successor until after the election.

On 9 January 1964 President Wilkinson resigned as President of BYU after 13 years in office, at the same time resigning as chancellor of the Unified Church School System,⁸ which position he had held for 10 years. Two days later he publicly announced his intention to run for the Senate. The Republicans were forced to decide by primary vote between Sherman Lloyd who, as Congressman, was quite well entrenched politically and Wilkinson, a newcomer in politics. This spirited campaign resulted in a large turnout of Republican voters in the primaries, with Wilkinson winning by a slim margin of 61,113 to 59,454. Those voting in the Republican Primary so far exceeded those voting in the Democratic Primary that it seemed likely that Wilkinson would be the next senator. *Time* magazine said, “The way things stand now, Wilkinson can start packing to move back to Washington.”⁹

But national trends proved dominant in the long run. National pollsters indicated a tidal wave of support for Lyndon Johnson and the Democrats as opposed to Barry Goldwater and the Republicans. In Utah, furthermore, the situation was not favorable for a Republican senatorial campaign. The Democratic contender, incumbent Senator Frank Moss, was a proven votegetter who attracted large sums of outside funds, and represented a fairly united party.

4. Ibid., 28 April 1960.

5. John T. Bernhard to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 26 September 1961, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

6. Ernest L. Wilkinson, diary, 2 March 1963.

7. David O. McKay, diary, 21 November 1963.

8. “President Ernest Wilkinson Resigns,” *Daily Universe*, 9 January 1964.

9. “Utah: How It Is Out There,” *Time*, 21 August 1964, p. 18.

With such odds against him, Wilkinson would probably not have entered the race except that throughout his life he had a lingering desire to be active in politics and knew that this was his last chance because he was sixty-five years of age, as old as most men when they retire from active work. At the outset of the primary campaign for the nomination the Lloyd forces raised the issue that Wilkinson was too old to be a senator, especially in view of his nearly fatal heart attack in 1957. However, at a well-attended basketball game, BYU students presented Wilkinson with a BYU athletic blanket and invited him at halftime to demonstrate his athletic competence. Wilkinson responded by taking off his coat and doing 47 push-ups before an astounded audience that cheered him on. The issue of his age and physical well-being was never raised again.

Nevertheless, Wilkinson's victory in the primary election was particularly galling to Lloyd, and while he did not publicly campaign against Wilkinson, he did not support him, causing a split in the party. Wilkinson campaigned against the Democratic candidate on the same basic issues that President Franklin S. Harris emphasized in his race for the Senate in 1938. Harris had complained about a national debt of \$40,000,000,000 and prophetically urged that the Democrats had "speeded up such a momentum of spending it cannot stop without help." Wilkinson was now complaining of a national indebtedness of \$312,000,000,000.¹⁰ He urged that this indebtedness would not have been permissible to the founding fathers of the United States and would have been held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court before the days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He further urged that the Supreme Court, since reconstituted by Roosevelt, by reversing over 150 of its prior decisions since 1933, had made it possible for these deficit spending programs to be permitted. He concluded that these programs permitted Congress, contrary to the intent of the constitutional fathers, to appropriate money out of the public treasury for almost anything it wanted. He pointed out that as a result of this the House of Representatives had published a 1,080-page document which listed the thousands of federal assistance programs in operation. He urged the validity of the prediction made by the great French soldier-statesman, Alexis de Toqueville, who, after visiting America over a century ago and studying what he called America's "Noble Experiment in Government," wrote that if the time ever came when the people were permitted to vote themselves monies out of the public treasury, self-government by responsible men would become an impossibility.¹¹ Moss, on the other hand, was in favor of greatly increased federal powers, a political belief he had held ever since he was a

10. As of this writing (February 1976) the gross federal debt is in excess of \$600,000,000,000.

11. Alexis de Toqueville, *Democracy in America*, rev. ed. trans. Henry Reeve (New York: Collier, 1900), 1:216-17.

college student when he thought the power of the states should be further curtailed.¹²

The national political climate was overwhelmingly favorable to the Democratic Party in the race between President Lyndon B. Johnson and Barry Goldwater, and this fact had a definite impact on local candidates in both parties. President Johnson won an overwhelming victory over Senator Goldwater, defeating him by a popular vote of 43,130,000 to 27,178,000. Goldwater received only 39 percent of the votes. Democrats were swept back into Congress with two-thirds majorities in both the House and the Senate. In Utah, Wilkinson fared better than Goldwater but still received only 43 percent of the votes, losing to Frank E. Moss by a vote of 228,210 to 169,491.¹³

The Interim Administration

Since President McKay had indicated that Wilkinson was not to be replaced until the election results were in, it was necessary to establish an interim administration for BYU and the Unified Church School System. Wilkinson had recommended at the time of his resignation that the administration of BYU and the Church School System be divided. The Board of Trustees agreed and they appointed Harvey L. Taylor as acting chancellor of Church schools and Earl C. Crockett as acting president of BYU. William E. Berrett would continue as administrator of the institutes and seminaries.¹⁴

This separation of BYU from the rest of the Church educational system was to become a permanent arrangement. Both Taylor and Crockett recognized the necessity of this administrative division of labor and so in March 1964 the Administrative Council was discontinued. In its place a University Council was appointed for BYU while a separate governing council for the seminaries and institutes and other Church schools was established under the direction of the acting chancellor.

Harvey L. Taylor was well respected and had friendly relations with all segments of the Church school system. He continued Wilkinson's policy of giving full support to Berrett in his work with institutes and seminaries.

The acting president of BYU, Earl C. Crockett, primarily continued Wilkinson's policies and procedures. Crockett had served as academic

12. Conference on 25 January 1976 with a college roommate of Frank Moss.

13. "How Voting Went: County-by-County Tally," *Deseret News*, 4 November 1964. LDS commissioners of education and Presidents of BYU have never fared well in Utah politics. In 1895 John R. Park defeated Karl G. Maeser for state superintendent of public instruction and Elbert Thomas won over Franklin S. Harris in the senatorial campaign of 1938. Also, in 1944 Adam S. Bennion, former LDS commissioner of education, ran for the Senate against Elbert Thomas and was defeated by a vote of 148,748 to 99,532.

14. Ernest L. Wilkinson, diary, 10 December 1963.

vice-president since he came to BYU from the University of Colorado in 1957. He had earned his Ph.D. in economics from the University of California in 1931, after which he taught in three states and two countries. He also served as the principal economist for the War Production Board during World War II, and was a consultant for the Colorado General Assembly.¹⁵ When he came to BYU his primary goal was to unify the faculty and improve the school's academic program. He also appointed Ray Beckham of the Alumni Association as head of a new fund-raising program.

To assist in administering the affairs of BYU, acting president Crockett appointed Joseph T. Bentley, J. Elliot Cameron, Ben E. Lewis, Clyde D. Sandgren, and William R. Siddoway to the University Council.¹⁶

Back at the Helm

Two days after the 1964 election, Ernest L. Wilkinson publicly announced that he intended to return to his Washington office to practice law. However, within two hours of this announcement President McKay telephoned him to express his desire that Wilkinson return to BYU and the Church schools.¹⁷ Consequently, on 2 December 1964 it was announced that Ernest L. Wilkinson had been reappointed as President of BYU and chancellor of the Unified Church School System. Said Wilkinson in an official acknowledgment of his reappointment, "I am grateful for the confidence placed in me by the Board of Trustees. All I can now say is that I will do my best to measure up to their expectations."¹⁸ Upon his reappointment to his former two positions, Wilkinson — for the first time in his career at BYU and at the insistence of the Executive Committee — began to receive a salary.

The double burden of serving as President of BYU and chancellor of the Unified Church School System was no longer a practical arrangement, and less than two months after Wilkinson's reappointment to both positions a major division occurred. Wilkinson continued as President of BYU and Harvey L. Taylor became administrator of the Unified Church School System. President Wilkinson thoroughly approved of this step and confided in his diary, "This might be a Godsend to me."¹⁹

15. "Presidency, Chancellorship Split: Crockett Named Acting President; Taylor Takes over Chancellorship," *Daily Universe*, 13 January 1964.

16. Administrative Council Meeting Minutes, 12 March 1964, BYU Archives. Siddoway, formerly director of admissions and records, was named acting administrative assistant to Crockett on 21 January 1964; "Admission Head Named Administrative Assistant," *Daily Universe*, 21 January 1964.

17. David O. McKay, diary, 30 November 1964.

18. "Board Makes Reappointment of School President-Chancellor," *Daily Universe*, 3 December 1964.

19. Ernest L. Wilkinson, diary, 3 February 1965.

Presiding over BYU was a big enough job for any man without the responsibility of administering 32 full-time and 132 part-time institutes, 180 full-time and 1,700 part-time seminaries, and the Church schools in Latin America, South America, and the Pacific.²⁰ A February 1965 editorial in the *Daily Universe* explained the inevitability of the decision: "It was bound to happen. . . . The increase in both size and number of these school programs has brought about a mandatory separation of duties. It should be felt a compliment to President Wilkinson to see the achievements made through his influence and direction, so many that it is deemed nearly impossible for one man to handle both of them effectively."²¹

This separation of functions called for an additional realignment leading to the eventual appointment of a commissioner to oversee and coordinate all aspects of Church education. The details, however, would have to be decided in the future. Meanwhile, Harvey L. Taylor was appointed acting chancellor of Church schools to give Church leaders time to develop a permanent organizational structure for the administration of Church education.

Proposal for Appointment to the Supreme Court

In addition to Wilkinson's political excursions at BYU, there were movements to have him appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States. As early as February 1957, Senator from Utah Arthur V. Watkins declared his intention to present Wilkinson's name to President Dwight D. Eisenhower for appointment to succeed Justice Stanley F. Reed, who had retired. In a statement issued to the press in February, Wilkinson asked not to be considered. In 1958 Republican leaders later asked President McKay if Wilkinson would be released from his position at BYU for a position on the Supreme Court. President McKay consented; however, Wilkinson once more declined to encourage this proposal.

In 1968 Wilkinson's legal friends in Washington and elsewhere again urged his appointment to the Supreme Court at the next vacancy. Ezra Taft Benson, George Romney, and Kenneth Wells, president of Freedoms Foundation, were among those who endorsed his appointment. However, Wilkinson himself believed his age would preclude his appointment and so informed his supporters.²²

Expanding School Administration

Even before Wilkinson's decision to run for the Senate, the widening

20. Early in December 1964 all of the Church schools in the Pacific, which for years had been administered by the Pacific Board of Education, were grafted into the Unified Church School System.

21. "A Most Valuable Team," *Daily Universe*, 9 February 1964.

22. Ernest L. Wilkinson, diary, 30 May 1969.

scope of University operations resulted in expansion of the administrative staff. William P. Knecht came to campus and volunteered to make his extensive business and administrative experience available to the University without compensation. He served as a special assistant to President Wilkinson from 1961 until his death on 20 January 1966. Knecht had served several years as manager for Universal Cyclops Steel in Tokyo and later for 21 years with them in New England, in which position he was the highest paid officer of the company. He had been president of the Boston Branch of the LDS Church, which later became the Cambridge Branch. He was also district president for Massachusetts until the formation of the New England Mission in 1937. He was then called as first counselor to S. Dilworth Young, president of the New England Mission. Knecht assisted President Wilkinson on such special assignments as obtaining steel from U.S. Steel's Geneva Works to construct the new football stadium and assisting Ray Beckham in the Development Office.

Two years after the death of William Knecht, President Wilkinson lost another outstanding administrator when Earl C. Crockett resigned in February 1968 at age 65, after 11 years as academic vice-president.²³ After his resignation he spent a year abroad with the University of Maryland Overseas Program. He then returned to teach at BYU. Crockett was replaced by Robert K. Thomas, former assistant academic vice-president. Thomas, who held a doctorate in English from Columbia University, had been on the faculty since 1951 and had served as chairman of the Honors Program. Robert J. Smith, a professor in the Accounting Department, assumed the position of assistant academic vice-president in 1968 and became associate academic vice-president two years later. In 1970 William R. Siddoway was released from his position as dean of admissions and records to become assistant academic vice-president. The vacancy his transfer left was filled by Franklin L. McKean, of the University of Utah, who in turn was replaced by Robert W. Spencer as dean of admissions and records in 1971 after McKean returned to the University of Utah in an enlarged position.²⁴

Office of University Relations

Until January 1955 there existed no coordinating center for an effective public relations program on campus. As far back as the McDonald administration an attempt had been made to establish such an office. The functions of this office expanded tremendously during the Wilkinson administration and were subsequently organized as a separate department. In 1951 W. Cleon Skousen was brought to BYU as the new director of public services in order to correlate all University

23. "President Earl C. Crockett Resigns," *Daily Universe*, 23 February 1968.

24. "Changes Made in Administration," *Daily Universe*, 17 September 1970.

activities involving the public. These services developed so rapidly that by 1953 Edwin Butterworth of the Journalism Department was asked to head a public relations office. In 1955 another reorganization was necessary and Dean A. Peterson was appointed director of public relations. As a result of the new organization, W. Cleon Skousen became director of public services dealing with high schools, junior colleges, Church organizations, civic relations, and the blossoming BYU Student Program Bureau. Edwin Butterworth was placed in charge of all press relations, Harold I. Hansen became the director and supervisor of all radio and television programs, and Herald R. Clark continued as the director of the Lyceum concert and lecture series. Floyd R. Taylor became responsible for university publications, the lecture bureau, and University and professional relations.²⁵

After only one year Dean Peterson became administrative assistant to the President and was replaced by Lester B. Whetten, former president of Snow College, who remained in the position until 1965. Whetten coordinated the divergent public relations offices into an effective unit. On being appointed dean of the General College, Whetten strongly urged that his successor be an assistant to the President. Stephen R. Covey replaced Whetten in 1965 as director of public relations and simultaneously held the post of assistant to the President. His administrative duties were also increased to include other operations on campus.

In July 1969 Heber Wolsey, a former Salt Lake advertising executive, was appointed assistant to the President in charge of all BYU communications activities. He supervised Communications Services, with Darrell J. Monson as director; the University Press under Ernest L. Olson; and the Division of University Relations. Wolsey was a good administrator and he adopted an open attitude with outside press and media. He later left BYU to be a deputy to Wendell Ashton in the Church Public Communications Department.

News Bureau

The BYU News Bureau rapidly developed into a very important service. In 1954 Edwin Butterworth organized it into four major divisions: news operations, information service, publications, and advertising. Harold O. Williams was employed as an assistant to Butterworth and David A. Schulthess became the sports information director.²⁶ With the hardworking News Bureau team behind him, Edwin Butterworth was described by President Wilkinson as having contributed as much to the success of his administration as any other person.

25. "Dean Peterson Named Public Relations Head for Brigham Young University," *Provo Daily Herald*, 17 January 1955.

26. Edwin Butterworth, Jr., "A Brief History of the Brigham Young University News Bureau," unpublished typescript, September 1972, pp. 51-53.

“The Day of Mass Recruiting Is Gone”

By 1965, BYU had little need to recruit students. Throughout the entire Church, BYU's reputation had grown to the point that the problem became one of admission and selection of the better-qualified students. This became evident as early as 1964, when acting president Earl C. Crockett noted, “Although BYU has conducted a constant building program since 1950, enrollment is now three times what it was then and the present campus is taxed to capacity.”²⁷

Nevertheless, any attempt to establish a firm ceiling which limited the enrollment proved very unpopular; parents were anxious to have their youth obtain an education under the influence of the Church. Therefore, it was not until February 1970, one month after the death of President David O. McKay, that new Church President Joseph Fielding Smith and his counselors Harold B. Lee and N. Eldon Tanner set a limit of 25,000 students for BYU.²⁸ In a letter to stake presidents and bishops explaining the alternatives for LDS students the First Presidency stated, “To meet the need for religious instruction for our youth we have established institutes of religion convenient to more than 200 junior colleges and universities.”²⁹

Faithful members of the Church who had been planning to send their children to BYU but finally realized that their son or daughter might not be accepted by the school were keenly disappointed. One stake official from Chicago wrote President Wilkinson to dispute the wisdom of the new enrollment policy:

Results in our area reveal that once a *good* student starts a university [he] is very prone not to transfer. . . .

We have had sad experience with students who were semiactive in their youth and attend universities either here in the Midwest or in the East. These students tend to fall away from the Church and ultimately marry out of the church.

When the opportunity to attend *church-related schools* is *diminished*, there will be more young people marrying out of the Church. . . . It must be remembered that there are many young people in the church who do not come from strong church families. *The big success at BYU has been . . . turning partially active students into faithful church members.*³⁰

Naturally, with an imposed enrollment ceiling, widespread recruiting was deemphasized. In the words of William R. Siddoway, then dean

27. “BYU Plans to Limit Enrollment to About Its Present Size,” *Daily Universe*, 9 December 1964.

28. The figure of 25,000 is a head count and not full-time equivalent students; BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 24 September 1970.

29. “BYU Enrollment Closed Off at 25,000 Says President Smith,” *Daily Universe*, 18 February 1970.

30. Jack W. Whittle to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 7 October 1965, Harold B. Lee Papers.

of admissions and records, "The day of mass recruiting is gone."³¹ Recruiting efforts were bent toward obtaining the brighter students. By 1966 a high school GPA of 2.25 was required for admission. Students with grade-point averages lower than 1.99 (C), were encouraged to attend a local college or university.³² By the school year 1965-66, BYU's entering class was nearly three points above the 1965 mean of all institutions using the American College Testing Service tests.³³ This had an immediate impact on BYU's academic standing. An entrance test score which would have placed a student in the 84th percentile of entering freshmen in 1956 placed him only in the 40th percentile in 1965. The American College Testing Program identified BYU as having a model admissions program — a tribute to Dean Siddoway's work. In summer 1970, ACTS sponsored a workshop which brought 20 selected deans and administrators from universities across the country to the BYU campus.³⁴

As admissions requirements were stiffened, standards of personal worthiness were also raised. Excommunicants from the Church were not allowed admission unless personally interviewed and cleared by a General Authority.³⁵ This stipulation was later increased to include those who had been disfellowshipped. Also, all applicants, LDS and others, were required to have a confidential interview with their bishop or minister. Of the 12,000 applicants in 1970, one-sixth were denied admission to BYU for various reasons.³⁶

Because the admissions machinery at BYU became increasingly complicated, Robert W. Spencer was appointed director of admissions in 1968 and became the first assistant dean of admissions and records. Under his direction the hand-posting system of admissions was changed to a computerized "on-line" admissions program.

Sensing the need to do a more effective job of communicating with outstanding scholars to make them aware of the opportunities at BYU, William Siddoway implemented an admissions adviser program and in 1966 chose Bruce L. Olsen to head this new office. This program involved more than 25 states in which a local supporter of BYU (usually a successful alumnus or fund raiser) was asked to watch for good students. The school supplied a basic kit of materials to these advisers.³⁷

31. William R. Siddoway, "Proposals for More Effective Student Recruitment and Admissions Counseling at Brigham Young University," 1 March 1966, unpublished report in Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

32. Ibid.

33. BYU Board Minutes, 4 January 1967.

34. BYU Administrative Council Minutes, 15 January 1970.

35. BYU Board Minutes, 1 November 1967.

36. "BYU Admissions Clarified," *Daily Universe*, 1 February 1971.

37. BYU Administrative Council Meeting Minutes, 25 April 1966.

Financial Aids

The student financial aids program was introduced at BYU in the 1959-60 academic year, partly because BYU refused to participate in the new federally sponsored student loan programs. By the end of its first 12 years in operation the BYU loan program had made approximately 42,295 loans to students for a total of \$7,485,738. About 32,335 of these were short-term loans averaging \$133 each, repayable in the same semester in which they were negotiated. The balance were long-term or special loans averaging \$319 each.

It was estimated that in 1968-69 alone, 1,500 students were able to enroll at BYU because of this Church-funded loan program. During the Wilkinson administration there was a loss due to lack of payment of less than 0.1 percent — an amazing record.³⁸ On the other hand the federal government has admitted that under its program a shocking percentage of students defaulted in their payments. A considerable number of BYU students obtained bank loans, underwritten and guaranteed by the U.S. Government, without implicating or involving the school.

The scholarship and fellowship programs at BYU developed slowly and were just beginning to blossom at the close of the Wilkinson administration. Over the years BYU lost many fine potential scholars because more financial aid could be obtained at other institutions, but the school preferred to proceed in a conservative manner and teach financial independence to the students. Nevertheless, there were certain BYU funds which by 1968 had begun to attain substantial proportions. The Edwin Smith Hinckley Scholarship Fund amounted to \$200,000³⁹ and the David O. McKay Scholarship Program provided up to \$1,500 each year to fifteen undergraduate scholars.⁴⁰

Accreditation Assessment of 1966

In 1966, 10 years after the prior accreditation, a new accreditation committee under the chairmanship of Laurence E. Gale of the University of Montana spent four days on campus evaluating academic programs, from 26 to 29 April 1966. The visitation committee elected not to spend time in those departments which were already being evaluated from year to year by professional organizations. These included business, chemistry, education, engineering, music, and nursing. In all other areas the committee first met with the deans of the colleges to obtain an overview of problems and developments. Second,

38. Memorandum from Douglas J. Bell to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 11 June 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers; J. Elliot Cameron, "Weekly Minutes," 8 April 1969, Centennial History files, BYU Archives.

39. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Hugh B. Brown, 29 October 1968, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

40. BYU Administrative Council Minutes, 27 February 1967.

a meeting was called with the local unit of the Association of American University Professors to obtain their viewpoint. Third, members of the faculty were consulted individually. Last of all a review of the visit was conducted with the President and academic vice-president of BYU.

The chairman submitted a tentative report to President Wilkinson for comments. In response to this invitation, President Wilkinson prepared a memorandum in which he attempted to correct major inaccuracies appearing in the 14 separate sections of the tentative visitation committee report. No answer was given to Wilkinson's memorandum, and no revision was ever made of the draft sent to him. However, the great bulk of the report was highly favorable to the University. Assessing the school's stability, Gale was impressed with the skill of the administration in coping with an enrollment that had doubled during the previous 10 years. The chairman of the committee was also impressed by the low faculty turnover rate, which from 1961 to 1966 had been only 7.4 percent. The committee members were also favorably impressed with the new construction which effectively combined an "aesthetic appearance" and "maximum instructional utilization."⁴¹ The committee was impressed by the favorable environment in which the students were receiving their education and expressed admiration for the financial stability which the school enjoyed as a result of the generous and consistent support which it received from the Mormon Church.

Criticisms

Dr. Gale's criticism was directed primarily toward the lack of faculty involvement in University administration. Another problem, in the committee's opinion, was that 95 percent of the faculty were members of the LDS Church. The committee felt that this led toward "provincialism" and a lack of cosmopolitan atmosphere which they felt every university should engender. They thought a university campus should be a center of intellectual ferment rather than one of unified tranquility. Nor were they impressed by the fact that a third of the student body were returned missionaries bringing to the campus the language, culture, customs and understanding of nations from all over the world, and that during the Wilkinson administration students from 106 foreign countries were included in the student body. Also, according to the committee, teaching loads between 12 and 15 hours were high for a university, and many of the salaries paid were low in comparison with other schools.

The Student Body

The committee had great praise for the student body at BYU. The students presented "an impressive and truly outstanding picture to any

41. "Report of the Visitation Committee to the Commissioner on Higher Education of the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher

visitor of the campus.” The dress standards were termed “refreshing,” as were the students’ loyalty, respect, and comportment. At the same time the committee felt that the University’s policy of not accepting government funds was unjustified. They did not feel that “administrative independence” was reason enough for turning down this money, nor were they persuaded that federal loans and grants to private universities violated the principle of separation of church and state.

Biological and Agricultural Sciences

Roy E. Huffman, the evaluator of the biological and agricultural sciences, was impressed with the breadth of curriculum and the quality of teaching. Of the 47 faculty members, 40 held doctorates from 20 different institutions. He was also impressed with the newly proposed life science buildings which would overcome the existing shortages in classroom and laboratory space.

English

The evaluator of the English Department noticed “the remarkable and impressive sense of devotion and commitment” which characterized the entire English faculty. The staff seemed to work well with one another and were able to discuss with candor and sensitivity the strengths and weaknesses of the department. It was pointed out that there was a serious inadequacy in physical facilities, but the evaluator was tremendously impressed with the facilities of the new J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Library. The observer said, “The administration is to be commended heartily for its support of an unusually handsome building and for the valuable collection it houses. Next to human talents, no single facility can mean more to a graduate program than a first rate library. If the collection continues to develop as it has for the last five years it will be a lasting credit to the institution.”

Fine Arts and Communications

Foremost in the mind of the evaluator of the College of Fine Arts and Communications were the impressive facilities of the Harris Fine Arts Center. The report stated, “Division of Dramatic Arts is as well equipped as any such university department in the United States. The radio and television surpass many commercial facilities.” More individual office space was needed, but the evaluator was very pleased with faculty qualifications and teaching.

Physical Education

The evaluator of the College of Physical Education noted that the new Stephen L Richards Physical Education Building housed 23 teach-

Schools on Brigham Young University,” 26 to 29 April 1966, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, pp. 8-9.

ing stations, 39 offices, two Olympic-size pools, an extensive research center, and numerous supplementary facilities. He concluded he had not “had the pleasure of visiting a more modern and functional physical education plant. . . . The opportunity for coeducational physical education and recreational activities is practically unlimited.”⁴² The report concluded, “The University will undoubtedly earn its rightful place as one of the great universities in the United States of America.” The overall College of Physical Education evaluation was “excellent!”⁴³

Physical and Engineering Sciences

The evaluator of the College of Physical and Engineering Sciences rated the faculty capable of providing first-rate training at all levels. There was criticism of the pressure resulting from high teaching loads as well as the inadequacy of some facilities. It was recommended that further expansion be curtailed until there could be more adequate staffing and more space for classes and laboratories. It was also strongly urged that the administration accept federal funds in the science areas and give the members of the faculty a substantial salary increase.

Religious Instruction

The College of Religious Instruction was evaluated by two clergymen of different faiths. They were astonished to find that 18,600 undergraduate students and 150 or more graduate students participated in religious instruction. They felt that some effort was needed to promote sharper “intellectual encounters” among both faculty and students. One or two members of the full committee half-seriously suggested that for the purpose of intellectual ferment and free inquiry at BYU the University should have one or two atheists on the faculty — but that suggestion was not passed on by the full committee. The final evaluation praised the objectives and success of the undergraduate religion courses, but was not so complimentary to the graduate program.

Social Sciences

Of all the evaluations of the accreditation committee, the most severe criticism of BYU came from the evaluator assigned to the College of Social Sciences. His report concluded that “unrestricted freedom of inquiry . . . *does not exist at Brigham Young University.*” The evaluator was critical of the fact that teachers of Keynesian economic principles were supposedly considered suspect by the administration. He claimed price support and control policies of the federal government could not be objectively taught at BYU. He attributed some of these problems to the

42. Ibid., p. 55.

43. Ibid., pp. 64, 71-72.

personal views of the President of the University but failed to probe the possibility that bias in favor of free institutions is a part of Mormon philosophy and that the President was expressing the views of the Trustees. The evaluator was also critical of the fact that many of the faculty had obtained their initial training at BYU and failed to note the fact that less than two percent of them had received their graduate training for their terminal degree at BYU.

The Graduate School

There were a number of suggestions for improving the graduate program at BYU, but the evaluation was generally favorable. It was noted that 87 percent of the graduate faculty held doctorates, although there was criticism of low salaries and high teaching loads. There was also concern over student and faculty inbreeding. The evaluator felt that in spite of these deficiencies, graduate work at the school could achieve distinction in many areas within a few years.⁴⁴

The J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Library

The new library was given a special evaluation and the committee noted with satisfaction that the holdings had grown from 186,000 volumes in 1956 to 632,390 volumes at the time of the 1966 visit. It was further noted that the library had set a goal of acquiring 1,000,000 volumes by 1972. Speaking of the library building itself, the observer said,

The library building is a beautiful, centrally located, modular, divisional type structure. It possesses a warm, friendly atmosphere and provides adequate seating at present. Its functional pattern has been well conceived. Both operation and service unity have been strikingly achieved. The furnishings are comfortable, well designed, and pleasing. Study conditions are optimum. This building is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful and best planned libraries in the United States.⁴⁵

More Tabernacles of Learning

With the political campaign of 1964 behind him, President Wilkinson began to further build the BYU campus. Some of BYU's largest and most expensive buildings were completed between 1965 and 1971. While President Wilkinson personally supervised campus development, he was assisted by an able corps of administrators. The planning and preparation, involving thousands of carefully engineered details, were generally provided by Sam F. Brewster and his associates. Under the guidance of this team the BYU campus became a model for other universities, and Brewster earned a national reputation for campus

44. Ibid., pp. 118-20.

45. Ibid., p. 132.

planning. Brewster was awarded an honorary doctorate by BYU in 1970 for his role in building the physical plant.⁴⁶

Fred Markham, school architect, was also prominent in the development of the BYU campus. After attending the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and serving on several national architectural boards, Markham brought to BYU an innovative genius which won for him nationwide professional recognition and placed him on the accrediting boards of several major universities. The Markham-Brewster team carried the major burden in providing large, much-needed buildings for physical education, life sciences, mathematics, and a number of other areas.

Stephen L Richards Physical Education Building

For many years Brigham Young University fostered a correlated program of intramural sports, physical and health education, and recreation and youth leadership. These activities, coupled with intercollegiate athletics, made the available facilities insufferably crowded. Swimming facilities had never been available on campus and the teaching space and facilities for women's physical education were severely restricted.

In 1963 Fred Markham, Milton Hartvigsen, Edwin R. Kimball, Leona Holbrook, Sam Brewster, and Ephraim Hatch visited eight campuses across America to study new buildings similar to the one planned for BYU. The result was one of the finest buildings of its kind in the nation. Construction began 11 December 1963 under contracts awarded to Mark B. Garff, Ryberg, and Garff Construction Company and Okland Construction Company. Twenty-two months later the structure was completed.⁴⁷

The building is 620 feet long and 280 feet wide, and provides 237,154 square feet of floor space, making it one of the largest facilities of its kind in America. It includes three swimming pools, two large gymnasiums, two small gymnasiums, two large dance studios, and offices for faculty members, department heads, directors of intramural activities, and the dean of the College of Physical Education. There are seven large classrooms, a Human Performance Research Center, an adaptive physical education room, youth leadership training rooms, driver training facilities, and a laundry. The three swimming pools are housed in one large room with a balcony on two sides which seats 1,100 spectators. One pool is designed for beginning swimmers, one is an Olympic-size pool for intercollegiate competition, and one is for diving. The three pools combined hold 528,000 gallons of filtered water. Six underwater observation windows allow teachers

46. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Sam Brewster, 23 April 1970, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

47. Ephraim Hatch and Karl Miller, "A History of the BYU Campus and the Department of Physical Plant," 7:1:64.

and coaches to observe the swimmers and divers below the surface. There is also provision for TV monitoring from these windows.

The building was named after Stephen L Richards, who until his death was a counselor in the LDS First Presidency. He had always been an enthusiastic proponent of physical education and good sportsmanship.

Jesse Knight Building Annex

The Jesse Knight Building, constructed in 1960 for the College of Business, was designed to allow expansion when more space was needed. The trilevel annex, including an underground floor, was completed in 1966 and contained a total of 45,962 square feet of floor space, comprising 25 classrooms, two large 250-seat lecture halls, a 125-seat lecture hall, a baptismal font, 76 faculty offices, and numerous other rooms. Although it was contemplated that eventually the College of Business would occupy the annex, most of its space was assigned to the English Department, which had the largest faculty of any department on campus.

Indoor Tennis Courts Building

BYU has produced some of the best collegiate tennis players in the country, and because of continuing interest in this sport it was decided to construct a 29,850-square-foot indoor tennis court building immediately south of the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse. The structure was completed on 2 October 1968, and it houses four regulation-size tennis courts and space for folding bleachers to accommodate 1,300 spectators. The architect for the building was Willard C. Nelson Associates, and the general contractor was Kaze and Gammon. With the completion of this facility the school had 28 tennis courts.⁴⁸

Auxiliary Services Buildings

Part of the expansion of the physical plant in 1968 was the addition of three buildings designed to meet the growing needs of Auxiliary Services. A site was chosen north of Wyview Drive and west of 900 East for the complex. Plans were prepared by Holland, McGill, and Pasker of Salt Lake City with the construction contract going to Iverson Construction Company, also of Salt Lake City. The three units totalling 155,576 square feet of floor space, provided facilities for maintenance, laundry, Food Services, receiving, the University Press, and vast new warehouse facilities.

Daniel H. Wells ROTC Building

In 1968 BYU constructed the only school building in Utah designed

48. Ibid., 7:1:70-72. There are 16 outdoor courts south of the Smith Fieldhouse and 8 more north of the Helaman Halls complex.

exclusively for the Reserve Officer Training Corps. The BYU Air Force ROTC began in 1951, the first year of the Wilkinson Administration, and in 1968 the Army ROTC program was inaugurated, practically doubling ROTC enrollment. The architectural firm of Young and Fowler Associates of Salt Lake City designed the structure and the contract went to the Paulsen Construction Company. Although not a large structure — 15,305 gross square feet — it is designed for enlargement as needed. The building cost less than \$300,000 and is located at the southeast corner of the Ernest L. Wilkinson Center parking lot.⁴⁹ It was named in honor of Daniel H. Wells, Mormon pioneer, lieutenant general of the Nauvoo Legion, and Counselor to Brigham Young.⁵⁰

John A. Widtsoe Life Sciences Laboratory Building and Thomas L. Martin Classroom Building

For many years the College of Agricultural and Biological Sciences had hoped for adequate facilities. By 1967 the laboratory and classroom space in the Brimhall Building was much too limited to accommodate the mushrooming enrollment, and therefore the Board of Trustees authorized the construction of a life sciences building with an annex for classrooms. The John A. Widtsoe Life Sciences Laboratory Building is a nine-foot tower with two levels underground. It contains 183,914 square feet of floor space for laboratories and faculty offices. The building was named after John A. Widtsoe, Mormon apostle and leading scientist in agriculture and soil chemistry. His long and close association with BYU has been detailed in earlier chapters.

The 40,468-square-foot adjoining classroom building was named after Thomas L. Martin, who had a tremendous influence on the development of the agricultural sciences and soil studies programs at BYU as a teacher and as dean of the College of Applied Science from 1937 to 1951. This handsome three-level building (one underground) features four large lecture halls with seating for 254 students in each. It also has additional classrooms so that during any given hour a total of 2,251 students can be seated in the building. Eight LDS Church branches use facilities in the Martin Building.

Plans for both buildings were drawn up by Central Utah Architects, which included the local firms of Markham, Nelson, & Dixon. The contract for both buildings was awarded to the Tolboe Construction Company of Salt Lake City. The Martin classroom building was completed in the summer of 1969 and the larger Widtsoe Life Sciences Laboratory Building in the summer of 1970.

49. "Building Inventory and Space Recapitulation, BYU, Provo, Utah, As of September 1974," unpublished report in Department of Physical Plant records.

50. "ROTC Building Named: Formal Ball Caps Week," *Daily Universe*, 21 March 1969.

James E. Talmage Math-Computer Building

Between 1963 and 1968 enrollment in computer courses increased more than 400 percent — 20 times faster than the growth of the University as a whole. Since mathematics and computer science have much in common, it was envisioned that one facility could meet the needs of both disciplines. In 1968 the Mathematics Department was the fourth largest department on campus, offering 185 classes with more than 11,000 students meeting in 17 different buildings.

As with the Martin Building, the Central Utah Architects drew up the plans. The construction contract was awarded to Okland Construction Company. The Math-Computer Building comprises 63,512 gross square feet of floor space and provides 100 faculty offices, 30 classrooms, and the computer center. The latter, occupying approximately 14,000 square feet of floor space, including 4,000 square feet for the computer alone, was isolated from the rest of the building to permit climate control and continuous operation. The computer can be used from diverse locations by means of a complicated cabling system of 36 lines spread throughout campus.⁵¹ The building was named after James E. Talmage, a scientist and Church leader. The fact that he was at one time selected to succeed Karl G. Maeser, his academic and Church work, and his many contributions to BYU have been discussed in earlier chapters.

The Marriott Center

After its completion in 1951 the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse was indispensable for assemblies and intercollegiate athletic contests. However, the fieldhouse was soon unable to accommodate student assemblies and crowds which turned out for the major athletic events each year. By 1965 an 8,460-seat addition to the fieldhouse was being contemplated, but the architect, Fred Markham, strongly recommended the construction of a new building with seating accommodations for more than 24,000 people.⁵²

It was not until 1967, however, that President Wilkinson obtained approval for the construction of a new sports arena immediately west of the football stadium.⁵³ Seven months later, upon the strong recommendation of Edwin (Eddie) Kimball, the location was changed to a more centrally located and accessible site north of the administration building. This change in location proved to be ideal. The school engaged Robert A. Fowler and Associates, who had designed the new athletic center at the University of Utah, to draw up the plans. The contract was let to Tolboe Construction Company.

51. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Brigham Young University: A University of Destiny," address delivered 2 April 1971 to the Newcomen Society of North America, at Provo, Utah, copy in Wilkinson Presidential Papers, p. 19.

52. Administrative Council Meeting Minutes, 20 December 1964.

53. BYU Board Minutes, 1 November 1967.

The building itself was practically finished by September 1971, one month after President Wilkinson's resignation, but continued internal improvements were carried on under President Oaks until September 1972 and it was not used until then. This unique building measures 384 feet by 344 feet, larger than two football fields placed side-by-side. Seating includes 10,092 chair seats, 12,590 bleacher seats, and 372 other spaces for a combined seating of 23,054. The building contains 274,456 square feet of floor space on several levels, under three acres of roof. The inside volume is about 8,000,000 cubic feet. A 10-story building could fit between the playing floor and the roof. The roof, called a space frame, was constructed at ground level and then raised 35 feet into place on top of 38 steel columns. This is the largest roof structure ever erected and lifted by this method.⁵⁴ The steel required for the space frame weighed more than 2,500,000 pounds and was fabricated by Mountain States Steel Company of Orem. After the steel space frame was in place, the soil was removed down to the playing floor level. A continuous concourse encircles the building with 22 portals providing entry to the arena area.

The Center is fully air-conditioned, and the air is electrically filtered. The public address system was designed by C. P. Boner, famous for his achievement in designing the sound system for the Houston Astrodome. A circular scoreboard is suspended over the playing floor, with a cluster of loudspeakers underneath, capable of producing 3,000 watts of audio power.

The Marriott Center was financed primarily through gate receipts, student building fees, public contributions, and internal loans from BYU funds to be repaid gradually from box office receipts. The largest contributor to the construction of the building was J. Willard Marriott, for whom the building was named. Ben E. Lewis, who had held a responsible position with the Marriott Corporation, handled the transaction. Ernest L. Wilkinson and Willard Marriott served together as counselors in the Washington, D.C., Stake presidency.

Although the total project, including furnishings and landscaping, was by far the most expensive building on campus, none of the money to pay for the building came from the tithing funds of the LDS Church.

North and east of the Marriott Center are parking spaces for 3,000 cars. To the south are two pedestrian ramps permitting access from campus without crossing any streets.⁵⁵ As of 1976 it has the largest seating capacity for a building of its kind and purpose on any campus in the country.

This Marriott Center is much more than an athletic center, since about two-thirds of those who enter it come for Church or University

54. As President Wilkinson pressed the button for the machinery to lift the roof, contractor Clifford Tolboe quipped that if it didn't work he wanted to be in the center of the building right under the roof.

55. Hatch and Miller, "A History of the BYU Campus," 7:1:93-99.

assemblies, dramatic, musical, dancing, and other cultural productions.

Joseph K. Nicholes Chemical Stores Building

For years a building had been needed to house and dispense chemical supplies then stored unsafely and inconveniently in the Eyring Science Center and elsewhere. This need was met by the construction of a 20,835-square-foot building which was named after Joseph K. Nicholes, chemistry teacher and student adviser on campus from 1935 until his death in 1964. This building can hold 15,000 items on two floors. Many safety features are built into the structure, including air-conditioning, special cooling and exhaust systems, pyrex glass plumbing and drain lines, eyewash fountains, showers, and spark-free blowers.

New Engineering Building

On the eve of Wilkinson's retirement from the presidency, construction began on a new engineering building directly east of the Martin Classroom Building. This was the last building begun in the Wilkinson era. As early as February 1958, Dean Armin J. Hill of the College of Physical and Engineering Sciences began a campaign for new facilities. It was not until 1969 that authorization was given; construction began early in the spring of 1971. Once again Central Utah Architects planned the building, and Hogan & Tingey Construction Company of Salt Lake City was chosen as contractor. Completed on 1 September 1973 during the Oaks administration, the engineering laboratory building contains 167,000 square feet spread over five floors, two of which are underground. It houses 80 offices, 17 lecture rooms with seating for 895, 27 chemical engineering laboratories, 22 civil engineering laboratories, 35 electrical engineering laboratories, 26 mechanical engineering laboratories, and 26 engineering analysis center laboratories (computers) and ten other interdepartmental laboratories. The New Engineering Building, the James E. Talmage Math-Computer Building and the Nicholes Chemistry Storage Building were all dedicated by Elder Delbert L. Stapley on February 19, 1974.

Summary of Physical Plant Development

By August 1971 BYU maintained a total of 88 academic buildings (50 of which were temporary), 41 administrative units (16 of which were temporary), four permanent auxiliary buildings, and 216 separate housing units, including the 150 mobile homes in Wyview Park. The number of buildings, not counting 5 off-campus buildings used for storage, totalled 349 (85 of which were temporary), providing a

total of 4,036,585 gross square feet of space.⁵⁶ By the time the Engineering Building and Marriott Center were completed, the square footage had grown to 5,400,324.⁵⁷

On 1 June 1951, shortly after Wilkinson became President of BYU, the investment in physical plant at the University amounted to \$6,150,440, based on cost of construction. At the time of his resignation in 1971 it amounted to over \$100,000,000. The wisdom of the Board of Trustees in approving this total expenditure is supported by the University's unparalleled growth and its increased academic prestige and spiritual service.

Wilkinson ranked the development of the physical plant as one of the lesser accomplishments of his administration. However, the Wilkinson years will probably be remembered by many for the growth, beautification, and utilization of the physical facilities.⁵⁸ While much credit is due to Wilkinson, who, when convinced of the rightness and the need for a new facility, never gave up until he achieved his objective, the real credit, in Wilkinson's opinion, must go to others. In a speech to the Newcomen Society in April 1971 he said,

It must be understood that what we have accomplished during the last twenty years would not have been possible without the vision, sacrifice, endurance, and toil of prior administrations. . . . They deserve as much credit for our present progress as those of us who are living today. And it could never have been accomplished except for the loyal guidance and generous support of the Board of Trustees who determine the policies and have provided nearly all the funds for this institution.⁵⁹

56. The temporary buildings consisted of small laboratory, storage, or maintenance buildings serving until permanent ones could be built, or old homes which had been acquired in the process of enlarging the campus. However, the influx of students had been so great some were still used by departments for classes or faculty offices. As compared with the new permanent buildings they were of relatively little functional or monetary value.

57. "Inventory of Buildings, BYU, Provo, Utah, as of 31 August 1971," Department of Physical Plant records.

58. During the summer of 1966 Wilkinson escorted President David O. McKay and his wife on a personalized four-hour driving tour of BYU which included a drive onto the stage areas of the Harris Fine Arts Center. As the orchestra pit was raised for his benefit, President McKay exclaimed, "Now I have seen everything." Wilkinson noted in his diary, "At the end of the trip we all took President McKay to his office where he said, 'I have two things on my mind: First, I'm happy that I've supported you in what you are doing. Second, you've been very successful and made a great school of the BYU.' Later on, as I bade him goodbye, he said, 'This is one of the great days of my life' "; Ernest L. Wilkinson, diary, 9 July 1966.

59. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Brigham Young University: A University of Destiny," address delivered 2 April 1971 to the Newcomen Society of North America, at Provo, Utah, copy in Wilkinson Presidential Papers, p. 19.

William F. Edwards, Sam F. Brewster, Fred Markham, and Ben E. Lewis, among others, were all prominent in the many committees established to build and beautify the campus. In addition, most of the buildings on campus were the result of planning by deans and members of the faculty who prodded the school presidency into action on building construction. With them were also numerous anonymous lieutenants who caught the vision of what was needed and prodded the deans. To all of these President Wilkinson frequently expressed his deepest appreciation for all that had been accomplished in his 20-year administration.

The entire history of the building program at BYU seems like a fulfillment of Karl G. Maeser's dream, when, after informing his wife and daughter that because of lack of finances for the school and money to live on he was going to accept a position at the University of Deseret, he changed his mind, saying, "I have had a dream — I have seen Temple Hill filled with buildings — great temples of learning, and I have decided to remain and do my part in contributing to the fulfillment of that dream."

28

Student Life during the Wilkinson Years

When President Wilkinson first arrived on campus in 1951 he was aware of the general feeling among many high school graduates and even among some members of the Church that BYU was a second-rate academic institution. Wilkinson aspired to change this appraisal to one of enthusiastic respect by enriching both student life and academics. This goal was largely achieved during the first decade of the Wilkinson administration, to a large extent because of the wholehearted support of President David O. McKay and the Board of Trustees, who endorsed nearly every major suggestion designed to elevate the academic, social, and spiritual life of BYU students. Of course, many of the changes came slowly, even painfully, but any visitor to the campus in the early 1960s could see that students attending BYU had a unique and valuable collegiate experience.

A Student's First Impression

During the first years of his administration President Wilkinson stood in line at registration for two full days giving a vigorous handshake and exchanging greetings with every one of the 5,000 or more members of the student body. As the student body grew, he restricted his handshaking to the 6,000 freshmen at fall registration. Some of the more timid students may have been startled by the custom, but most accepted it as an indication of the warmth and friendliness of the campus.

After registration, it was traditional to have a "Welcome Back" assembly, usually the noisiest of the year. Students sat in the Smith Fieldhouse according to home states and countries. Each group sang its state song or national anthem, shouting in an attempt to outdo their rivals. The large Utah contingent usually dominated its nearest rivals, the Idaho section and the spirited California delegations.

Wilkinson often referred in humorous terms to the different states or countries from which the students came — to the delight of those who resided elsewhere. He always made it plain that students of all

faiths, colors, and nationalities were welcome at BYU, warning the students against any religious intolerance or bigotry. In his welcoming address for the 1970-71 school year, he said,

I recall that some years ago the student body included, among others, the daughter of a United States cabinet member; the son of a wealthy Buddhist merchant in Siam; the son of the president of a Christian university in Korea; the son of a commanding general of the Greek artillery; a convert to the Church whose father was a Methodist minister in China; a destitute refugee from Spain; a Hungarian refugee whose education at this institution was made possible by help from our students; and a young man who with his parents escaped from Russia at the close of World War II — and I'm happy to say he is now a member of our faculty — and a student from Greece whose father was a Greek Orthodox priest. And when he was baptized on this campus, he was cut off from all support from his family.

At this University, regardless of your background, you will all be treated as equals — the rich and the poor, the introverts — and you students from California. You are all God's children. You will all be treated with kindness and with firmness by gifted teachers. You will start out with a high rating because of your wise discernment in choosing this University.¹

Wilkinson always concluded his speech with a serious dissertation on the standards of the institution which all students were expected to honor — observance of fundamental Christian ethics, the Student Honor Code, a single standard of morality and abstinence from tobacco, alcohol, and harmful drugs. Generally at the conclusion of this address the President would ask for a standing vote of all those who were willing to observe these standards and help the administration enforce them. Only three students are known to have refused to stand during the Wilkinson administration. They were advised to go to the Treasurer and receive a refund of their tuition. This commitment always set the tone for the rest of the school year and the students were off to a good start.

Changing Profile of the BYU Student Body

When Wilkinson reported for duty on 1 February 1951 there were 4,004 students on campus from 45 states.² Several states were represented by only one to four students and 23 of the states had fewer than eleven students. Wilkinson was determined to recruit outstanding young people from every part of the Church, every state of the union,

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1. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Welcome to BYU-1970," *Speeches of the Year* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1971).
 2. Office of Institutional Research, "Brigham Young University Enrollment Resume, 1963-64," BYU Archives, p. 78. Cumulative enrollment during the 1951-52 school year was 5,265.

and from many foreign countries. This campaign opened on a dozen fronts and the accompanying charts show that while during his administration students from Utah increased fourfold, the California representation increased over thirteen times. The state of Washington increased fifteen times, and Idaho and Arizona increased more than five times.

The number of foreign countries represented grew from 14 in 1950-51 to 70 in 1970-71, with a total of 106 different countries being represented during this 20-year period. By 1974 there were 521 American Indian students at BYU representing 77 different tribes or tribal blends from 38 states, the largest group of Indian students at any university in the country.

ENROLLMENT PATTERNS
Number of Students
Cumulative Daytime Enrollment

	* 1950-51	1970-71
Alabama	0	35
Alaska	0	72
Arizona	200	1,096
Arkansas	4	17
California	426	5,670
Colorado	57	531
Connecticut	3	35
Delaware	2	13
Florida	13	176
Georgia	7	75
Hawaii	64	113
Idaho	542	2,827
Illinois	25	259
Indiana	8	118
Iowa	4	61
Kansas	7	72
Kentucky	3	28
Louisiana	5	61
Maine	1	16
Maryland	10	128
Massachusetts	5	61
Michigan	11	139
Minnesota	3	84
Mississippi	3	24
Missouri	7	114
Montana	27	233
Nebraska	6	73
Nevada	118	544

New Hampshire	0	32
New Jersey	12	129
New Mexico	25	320
New York	30	260
North Carolina	8	80
North Dakota	4	29
Ohio	6	162
Oklahoma	8	119
Oregon	102	642
Pennsylvania	20	152
South Carolina	4	57
South Dakota	1	58
Tennessee	0	32
Texas	25	349
Utah	2,408	9,809
Vermont	0	14
Virginia	15	213
Washington	59	987
West Virginia	2	27
Wisconsin	10	92
Wyoming	86	394
District of Columbia	7	15
Canal Zone	0	7
<hr/>		
TOTAL	4,393	26,689
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	1950-51	1970-71
Africa	1	18
Australia and Pacific Islands	7	79
Central America and Mexico	16	68
Canada	81	643
Europe	5	185
Far East	2	268
Middle East	3	101
Russia and Satellites	0	1
South America	3	111
<hr/>		
TOTAL	118	1,581
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GRAND TOTAL	4,652 ³	28,270

3. The 1950-51 figures are not cumulative enrollment. They are the only ones that give a state-by-state breakdown for that year.

Throughout the Wilkinson years the percentage of LDS students varied from 93.5 percent to 97.5 percent. Even with this religious homogeneity, students from more than 20 different Christian denominations and 10 non-Christian denominations attended BYU. Reflective of another trend, the number of women students at BYU increased from 40 percent in 1950-51 to 44 percent in 1970-71.

Among the Mormon students was an increasing number of returned missionaries. In 1970-71 some 8,923 returned missionaries represented 54 percent of all men enrolled at BYU. And in 1950-51 there were only 392 transfer students, whereas in 1970-71 there were 7,950, more than 28 percent of the student body.

Because of tuition policies designed to attract students to BYU from all economic levels of society, most BYU students come from middle-class American families. In 1973, annual income for the parents of some incoming freshmen was as low as \$3,000. More than 40 percent of these freshmen came from homes where the annual income was below \$15,000. Twelve percent left a home where the income was in excess of \$20,000.⁴ BYU has never been or desired to be a rich man's school. Intellectual performance and personal character were to be rewarded, rather than family prestige.

Politically, the BYU student body has consistently shown a more conservative stance than most other large universities. In 1952 a campus public opinion pole conducted by Stewart L. Grow revealed that 41 percent of the student body considered themselves Republicans, 21 percent Democrats, and 38 percent independents.⁵ Four years later, at the height of the second Eisenhower-Stevenson presidential contest, 84 percent of the students favored Eisenhower and only 14 percent preferred Stevenson. The remaining two percent were undecided.⁶

Grade point averages of BYU students increased noticeably from 1951 to 1971. The following chart shows changes in the grade point average at BYU between the 1963-64 and 1971-72 academic years.

**GPA's for All Daytime Students (4.0 scale)
(undergraduate and graduate)**

YEAR	GPA	YEAR	GPA
1963-64	2.53	1968-69	2.68
1964-65	2.54	1969-70	2.80
1965-66	2.57	1970-71	2.79
1966-67	2.62	1971-72	25.83
1967-68	2.68		

4. American College Testing Program, "Class Profile Service Report, 1973-74," table 6.6, "Estimated Family Income."
 5. "Shades of Dr. Gallup," *Daily Universe*, 17 October 1952.
 6. "Ike Appears Decisive Favorite of Students in BYU Opinion Poll," *Daily Universe*, 2 November 1956.

The dropout ratio at BYU was relatively low, partly because of the administration policy of helping students succeed if at all possible. Counseling service, faculty advisement, and the opportunity to participate in various remedial programs all combined to help students acquire the necessary confidence, motivation, and skill to avoid termination. Dropouts during the school year usually averaged between 10 and 15 percent. The vast majority of students leaving school did so in order to go on a mission, get married, enter the military service, or because of being needed at home.⁷

Improving the Academic Life-style at BYU

The University consistently worked during the Wilkinson years to eliminate influences that detracted from good academic performance. Faculty leaders strongly endorsed this policy. In 1959 Robert K. Thomas of the English Department faculty suggested that an honors program be organized to meet the needs of the most serious students. The administration carefully considered the proposal and in September 1959 announced that the Honors Program would begin on campus the following year. Frank Wilkinson of the Psychology Department was named chairman of a committee charged with preparing the program, and Robert K. Thomas was appointed the first director. Thomas was highly respected by faculty and students as both a scholar and a teacher. The announcement of the Honors Program was greeted with some reservations and even suspicion. Some deans and department chairmen were reluctant to reduce the departmental teaching loads of some of their finest faculty members to free them for Honors classes, and some of the students objected to the program because it would develop an elite corps on campus. The program also lacked financial resources. In spite of these obstacles the Honors Program began as planned in 1960 and continued to progress in the following years.

Thomas served alone as director of the program until 1963, when Richard D. Poll was named associate director. In 1965, Richard L. Bushman was appointed as a second associate director. Since then the directorate form of administration has remained in force. In 1967, Thomas was appointed academic vice-president of the University. Poll served as acting director until 1969 when C. Terry Warner was named director, a position he held for five years. Warner and his associates were deeply committed to the individual intellectual growth of the program's members.⁸ The significant innovations they introduced

7. "Summarization of Information Available from Studies Conducted Concerning Morality," 21 May 1956, unpublished report in Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

8. Associate directors to 1974 included Richard D. Poll, January 1963 to October 1969; Richard L. Bushman, 1965 to 1968; J. Duane Dudley, February 1968 to August 1974; Charles L. Metten, 1970 to 1972; Bruce

brought the program to a greater level of effectiveness and sophistication. Marion J. Bentley served as acting director in 1973-74 and was succeeded in 1974 by Thomas F. Rogers, with Philip M. Flammer and Reba L. Keele, the directorate's first female member, serving as his associates.

A survey of honors alumni conducted in 1975 demonstrated the tremendous value of this program to the students who participated. Many of them received nationally prestigious graduate scholarships and fellowships, including the Rhodes, Danforth, Woodrow Wilson, National Science Foundation, and National Defense Education Act awards and grants, while others were enrolled in some of the most prestigious graduate schools in the country, including Harvard, Yale, Stanford, Chicago, Michigan, and Columbia.

One of the most exciting ways academic awareness received support was through outside speakers of tested academic, political, commercial, or artistic ability. Among those who appeared during the Wilkinson years were Maria Von Trapp, Carl Sandburg, Louis Untermeyer, Pearl S. Buck, and Ogden Nash.⁹

Before Wilkinson came to BYU there was a tradition among Utah universities against political leaders addressing college student bodies, especially during political campaigns. Wilkinson changed this by inviting each of the national parties to select its best representative to speak to the students. In 1952 President Harry S. Truman represented the Democrats and Senator Everett Dirksen the Republicans. Politicians who spoke on the BYU campus in subsequent years included such presidential candidates as Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard M. Nixon, Robert F. Kennedy, and Hubert H. Humphrey.

To improve scholarship, the dean of students organized in 1959 the Academic Emphasis Committee which sponsored debates and invited special speakers to campus. During the politically sensitive year of 1963-64, Chauncey Riddle debated Louis Midgley on "Liberalism-Mormonism-Conservatism"; Hyrum Andrus and David King, a former Utah Congressman, discussed "The Place of the Religious and Political Liberal in the Mormon Church"; Richard Wirthlin defended deficit spending policy against J. Bracken Lee, then mayor of Salt Lake City; and Republican senatorial candidates Ernest L. Wilkinson and Sherman Lloyd discussed "Civil Rights, 1964."¹⁰

Another important service designed by the University to assist students in their college life and in their pursuit of a chosen career was the

C. Hafen, 1971 to 1972; Marion J. Bentley, 1971 to 1974; Gary L. Bunker, 1972 to 1974; Arthur Henry King, 1972 to 1974; and C. Terry Warner from 1968 to January 1970. Warner was director from January 1970 to fall 1974.

9. "BYU Forums: Celebrities Since 1898," *Daily Universe*, 17 April 1970.

10. "Academic Emphasis Improves BYU Image," *Daily Universe*, 21 May 1964.

Counseling Center, recently renamed the Personal Development Center.¹¹ The first official counseling service of the University was established in 1922, with the appointment of the first dean of women, Amy Lyman Merrill. In 1937 the dean of men's office was created to provide students with counseling and other services. Under President McDonald, Student Personnel Services was established, an important segment of which was the Counseling Service. Antone K. Romney served as its first chairman. Supported by 20 teacher-counselors, Counseling Service was designed to assist students with their academic, social, spiritual, and vocational problems. Others serving as chairmen of Counseling Service were Howard T. Reid, Clyde A. Parker, Vern H. Jensen, and David Sorenson.

Graduation

Parents, faculty, and Church leaders look upon BYU's graduation exercises as an opportunity to evaluate the end product of their investment of time, money, and sacrifice. From the time the first certificates were awarded in 1878 until 1970-71, the University conferred a total of 59,173 certificates and degrees. Of these, 2,779 were certificates, including 1,826 normal certificates granted from 1901 until 1942; 948 two-year certificates granted from 1960 until 1964 when they were replaced by associate degrees; and five special graduate certificates which have been awarded on rare occasions. In addition, by 1970-71 the school had awarded 1,137 associate degrees; 48,518 bachelor's degrees; 6,308 master's degrees; and 411 doctor's degrees. The University has conferred about 100 honorary degrees since Karl G. Maeser received the first one in May 1889.¹² The recipients of these are listed in the appendices in Volume 4 of *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*.

Fulfilling Social Needs

BYU has always been committed to the development of the whole person, which includes a well-balanced social life. During Wilkinson's era a wide variety of activities was available to students regardless of their income, talent, or tastes. He wanted to make sure that even students with little talent could enjoy a full campus social life. This was one of the reasons he opposed the exclusiveness of the old system of social units. He discouraged formal dances and balls, and king and queen contests received less emphasis.

The "Spirit of the Y" is legendary and usually reaches a peak during football and basketball seasons. This was encouraged during the Wil-

11. Much of the material in this section is taken from "Centennial History: Dean of Student Life," unpublished typescript in BYU Archives, pp. 77-106.

12. "BYU Enrollment Resume, 1970-71," pp. 31-33.

kinson era, but occasionally enthusiasm turned to vandalism. In 1956 BYU students lit a giant Y over the U of U's block U on a mountain east of Salt Lake City. Three hours later, several Utah students descended on the BYU campus, painted giant U of U signs all over the campus, and burned a U on the lawn in front of the Eyring Science Center.¹³

Athletics acquired a new mascot named Cosmo in the form of a cougar in 1953. It was alleged that Cosmo came from the cosmic forces of the universe to augment the prowess of BYU athletic teams. Cosmo was the brainchild of pep chairman Dwayne Stevenson.¹⁴ Each year Cosmo participates with the cheerleaders, flagtwirlers, and Cougarettes (a women's precision drill team); one of the highlights of the school year is revealing the identity of Cosmo at the end of the last home basketball game.

Dances and socials appealed to most BYU students during the Wilkinson years. Some idea of the importance of these activities may be gained from the fact that when the Wilkinson Center was constructed, the combined ballroom area accommodated as many as 4,000 dancers at one time. During the 1950s the biggest dance of the school year was the Junior Prom, held in early spring. Top entertainers came to campus for this event, including such groups as Les Brown and his orchestra and Roger Williams. Generally this was a semiformal occasion.

Other favorite dances included the Preference Ball, a girl's choice occasion sponsored during Women's Week, and Church-sponsored stake Gold and Green balls. The ASBYU Social Office and various clubs held other dances, including square dances, Arizona Stomps, IBM matchup dances, and Belle of the Y dances. These dances provided good dating experiences and opportunities for students to make new friends.

During the last decade, social life has often centered around big name entertainers who have performed at student concerts. These popular concerts have featured such groups and individuals as the Fifth Dimension; Peter, Paul and Mary; the Lettermen; the Carpenters; the Kingston Trio; John Davidson; Olivia Newton-John; Neil Diamond; Seals and Crofts; and many others. They were, however, requested not to perform hard rock and roll music.

The Big Traditions

Student social life at BYU has included activities that are part of the campus tradition. Each October, BYU sponsored Homecoming activities for the student body and alumni. Homecoming activities have included football games, parades, queen contests, Fieldhouse Frolics,

13. "U Was There: Salt Lakers Watch Lighting of Y," *Daily Universe*, 3 May 1956.

14. "What's Spirit? Cosmo Knows," *Daily Universe*, 25 October 1957.

dances, assemblies, and Founders Day festivities.¹⁵ Alumni homecoming banquets have become a major attraction at which outstanding alumni receive distinguished-service and other awards. Founders Day on October 16 is commemorated as a part of Homecoming, adding more nostalgia to the annual celebration.

Another great tradition at BYU is Y Day, which was inaugurated in 1906 for the purpose of whitewashing the huge block Y on the mountain east of campus. The whitewashing of the Y required a minimum of 500 pounds of salt, 110 bags of lime, and 3,000 gallons of water. Until 1972, these ingredients were transported up the mountain by a bucket brigade. Since then a helicopter has been hired to haul the lime, ready mixed, from the base of the mountain. One of the major developments on Y Day in recent years has been participation in major service projects by groups of BYU students. In 1970 the ASBYU Student Relations Office sponsored Santaquin Day, in which a thousand BYU students traveled to the little valley town made up mainly of elderly people and widows. In one day the students painted 40 buildings, built and painted park benches, poured concrete for a tennis court, razed unsightly barns and sheds, hauled away old car bodies, removed tree stumps, installed a sprinkling system at the town park, and hauled gravel and dirt. These voluntary services received national attention. The press characterized them as the Y's answer to the destructive practices on other campuses.

For many years one of the well-established traditions of BYU was the Timp Hike. This trek up the eastern slope of 11,750-foot Mount Timpanogos was started in 1922 by E. L. Roberts and continued for 49 consecutive years. It was abandoned because the number of hikers — 7,000 in 1970 — made the trek dangerous and ecologically destructive.¹⁶ Smaller groups, sponsored by individual clubs or other societies, still make the climb.

In its earlier years it was traditional at BYU to have competitions with keen rivalry between the various classes. By 1960, activities that set freshmen apart from the rest of the student body gave way to a constructive social program in the form of Orientation Week, designed to familiarize newcomers with the University.

Raising and lowering the American flag became an impressive patriotic tradition on the campus during the Wilkinson administration. As members of the ROTC raise the flag in the early morning and lower it again in the evening, students, wherever they are on campus, stand at attention while a loudspeaker plays the national anthem. At a time when patriotic demonstrations on other campuses are ignored or jeered at, this manifestation of loyalty at BYU never fails to arouse admiration in the many visitors who witness the ceremony.

15. "World's Largest Cake Built by BYU," *Daily Universe*, 25 October 1968.

16. "Timp Hike Succumbs to 'Ecology,'" *Daily Universe*, 19 May 1971.

The Social Unit Controversy

President Wilkinson and others wanted to see BYU social activities restructured along Church lines rather than through the traditional social units because they had some of the characteristics of the Greek fraternities and sororities on campuses across the country. President Wilkinson was opposed to their selectivity, their ostracizing processes, and their undemocratic flavor. At no time during the decade of the 1950s did more than 20 percent of the student body gain admittance to these social units, although most students were not opposed to them.¹⁷

In May 1952, Wilkinson wrote a group of faculty members,

All practices and trends in social units that are restrictive of a democratic spirit and tradition should be abolished. I have said before, and I repeat, that if social units themselves do not foster this spirit of democratic brotherliness, then I think the social units themselves will have to go. . . . The chief consideration must be that everyone has the same opportunity.¹⁸

Creation of Campus Wards and Stakes

As it became increasingly apparent that the phasing out of social unit activities would take some time, President Wilkinson came to the conclusion that the solution would be a program of recreation activities through wards and stakes of the Church. Accordingly, on 1 September 1953 Antone K. Romney was appointed chairman of a ten-member committee, including two women, to study the religious activity of BYU students on and off campus. Independent of this committee and unknown to President Wilkinson, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles appointed Henry D. Moyle and Adam S. Bennion to make a similar study.¹⁹

Five months later, after an intensive study, the campus committee reported with specific recommendations. It found that 5,822 students attended some church meetings at BYU, while only 337 members of the student body were entirely inactive. However, only 674 students indicated that they attended church more at BYU than at home, while 2,526 indicated they attended less. The remaining 3,146 said they attended about the same. Significantly, 1,393 students attended Church less at school than at home because the very large size of wards and branches gave too little opportunity for church activity, and 4,241 of the 6,219 students surveyed said they held no church position, although 4,000 students said they would like to hold a church position. As far as social units were concerned, the same survey revealed that

17. Ernest L. Wilkinson to John L. Clarke, president of Ricks College, 22 January 1959, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

18. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Royden C. Braithwaite, et al., 24 May 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

19. Ernest L. Wilkinson to William E. Berrett, 7 February 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

only 843 belonged to social units, though 4,761 felt there was no conflict between social activities and regular academic activity.

The survey committee recommended that five more student branches should be organized and that each branch should develop a strong Mutual Improvement Association program to furnish "satisfactory social activities for many more students." The committee stopped short of recommending the abolition of social units or the creation of a stake.

A year later, on 3 March 1955, Wilkinson recommended to the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees the formation of a stake on campus. This recommendation electrified the Executive Committee. After a moment's silence, Henry D. Moyle stated that in view of Wilkinson's recommendation he assumed it was not improper to inform the committee that "Brother Bennion and I have been working on the same problem and made the same recommendation to the Council of the Twelve in the meeting from which we have just come." He stated that the Council did not at that session approve the recommendation. Turning to Wilkinson he said, "Now you lead out." He thought that an expression from the administration might, in this case, be influential.

As news of the proposed stake organization became public, opposition developed on the part of studentbody officers and others, especially the presidency of the East Provo Stake, who felt they could properly take care of the students.²⁰ However, the survey showed that a number of Provo wards were "overwhelmed" with students during the academic year. For instance, Manavu Ward had a regular membership of 720 but during 1955, 821 students moved within its boundaries, making a membership of 1,541 served by a chapel seating only 350. Notwithstanding the opposition, on 9 November 1955 the Board of Trustees approved the formation of a new stake.²¹ Once the General Authorities made the decision, the East Provo Stake presidency wholeheartedly supported them.²²

The actual formation of Brigham Young University Stake of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints took place on 9 January

20. The following objections were raised by the presidency of East Provo Stake: Students, left alone, were not spiritually mature and needed the guidance of older leaders; officers of the University stake and wards would have to be appointed each year because of student turnover; students who did wrong would not want to confess their sins to a stake president or bishop who might also be their professor; students would be more religiously inclined if their religious activities were not connected with their school work; and students would have more home life in a regular ward.

21. BYU Board Minutes, 9 November 1955.

22. Memorandum of meeting between Henry D. Moyle, Adam S. Bennion, and representatives of Provo Stake presidency, 26 December 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

1956 under the direction of Henry D. Moyle and Adam S. Bennion. Antone K. Romney was appointed stake president, Daniel D. Bushnell first counselor, and Joseph T. Bentley second counselor. Twelve bishops were also unanimously sustained by the 4,350 students present at the meetings. As the structuring of the wards got under way it was found that 500 students in each ward were too many, and the number was reduced to about 350. Late in 1956, 5 more wards were added to the original 12, and by the middle of 1959, 26 wards were operating in the campus stake, with a combined membership of 8,280.²³ On 17 April 1960, BYU Stake was divided into three stakes by Mark E. Petersen. Wayne B. Hales, Bryan West Belnap, and William Noble Waite were chosen presidents.²⁴

President Wilkinson saw the organization of campus stakes as a much better opportunity to satisfy the social and religious needs of the students than social units. On 6 September 1961 the Board of Trustees decided that three stakes with 28 wards could adequately provide social activities for all of the students at BYU.²⁵ Later in the month, Howard W. Hunter of the Council of the Twelve met with the student officers and read to them a letter from the Board of Trustees to President Wilkinson. It said,

After long study and careful consideration, it is the decision of the Board of Trustees that the social units on the campus of Brigham Young University should be discontinued at the conclusion of the school year 1961-62.

We sincerely hope that the young people who now belong to these organizations will seek to find expressions for their leadership ability and social activities in the many organizations that are available to them on the campus.²⁶

Paul Felt, coordinator of student affairs for the dean of students, reported that the response to Elder Hunter's announcement was favorable; there were some disappointments, but there was no bitterness or rancor.²⁷ In the years that have followed, the growing number of student wards, and later branches, has been a great leveler in campus society and a training ground for spiritual as well as social development. As a result there are few artificial divisions and social aristocracies at BYU.

As the size of the student body grew, new stakes and wards were

23. Antone K. Romney to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 29 January 1960, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

24. "Three Stakes Formed," *Daily Universe*, 18 April 1960.

25. BYU Board Minutes, 6 September 1961.

26. Howard W. Hunter, "Destined for Greatness," speech given at student leadership conference on 11 September 1961, BYU Archives. Elder Hunter's son Richard was ASBYU vice-president of finance in 1960-61.

27. See Henry E. Heilsen, ASBYU president, and W. Lowell Benson to Howard W. Hunter, 29 September 1961, quoted in "ASBYU History, 1960-61," BYU Archives.

created to keep pace. On 3 May 1964, at a meeting presided over by Richard L. Evans of the Council of the Twelve, the number of stakes was doubled to six. Presidents of each of the six stakes in numerical order were Raymond E. Beckham, Clyde D. Sandgren, Fred A. Schwendiman, William R. Siddoway, A. Harold Goodman, and Wayne B. Hales.²⁸ By the end of 1965, students were accommodated in 60 wards. In May 1967, two more stakes were created, with Dean A. Peterson called to preside over the BYU Seventh Stake and David H. Yarn over the BYU Eighth Stake.²⁹ Two years later, BYU Ninth and Tenth stakes were organized with Carl D. Jones and Ivan J. Barrett as presidents.³⁰ In 1975, during the Oaks administration, Gregory E. Austin and Verl Clark were sustained as presidents of the new BYU Eleventh and BYU Twelfth stakes. There are now (1976) 12 stakes and 120 branches on campus.

Campus branches and stakes have successfully increased religious activity among BYU students. Most of the LDS students on campus hold positions in campus branches and stakes; a large majority of the married students have been married in the temple; and almost all attend religious services every Sunday and pay a full tithing.³¹ The development of the ecclesiastical organization at BYU elicited the following report from the Danforth Commission in 1966:

Brigham Young University is an innovating institution in many areas, but one of the most highly developed aspects of the University is its program of student religious activity. It is striving to give students a religious experience which exemplifies the best in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.³²

BYU buildings serve as branch meeting places as well as academic centers. There are as many students on campus on Sunday as any other day of the week. One of the editors of *Reader's Digest* once stopped over in Provo on a Saturday night and took a walk on campus Sunday morning. He could not understand why so many young people were out early Sunday morning or where they were going, so he followed them, and they led him to upper campus. He asked if they were having school on Sunday. They told him they were attending Church services. The editor was so amazed and pleased that he stayed overnight and the

28. "Three New Stakes Organized," *Daily Universe*, 4 May 1964.

29. "Six-Stake Conference Adds Two New BYU Stakes," *Daily Universe*, 2 May 1967.

30. "BYU Stakes to Be Reorganized Sunday," *Daily Universe*, 28 April 1967.

31. "Sound Scholarship, Integrity and Spiritual Strength" — A report by President E. L. Wilkinson, 27 May 1966, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. The statistic on marriage is taken from the Student Registration File, prepared by Institutional Research, fall 1972.

32. Manning M. Pattillo, Jr., and Donald M. MacKenzie, *Church Sponsored Higher Education in the United States*, Report of the Danforth Commission (American Council on Education, 1966), pp. 187-88.

next day called on President Wilkinson to express his appreciation for this combination of academic and religious life.

School Assemblies and Closed Circuit Television

From the beginning of Brigham Young Academy, devotional and other assemblies have been one of the distinguishing characteristics of the school. More than anything else, the devotional assemblies unified the student body. During the Maeser administration, short devotional assemblies were held every school day in the old Lewis Building and, after it burned down, in the ZCMI Warehouse. When the Academy Building on the lower campus was completed in 1892 and Benjamin Cluff became principal of the school, these devotional assemblies were held daily in Room D. In 1898 the assemblies were moved to College Hall's 800-seat auditorium.

When the Maeser Building was completed in 1911, it contained an assembly room that seated 260 students. For awhile devotionals for college students were held there, while high school students continued to hold their devotionals in College Hall. Later they were combined to one meeting in College Hall.

As enrollment grew during the Harris administration, College Hall became too small to accommodate the student body, and the short, daily devotional assemblies were reduced to two longer assemblies a week. After 1940, devotionals were held in the 1,044-seat auditorium of the Joseph Smith Building, but it could not seat the growing student body during the McDonald years, and because they could not obtain seats, many formed the habit of not attending these assemblies. When Wilkinson became president, attendance at devotionals averaged only 300 or 400 students. With completion of the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse in 1952, attendance at devotionals zoomed to 3,483 — 56 percent of the student body.³³ Dedicated to these large assemblies, which he felt engendered student body solidarity and enthusiasm, Wilkinson in 1958-59 arranged for three assemblies a week: one the traditional devotional featuring Church leaders, one a forum assembly to be addressed by prominent national speakers, and one a student assembly in which the students provided their own programs.

Though much of the student body supported the three assemblies, Wilkinson felt the need to increase attendance. In an effort to increase attendance at devotionals, President Wilkinson obtained permission from President David O. McKay for every General Authority to speak in a devotional assembly.³⁴

In addition to personally encouraging faculty members to attend devotionals, devotional attendance was made a part of students' reli-

33. Annual Reports for Attendance at Forum, Devotional, and Student Assemblies, 1952-1972, UA 475, boxes 1 and 2, BYU Archives.

34. Memorandum from Ernest L. Wilkinson to Herald R. Clark, 10 May 1957, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

gious instruction by permitting teachers of religious instruction to quiz students on discourses given at devotionals. Many students saw this as unfair, but Wilkinson remained committed to his ideas. The controversy subsided as the quality of devotionals improved and attendance increased. In later years, the policy of examining students in religious education for devotional attendance was rescinded and in its place one-half hour of academic credit was given for attendance at devotional assemblies.

Other means were devised to provide students with opportunities for religious learning. In May of 1953, at the request of President Wilkinson, permission was granted to broadcast the priesthood session of general conference by closed circuit television to the Smith Fieldhouse. This program was so successful that by 1975 the service was extended to over 1,000 priesthood assemblies in the United States, Canada, and Australia.

Devotional addresses were also televised to several areas on campus, such as the Wilkinson Center. However, when the student body grew to around 25,000, only about one-half of them could be accommodated in the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse, and only about 2,500 of those in comfortable seats. Further, although the devotionals were carried to other parts of campus by closed-circuit television, many students insisted that closed-circuit television was a poor substitute for actually seeing and hearing the speaker in person. Therefore, the percentage of student attendance decreased. Although in 1952-53 the attendance of 3,483 in the Fieldhouse represented slightly over 56 percent of the student body and faculty, by 1970-71 the average attendance of 8,505 represented only 33 percent of the student body.³⁵

Once again administrators felt that the University, in view of its long devotional tradition, needed an assembly where all of the students could be accommodated in one location. Accordingly, on 1 November 1967 the Board of Trustees authorized the construction of the Marriott Center, which has a seating capacity of nearly 23,000 and which was substantially completed on 1 September 1971, although not in full use until 1972. The first responses to the new enlarged facilities were encouraging; when President Spencer W. Kimball spoke on 17 September 1974, he had an audience of 24,265 with students seated in the aisles and every available space, the largest attendance ever in the Marriott Center for any event.

Unfortunately, unlike the large increase in attendance when the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse was built, the average attendance at devotionals in the Marriott Center has been somewhat disappointing. Average attendance at devotionals during the entire Wilkinson administration, when a total of 25 to 30 devotionals were held each year,

35. Annual Reports for Attendance at Forum, Devotional, and Student Assemblies, 1952-1972. Statistics include attendance during fall, winter, and spring semesters (through May).

was 37 percent of the faculty and student body.³⁶ Although President Oaks has continuously urged attendance of both faculty and students, during the 1974-75 school year with a total of 16 devotionals there was an average attendance of 8,454, which is 33 percent of the faculty and students.³⁷

Forum assemblies were also well supported the first few years they were held during the Wilkinson administration, with an average attendance of more than 50 percent of the student and faculty enrollment. However, as was the case with devotional attendance, the average attendance gradually declined to around 24 percent by 1970-71. Average attendance at forum assemblies during the entire Wilkinson administration, when a total of 20 to 25 assemblies were held each year, was 32 percent of the faculty and student body.³⁸ During the Oaks administration and despite the accommodations of the Marriott Center, the downward trend accelerated. During the 1974-75 school year, with a total of 13 forums being held, there was an average attendance of 3,530, which is 14 percent of the student body and faculty.³⁹ In an effort to correct this small attendance and obtain greater support, the Oaks administration decided to have only one assembly instead of two each week. One week would be a devotional, the alternating week a forum assembly. But even this curtailment of half of the assemblies has not remedied the declining attendance. In his address to the faculty on 28 August 1975, President Oaks commented:

... I invite your attention to the pitiful record at Forum Assemblies. When we discontinued the required attendance and credit at Forum Assemblies [attendance was required for one-half hour credit per semester], the attendance immediately dropped from about 20% to 13% in the Fall Semester and to 8% in the Winter Semester, and it has been steadily falling since that time. This has occurred during a time when we have had Forum Assemblies less frequently, and, in my judgment, have had a far higher quality of Forum Assembly speakers. I consider this evidence of a lack of intellectual curiosity on the part of our faculty and students to be one of the most discouraging events of the last four years.

Whatever the reasons for the declining attendance in both devotional and forum assemblies, unless this trend can be abruptly reversed, the University will have lost in large part the strength and

36. Ibid.

37. Memorandum of Attendance of Students at Devotionals, Forums and Firesides, distributed to faculty by President Oaks, 29 August 1975, BYU Archives. In addition to the figures given on the memorandum, 1,076 faculty members (as of 16 July 1975) have been included.

38. Annual Reports for Attendance at Forum, Devotional, and Student Assemblies, 1952-1972.

39. Memorandum of Attendance of Students at Devotionals, Forums and Firesides, distributed to faculty by President Oaks, 29 August 1975.

vitality of one of its greatest traditions and most powerful unifying influences.

Although they have not compensated for the declining attendance at devotional and forum assemblies, combined monthly stake firesides have been a very successful program during the Wilkinson and especially the Oaks years. Begun in 1958 as one fireside at the start of the school year, firesides developed into a traditional part of the evening of the first Sunday of each month. Attendance at these monthly firesides has increased from around 11,000 during the final year of the Wilkinson administration (before the completion of the Marriott Center) to almost 18,000 by 1975-76. This means that at the present time almost 69 percent of the faculty and student body meet together once a month to receive religious instruction. While it was anticipated that the attendance would be even greater than this, it should be realized that this attendance is approximately twice the size of the attendance at the general conferences of the Church in Salt Lake City and represents the largest average LDS Church gathering anywhere in the world to date.

Another development during the Wilkinson era which added to the spiritual activity of the student body was the building of a temple adjacent to campus. This fulfilled a long-standing dream of many residents of Provo, who claimed that Brigham Young had prophesied that a temple would be built on Temple Hill. The temple was dedicated in February 1972.

Personal Contacts

In order to establish a good feeling between students and administrators, President Wilkinson and his wife sponsored many Sunday night fireside chats in the President's home with small groups of students. In later years Wilkinson spoke every Sunday evening at a student fireside of two or more wards in which students were encouraged to ask him questions relating to the University. Staff members often took as much interest in the students and had as much influence on them as faculty members. Jean Fossum May, who was the head resident of Stover Hall, had such influence on her students in persuading them to go on missions that nearly 2,000 students of Stover Hall left for missions while she was head resident. She referred to them as her "sons of Helaman." She had such magnetic influence on her students that one time when her automobile broke down the students volunteered to take it downtown and have it fixed. Instead of bringing it back to her, they all contributed to a fund and bought her a new car.

Delbert Brown, a custodian in the Smith Fieldhouse, had such influence on students who worked for him that many years after graduation they would come back to the campus and visit him to thank him for the moral leadership he had given them.

Tangible Evidence of Spiritual Growth

Two significant studies conducted in 1935 and in 1972 indicate that during the intervening 37 years there has been a noticeable improvement in the spiritual commitments and religious orthodoxy of BYU students. While these studies covered a field too broad to include in this history there are four of the main questions and answers (in both studies) which are illustrative of this improvement. In 1935, 74 percent of the BYU students believed that God gives revelation, when needed, to Mormon authorities today; in 1973, 98 percent of the students believed in that basic Mormon doctrine. In 1935, 74 percent of the students believed that prayers are sometimes answered by divine intervention; by 1973 the percentage had increased to 95 percent. As respects Church attendance, in 1935 there was an average religious attendance of 66 percent per week; that percentage had increased to 97 percent. On the fundamental question of whether the members questioned would be obedient to Church authority if it went strongly against their personal desires, in 1935 only 40 percent responded affirmatively. In 1973 over 81 percent responded affirmatively. Finally, the percentage of those convinced that their faith in the Mormon Church increased at BYU almost doubled from 41 percent in 1935 to over 81 percent in 1972.⁴⁰ These, in general, are representative of the 22 questions answered in both studies.

Short Skirts and Long Hair

The only serious student-administrative controversies during the Wilkinson years occurred as a result of the President's pressure to maintain traditional dress, grooming, and dance standards. Although he knew that a strong position on his part would be opposed by some of the students and even some of the faculty, he decided it was the right course. At the same time he did what he could to mingle with the students and identify with their problems and interests. He once played the part of Cosmo, the student mascot, and not until he was unveiled at the end of the season did the students know his identity. One year, after the students came back from whitewashing the block Y, Wilkinson participated in the annual race open to both students and faculty to catch a greased pig on the football field. Wilkinson caught the pig but in doing so ruined a new suit. For many years the last assembly of the year was presented by the faculty, and Wilkinson always participated, taking such parts as a knight in armor — on a real horse — or a sinner being judged by St. Peter and sent to hades. In another assembly, President Wilkinson was mimicked by Scott Whittaker in some of his more characteristic poses which sent the student body into hysterics.

40. Surveys made by Harold T. Christensen in 1935 and Keith L. Cannon in 1972.

According to the BYU dress standard, young women were to wear dresses “of modest length,” and anything considerably above the knee was considered improper. The vast majority of the girls on campus conformed, but some girls ignored the school’s regulations. In fall 1969 registration alone, dean of women Lucile Petty reported that 201 women were interviewed at the Fieldhouse for wearing dresses which were too short.⁴¹

The dress standards were, of course, set not by Wilkinson but by the Board of Trustees. In a circular sent to all prospective students in June of 1974 by President Oaks, President Spencer W. Kimball suggested the students have a “Style of Our Own.” In this circular he described the BYU style:

The world has drifted a long way from the standards of cleanliness of body and soul, but we have such faith in our young people that we are certain that if they are properly advised they will always be well dressed and well groomed and free from the sins of the world. They will thus avoid the pitfalls of the Adversary and retain their virtue and worthiness: “forewarned is forearmed.”

One contributing factor to immodesty and a breakdown of moral values is the modern standard of dress and grooming. We must be different. We need not do anything we do not wish to do. We can create our own style and standards. We can influence the patterns among our own people, and we can also help to develop proper community patterns.

Our young men and women, well dressed and groomed themselves, could demonstrate courage and good judgment if they would encourage their young friends to dress modestly. If every one of our young men and young women would refuse to date their friends of the opposite sex who are improperly clothed and groomed, the style would change very soon. Some young people have prided themselves in wearing the most tattered, soiled, and grubbiest of attire. If we dress in a shabby or sloppy manner we tend to think and act in the same way. I am positive that personal grooming and cleanliness, as well as the clothes we wear, can be tremendous factors in the standards we set and follow on the pathway to immortality and eternal life. “He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.”

While the problem with dresses was developing, the slacks and pantsuit controversy blossomed. At first the administration would not allow women in pants to come onto campus. Gradually this rule was relaxed until women in modest slacks or pantsuits were accepted everywhere on campus except for work in various offices. At the same time the University continued its policy of enforcing guidelines for modest dress.

Some male students resisted the standards for hair length. Men were

41. Lucile Petty to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 2 December 1969, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

not to wear hair that covered the ears or fell below the shirt collar. When in September of the same year (1974) President Kimball spoke to the students he explained the reason for this limitation on men's hair as he had done for women's short skirts:

Dress and grooming paint an immediate picture and classify a person. The famous Jerry Rubin (a notorious leader of the hippies and beatniks) said young kids identify short hair with authority, discipline, unhappiness, boredom, hatred of life and long hair with just letting go. Wherever we go, our hair tells people where we stand on Vietnam, lawless campus destruction, and drugs. . . . Long hair is the beginning of our liberation from sexual oppression. . . . Do you wish to be classed with men who look manly or men who look effeminate?⁴²

Another area where a warm difference of opinion arose between the administration and some students was in styles of dancing on campus. By 1965 dances like the "twist," "limbo," "swim," and "jerk" were countenanced almost everywhere else and were widely popular among young people. But President Wilkinson and many in the administration attempted to curtail these new styles of dancing. Dances were supervised, and bands were screened and discouraged from playing loud, sensual music. The Dance Department of the College of Physical Education was officially instructed to offer more ballroom and round dancing classes in order to teach students traditional dances.

Some thought this and other student-administrative conflicts were due to a lack of understanding, communication, or compromise. That was only partly true. Wilkinson believed that BYU, as the principal LDS Church educational institution, had to set an example of dignity in dress, dance, and behavior in keeping with the Mormon philosophy that men and women should "be in the world but not of the world." While most students were grateful for the standards of BYU, a relatively few never felt that commitment.⁴³

An Island of Tranquility in a Sea of Turbulence

BYU came into national prominence during the 1960s because of the serenity of the campus during a period when strikes, riots, bombings, burnings, and even anarchy prevailed on hundreds of college and university campuses. The national situation was aggravated by well-organized student extremist groups dominated by off-campus leaders with extensive records of past revolutionary activity.⁴⁴ James M. Nab-

42. "Honor Covenants, Students Admonished," *Daily Universe*, 20 September 1974; see also Dallin H. Oaks to Duane R. Ashton, 10 August 1971, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

43. See Ray Beckham and Ron Hyde report in Administrative Council Minutes, 6 March 1967.

44. "Intelligence Report on Today's 'New Revolutionaries'," *Readers Digest* 95 (October 1969): 121-26.

rit, Jr., president of Howard University, the nation's largest predominantly Black college, stated that he found his students being influenced by Communists who had been thrown out of the NAACP several years before.⁴⁵ Government agencies observed the same kind of people participating in campus disorders almost everywhere they occurred.⁴⁶

Every feasible excuse for student concern or unrest was fanned into a massive wave of protest with the result that many large universities, from the University of California at Berkeley to Columbia University in New York City, were taken over for days at a time while administrators helplessly pleaded with the rioters to release hostages and withdraw from administrative buildings and classrooms which they had forcibly occupied.

In 1964 the University of California at Berkeley became the official launching platform for the Free Speech Movement. Its leaders demanded political turmoil and disruption of the normal functioning of university life.⁴⁷ The furor reached a point where more than 800 students were arrested.⁴⁸ By 1965 campus protest had been broadened to include domestic racial problems, the draft, drugs, coeducational dormitories, student control of curriculum, student determination of administrative policies, the exclusion of the police from college campuses, and the Vietnam War. Strikes, sit-ins, attacks on teachers, holding administrators as hostages, and similar tactics were followed by burning and bombing of educational facilities. During the 1968-69 academic year there were over 4,000 arrests. The following year saw about 7,200 arrests. During the period from 1 January 1969 to 15 April 1970, a total of 8,200 bombings, attempted bombings, or bomb threats were attributable to student unrest.⁴⁹ J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, reported that for the school year 1969-70

there were 1,785 demonstrations on college campuses during which 313 campus buildings were reported seized, eight people killed, 462 injured, and damages to educational facilities were estimated at \$9.5 million. . . . The disturbances . . . resulted in injuries to 104 policemen and school authorities and forty-seven

45. "More Campus Unrest: Are Reds to Blame?" *U. S. News and World Report*, 10 May 1965, p. 14.

46. The House Committee on Un-American Activities published frequent reports from 1960 to 1969 on subversive elements operating within student protest movements.

47. "From J. Edgar Hoover: A Report on Campus Reds," *U. S. News and World Report*, 12 December 1966.

48. "More 'Leftist' Trouble on the Campus," *U. S. News and World Report*, 12 December 1966.

49. *Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1970), pp. 38-39.

demonstrators, four deaths, and property damage estimated at \$4.25 million.⁵⁰

From the outset of riots on other campuses, President Wilkinson made it a practice to include in his annual address to the entire student body at the beginning of each year a crisp statement that student participation in any serious disturbance or riot would result in dismissal from BYU. On many campuses such a statement might have created a storm of volatile protest in the name of academic freedom, but this was not the feeling among students and faculty at BYU. On several occasions when the President announced this policy the students enthusiastically responded with a standing ovation. He continually commended the BYU student body for its responsible rejection of several attempts by outsiders to infiltrate the campus. During the entire period of national unrest there was not a single protest march or anti-administration rally on the BYU Campus.

Erwin D. Canham, editor-in-chief of the *Christian Science Monitor*, noted the climate BYU enjoyed during the riotous sixties:

Brigham Young University, in Provo, Utah, is a vast, swiftly growing institution under the control of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Its students are profoundly motivated by their religious commitment. President Ernest Wilkinson has maintained firm standards of faculty control and student discipline. His students, however, reflect the mores of their faith in their daily lives. Among other things, they have little sympathy for conscientious objection. Many of them have served valiantly in all recent U.S. wars. . . .

Family units are zealously maintained in close relationship. Religious discipline permeates all aspects of individual conduct. Naturally, even in the relatively freer atmosphere of university life, these standards and inner controls hold over. Thus the university is able to preserve order within itself and in its general community.⁵¹

As a result of BYU's singular record of peace and order, President Wilkinson was called upon to make a number of addresses to gatherings throughout the country on the reasons for the unrest on college

50. *State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 267.

51. "Campus Upheaval: BYU Retains Student-Faculty Discipline," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 October 1970.

In 1970 President Wilkinson visited Vietnam and while there had a conference with the commanding general. He was disturbed to learn that the United States had no intention of winning the war. Admitting that it would have been better had there been a declaration of war before the conflict began, and that freedom gained for a people by an outside force has not always resulted in lasting freedom, President Wilkinson insisted the South Vietnamese had the same right to freedom as did the Ameri-

campuses. One of these was an address he gave on 24 July 1970 at the annual encampment of the internationally recognized Bohemian Club at their retreat in California. The membership of this society included leaders of business, government, industry, and education in the United States and abroad. Wilkinson was introduced by Dudley Swim, chairman of the board of National Air Lines, a former president of the Alumni Association of Stanford University, a cofounder of Stanford Research Institute, and a member of the board of trustees of the California State University and College System which includes all of those institutions of higher learning maintained by the State of California except for the different campuses associated with the University of California. After Swim's highly complimentary introduction, Wilkinson spoke on the subject "Academic Anarchy vs. Management of Universities."⁵²

Reviewing the record of student protests, Wilkinson asserted that the leaders of these riots openly admitted that their intent was "the destruction of our existing social order." Admitting that the universities themselves were not entirely to blame for what had happened,⁵³ he nevertheless thought the universities themselves must plead guilty to having permitted destructive disturbances and riots and in some cases loss of life on their campuses. Among others, he gave these affirmative suggestions for reform of universities:

1. The university must abandon the idea that it is a law unto itself and that a campus is an asylum for those who would spawn seditious ideas and otherwise violate the law.
2. The philosophy of many academicians that "education is not the business of the legislatures" and that legislatures should never interfere with the governance of universities is completely wrong.

can patriots in the Revolutionary War. With historical insight he predicted that with this no-win policy, the Communists would ultimately take control of South Vietnam, and when this finally happened, he counted it the most humiliating episode in the history of the United States. (Ernest L. Wilkinson to editor of *Salt Lake Tribune*, dated 23 May 1975, published 3 June 1975.)

52. Under the rules of the Bohemian Grove Encampment, speeches given there were not allowed to be reported. This summary of Wilkinson's remarks is therefore taken from essentially the same address given to the Los Angeles Rotary Club on 19 March 1971. The speech was reprinted in *Journal of the Honor Society Phi Kappa Phi*, fall 1971, pp. 30-40.
53. Wilkinson stated, "We will not entirely reform our universities in this country until we reform our society. We are failing as a nation because parents . . . pay too little attention to the proper training of their sons and daughters. . . . Teachers are less concerned with effective teaching than they are with 'research grants.' . . . Too many men of the cloth have forgotten to minister their flocks and have discontinued preaching the word of God."

3. Boards of trustees need to reassert their duties and prerogatives as trustees; many trustees do not even know what is going on at their universities.
4. Boards of trustees should give almost exclusive power to the presidents of institutions to carry out decisions of those boards and maintain law and order on their campuses.
5. Teachers should be equally if not more concerned with teaching than with research.
6. Any faculty member who condones or encourages riots or revolution should be discharged.
7. Universities should abandon their loose ideas of permissive education and lack of discipline and restore to the campus the rigorous discipline which made our institutions great centers of learning and not of revolution.
8. Laws concerning disturbances and riots need to be more vigorously enforced and judges must be more severe in their judgment.

At the conclusion of his address Wilkinson was given a standing ovation. Because of the distinguished audience, this speech further enhanced the reputation of BYU. Wilkinson was invited to give the same address to audiences in different parts of the country, such as the Executive Club in Chicago, which has the largest membership of any civic club in the United States. Some members of his audiences, usually not members of the LDS Church, sent their children to BYU or urged others to attend the institution.

Academic Freedom with Academic Responsibility

At BYU there was a determined effort to preserve a climate of academic freedom but with a sense of academic responsibility. A number of factors account for the success of this effort. BYU students had learned to honor authority and discipline in their homes and in their Church meetings. There was also the stabilizing influence of the large number of students who had served the Church as missionaries in various parts of the world and had gained mature insights.

The absence of student unrest brought many commendatory comments. Appearing as the lead editorial in the *Chicago Tribune* in May 1969 was the following:

As the dust settles at some campuses and others prepare to meet their own unmakers, it is refreshing to take a look at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. . . .

The students are clean-cut. The hippie look is almost nonexistent. Students stand when the "Star Spangled Banner" is played. The ROTC is respected and growing. Classes are well taught and well attended. Brigham Young has never had a serious demonstration. . . . The students at Brigham Young seem to be

more interested in getting a good education than in reforming everything in sight.⁵⁴

Sentiments similar to these appeared in other publications, including *U. S. News and World Report* and the *Los Angeles Times*.⁵⁵

In a sea of turbulence, BYU was a safe harbor and bastion of patriotism during the turbulent storms of the sixties.

54. "A Helpful Tip from Utah," *Chicago Tribune*, 4 May 1969.

55. See "A University without Trouble," *U. S. News and World Report*, 20 January 1969, pp. 58-59; and John Dort, "BYU: A Campus of Peace and Patriotism," *Los Angeles Times*, 23 March 1970.

29

Activities beyond the Classroom

Student Government

One of the extracurricular activities at BYU during the Wilkinson years was student government. Elected officers played a major role in coordinating student activities and supervising expenditure of student funds. The value of student government at BYU has often been disputed, but even Ken Kartchner, 1969-70 studentbody president who ran on a platform of streamlining or abolishing student government, concluded at the end of his term that he was “just plain wrong” in saying that student government should be abolished.

For many years the student government organization was quite simple. There was a studentbody president, first and second vice-presidents, a secretary-historian, a business manager, and the coordinator of student organizations. These constituted the Executive Council. There was also a Legislative Council composed of representatives from each of the four undergraduate classes, various clubs on campus, the student newspaper and yearbook, the associations of men and women students, the social unit council, the Program Bureau, the ROTC, and the intramural programs. The Legislative Council dealt with studentbody problems, initiated legislation for student affairs, and approved or disapproved decisions and appointments made by the Executive Council. There were many committees on such things as cheerleaders and publications, which functioned as appendages to the Legislative Council. Eliminating unnecessary duplication, the executive branch of student government became stronger as years passed while the legislative branch lost much of its power. In 1955 the Legislative Council was abolished and a student senate established.

A judicial branch of student government was created in 1960-61 when a supreme court was organized to adjudicate constitutional disputes, investigate election campaign violations, and settle disputes over campus parking tickets.

In 1957, outgoing studentbody president Thomas R. Stone recommended to his successor, Rex Lee (later dean of the BYU law school)

that more vice-presidential offices be created “to relieve part of the burden of the office of president.”¹ The student body subsequently approved this recommendation and vice-presidents of social activities, culture, student relations, and finance were established. In time, four more vice-presidents were added: academics (1965), athletics (1966), organizations (1969), and women’s activities (1969). These executive offices replaced the assemblies and senate.

These vice-presidential offices proved to be very effective. The Academics Office, for example, sponsored the Last Lecture Series, American Perspective Series, and Joseph Smith Lecture Series, and brought nationally famous figures to campus in a program rivaling the forums. The Social Office was active in bringing many of the young popular artists for jazz and folk concerts which usually outdrew the lyceums.

A movement to do away with class government as opposed to overall studentbody government accelerated after a student survey in 1969 showed that only three percent of the student body were able to identify their own class president.² Consequently, governments for all but the freshman class were abolished, as were the separate Associated Men Students and Associated Women Students organizations.

Under the new constitution there was no longer a “checks and balances” system insofar as the students were concerned, but it turned out that this important ingredient of good government was furnished by the watchful dean of students and faculty coordinators of student activities.

Many dedicated faculty and staff members served as student activities coordinators during the Wilkinson years, including Ellvert Himes, Royden Braithwaite, Henry Isaksen, Paul Felt, Lavar Rockwood, Lyle Curtis, Curt Wynder, and Mike Whitaker. Wesley P. Lloyd was dean of students when President Wilkinson took office. Antone K. Romney served as acting dean of students (1958-60 and 1960-61); B. West Belnap as acting dean of students (1961-62); and J. Elliot Cameron as dean of students and later dean of student life (1962 to the present). These men were assigned to advise student government officers on the nature of their responsibilities and to serve as a liaison with the administration. Naturally, the dean of student life worked closely with student leaders. Student officers had important responsibilities — the funds they administered rose from \$34,000 in 1950-51 to \$247,250 in 1970-71.

BYU soon found it difficult to maintain widespread and consistent student interest in student government. In 1951, 57 percent of BYU students voted in student elections. In 1955 the figure rose to 80

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1. Thomas R. Stone to Rex E. Lee, 1 June 1959, in “BYU Student Body History 1950-59,” book 3, pp. 1-4.
 2. “End Class Government,” *Daily Universe*, 3 December 1969.

percent. After that there was a steady decline. In 1965 only 45 percent voted in student elections, and by 1972 the figure was only 36 percent. Two major factors helped account for this. First was the exceptionally high rate of participation in campus ward and stake organizations. Second was the increasing academic awareness of BYU students. Student government at BYU has been a training ground for future leaders. Many of the students who served as ASBYU officers have gone on to assume great leadership responsibilities.

Student Publications

Of the many activities funded by the student government budget during the Wilkinson years, none reached more students than the *Daily Universe* — the University's student newspaper. The *Banyan* (school yearbook) and *Wye Magazine* (literary periodical) were also of much interest.

The *Daily Universe*

The *Daily Universe* (the name *Universe* was suggested by editor Kenneth Pace in 1948) is a descendant of a long line of student newspapers extending back 78 years. It became the *Daily Universe* in the summer of 1956, when the circulation was around 7,000.³ By 1975 circulation had reached 20,000 in the fall and winter semesters, 10,000 in spring term, and 8,000 in summer term. It gained in maturity as time went on and finally became remarkably professionalized not only in publishing the views and interests of the students themselves but also in reporting major domestic and world news. A 1968 survey revealed that 72 percent of the student body read the paper daily and 99 percent read it at least once a week. By way of contrast, it was found that only 6 percent of the student body were reading the local newspaper (*Provo Daily Herald*) every day.⁴ It was for this reason that a considerable amount of wire service news was included in the *Universe*.

Even before the *Daily Universe* attained such a high level of readership it was inevitable that it broaden its administrative structure to serve the interests of the entire University and not merely function as an outlet for student opinion. This need became increasingly apparent after a number of incidents in which President Wilkinson found it necessary to point out to the editors of the *Daily Universe* that while the school was anxious to maintain free speech through the school paper, it was nevertheless the responsibility of the editors to see that the paper was "an instrument of good will for the school rather than a carping critic" and that "we ought not to wash our own linen in public."⁵

3. "Daily Universe Announced for Coming School Year," *Universe*, 19 August 1956.

4. Administrative Council Meeting Minutes, 18 June 1968.

5. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Merwin G. Fairbanks, 18 March 1967, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Under the leadership of Fine Arts dean Lorin F. Wheelwright, the *Daily Universe* staff was reorganized. While it still functioned as a dispenser of student news, it was under the direction of a professional, full-time, nonstudent general manager. Five members of the faculty and administration and two student government representatives composed a board of Student Publications. The Dean of the College of Fine Arts and Communications was made chairman of the board. Students continued serving in all editorial positions. This change, initiated in the Wilkinson years, was confirmed in the Oaks administration. In essence, the reorganization meant that the newspaper would be a reflection of the total University, including the Board of Trustees, the administration, the faculty, and the students. It was agreed that the paper would avoid injudicious articles, "keeping in mind that the order of the Church is to resolve conflicts between parties by private rather than public communication."⁶

Whereas service on the *Universe* previously had been voluntary, it became a requirement of all students in the journalism sequence of the Communications Department for training in news writing and reporting, editing and makeup, depth reporting, and opinion writing. Moreover, students in areas such as photojournalism, advertising, and radio-TV news were put to work on the *Universe* in laboratory exercises. But although it was a laboratory newspaper supervised by faculty members, students were given wide authority in its operation and the paper kept its student flavor and occasionally became involved in controversies and investigative reporting.

The *Daily Universe* became a laboratory for the development of serious professional journalism students. This trend was accentuated by the appointment of Edwin O. Haroldsen as chairman of the Department of Communications in 1971. He was also appointed to serve on the Student Publications Board under Lorin Wheelwright, and as department chairman he was publisher of the *Universe*. A career newspaperman, including three years with *U.S. News & World Report* as regional editor in Chicago, Haroldsen was instrumental in establishing a new vision of the campus newspaper. J. Morris Richards, former head of the Communications Department, returned from sabbatical leave in 1972 to become executive editor and supervise the student staff of the *Universe*, and Dallas Burnett became department chairman and publisher.

In recent years the financial status of the *Daily Universe* has been thoroughly stabilized under the direction of Emerald A. "Jerry" Jerome, an experienced newspaperman in advertising copy, layout, and advertising sales, as well as the editorial side of daily newspapers. Through his efforts and those of his advertising students and assis-

6. "The Board of Student Publications: Its Organization, Duties, and Responsibilities," 3 July 1970, report found in Wilkinson Presidential Papers, p. 4.

tants, the paper's advertising revenues increased substantially. The Awards Committee of the National Council of Collegiate Publications Advisers selected Jerome from among 44 college advisers as the outstanding college newspaper business adviser for 1975. For many years the cost of operations was paid by allotments from the student government. By 1975 advertising revenues were enough that only about 15 percent of costs were met by a standard student government allotment of one dollar per student per semester, for approximately \$50,000 annually. The total operating expenses of the paper in 1975 were \$521,000.

Along with its professionalism, the *Daily Universe* has remained committed to its role as a student newspaper, reflecting student opinion. Representatives of student government are always on its board of publications. Representatives from the Communications Department (Oliver Smith, J. Morris Richards, Ed Haroldsen, and Dallas Burnett), the News Bureau (Ed Butterworth), the dean of student life (Elliot Cameron), and one of his designees (most often Lyle Curtis, director of the Wilkinson Center) also served on the board of publications.⁷

As one measure of its quality, the *Daily Universe* has won several major awards in competition with other western collegiate newspapers. From 1960 to 1965 it was recognized by the Rocky Mountain Collegiate Press Association as the "Best Daily [College] Paper in the Rocky Mountain Area."⁸ In 1974 it was rated the best college paper in region nine — Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico — by the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi.⁹ In 1975 the *Universe* again was rated the best college paper in the region, winning seven of ten first places in such categories as design, layout, and photography, and winning 15 of a total of 29 awards given. The paper also has been awarded an "All-American Honor Rating" by the Associated Collegiate Presses.

In recent years, *Monday Magazine* has been published each week as a supplement to the *Universe*, featuring in-depth reporting on key issues, primarily of local interest. This innovation was awarded a first place designation in 1971 at a convention representing all western universities.¹⁰

The Banyan

Another important official student publication is the school year-

7. During the Oaks administration this board was changed to the *Daily Universe* Advisory Committee.
8. Lawrence Hall Bray, "A History of the Student Newspaper and Its Early Predecessors at Brigham Young University from 1878 to 1965," master's thesis (Brigham Young University, 1966), p. 162.
9. Edwin O. Haroldsen to Richard E. Bennett, 13 March 1975, Centennial History files, BYU Archives.
10. BYU Board Minutes, 5 May 1971.

book, called the *Banyan*. The *Banyan* is named after the tropical tree best known for its aerial roots or trunks that grow downward from the branches to the ground, so that a single tree becomes a forest. *Banyan* was first used as the name of the yearbook in 1911. The name was taken from a statement by Karl G. Maeser in his report at the close of the 14th academic year. Referring to the beginning of the University, he said, "No one imagined that in that insignificant beginning the germ of a system had been planted which, in its gradual development, was to penetrate with its ramifications throughout all the borders of Zion, stretching its branches like a great banyan tree, as it were, far and wide." The purpose of the *Banyan* is to capture (more by picture than the written word) the highlights of the school year. Recurring features of the *Banyan* have included class pictures and photographs of sports events, concerts, and carnivals.

The *Banyan* reached its biggest size in 1966 when it was a 536-page volume weighing more than seven pounds. But sales decreased as students identified themselves less with the overall operations of the student body. By 1972 some serious consideration was given to the discontinuance of the publication because few more than 5,000 of the 25,000 students purchased the yearbook. In 1972-73 it was decided to publish the book more as a photographic essay on University life than as a traditional yearbook. Because the new version of the *Banyan* was even less popular than former editions, the publication was printed in its traditional format in 1974. A total of 7,500 copies of the Centennial edition of the *Banyan* was published in 1975, and unlike the yearbooks of many large universities, the *Banyan* seems likely to survive at BYU.

Wye Magazine

In 1939 the *Wye Magazine* was established as a student literary vehicle under the sponsorship of the campus Journalism Club. As with most campus literary magazines, the *Wye* appeared only sporadically and had a limited readership. The Student Publications Board assumed financial and editorial responsibility for the magazine until 1967, when it passed to the sponsorship and supervision of the English Department. Since 1967 the magazine has appeared at least once and often twice each year in printings of 2,000 to 2,500 copies. Printing costs have been subsidized by the English Department, which uses the magazine as a writing laboratory.

For years the magazine was rather expensive and incorporated not only writing but also art work. This trend was encouraged by the fact that almost yearly during the 1960s the *Wye* received regional and national awards for excellence in layout, design, graphics, content, and editing. In fall 1975 the magazine again changed format and began to appear in less expensive tabloid form, much like that of the *New York Times Literary Supplement*. The magazine has long been recognized as a vehicle through which serious students can receive wider exposure in

print. Many young Latter-day Saint writers who are now well known to the Church were first published in the *Wye Magazine*.

The Student Directory

Another student-sponsored publication is the student directory, issued each fall, which lists every student's name, phone number, Provo and home addresses, major, and marital status. The directory also contains computerized listings of University departments and a separate listing of faculty members. A very successful publication, the student directory generally brings in more revenue from advertising and sales than it costs to produce.

The Performing Arts

One of the most dynamic and popular of the many student activities during the Wilkinson administration was the Program Bureau, directed by Janie Thompson. Because of the many activities it sponsored, which were participated in by hundreds of students, and the great contribution it made to the University and the Church as a service organization, a discussion of its many performances has been reserved for the next to the last chapter of this history.

Since 1875 BYU has been known for its leadership in the performing arts. Audience interest rose during the Wilkinson administration; during 1969-70 there was a total attendance of 469,000 at drama, music, and art events as compared with about 258,000 at athletic contests that year.¹¹

Dramatics

When President Wilkinson first came to BYU the only facility for dramatic productions was the small College Hall on lower campus. The new President was anxious to expand the performing arts facilities, and so the Joseph Smith Auditorium was made available to the Drama Department. T. Earl Pardoe, founder and chairman of the Speech Department at BYU, had made College Hall the drama center of the entire valley. Through the years many outstanding productions were presented in spite of the limited facilities. The opening of the Joseph Smith Auditorium to the Drama Department came simultaneously with the appointment of Harold I. Hansen, director of the Hill Cumorah Pageant in New York, as head of the Speech Department in 1952. In 1956-57 the University's ten major productions in the Joseph Smith Building were seen by more than 33,000 patrons. During its 11 years on the Joseph Smith Auditorium stage the Department of Speech and Dramatic Arts performed 144 major faculty-directed productions.

11. Lorin F. Wheelwright, "Brief Report on the College of Fine Arts and Communications for President Wilkinson," spring 1965, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

The total attendance at these performances was about 560,000. In addition, about 250,000 people attended 900 student-directed plays during the same period.

In 1964 the Harris Fine Arts Center was completed, providing a concert hall and four stages. The outstanding new facilities greatly stimulated student participation in theatre. Between 1964 and 1971, 21 productions were presented in 284 performances to a total of 118,088 patrons. In addition, there were 130 performances of 105 student-directed plays to audiences totaling about 35,000.

The audience for BYU theatre soon expanded far beyond campus. Both the Defense Department and the United States Department of State invited BYU to perform at military bases around the world. Harold I. Hansen conducted seven of these tours, which presented over 350 performances to an estimated audience of 129,500 servicemen and Church members. Some of these were *Blithe Spirit*, *The Man Who Came to Dinner*, and *Bye, Bye Birdie*. In September 1968 the Brigham Young University Touring Repertory Theatre was created as a training ground for serious acting students to serve as a bridge between educational and professional theatre. In 28 touring productions throughout the United States, 426 participating students gave at least 500 performances before 200,000 spectators. The troupe was disbanded in 1974, with intermittent touring groups fulfilling its functions.

President Wilkinson's enthusiastic support of the performing arts allowed Harold Hansen and his successor, Lael J. Woodbury (later dean of Fine Arts and Communications), to present over 2,700 productions, which have played to an audience in excess of 2,500,000 persons from 1951 to 1975.

Another major contribution of BYU's theatre program has been its encouragement of original Mormon playwriting. In the 1960s at least one original production was scheduled every year, increasing to three or four annually in the 1970s. Most of the playwrights have been students. Student directors have also received many opportunities, and all BYU graduates in theatre are required to have directed at least two plays.

Student Participation in Music

The Mormon culture encourages almost all forms of musical expression. BYU has always accentuated this tradition and has acquired an outstanding reputation for the high quality of its many performing groups. There has also been a concerted endeavor down through the years to bring renowned artists to the campus to serve as examples of excellence to both students and faculty. Many of these have been impressed with the high caliber of the performances which they witnessed while visiting the campus and have spread the reputation of BYU as a performing arts center wherever they have gone. Through-

out the Wilkinson era all phases of music received enthusiastic support, financial assistance, and greatly improved facilities.

From 1951 to 1975, participation in the choral program increased from 80 students to almost 800. The small choruses have included the Madrigal Singers, the Chamber Choir, and the Golden Age Singers. Larger choirs have included the A Cappella Choir, the Male Chorus, the Women's Chorus, and the Opera Workshop Chorus. All these groups demand superb quality, and competition for admission is keen. Qualifications for the largest choruses, including the Mixed Chorus, the Concert Chorus, the Scola Cantorum, the Oratorio Choir, the University Chorale, and the combined choruses also are demanding.

Occasional operas were produced at BYU during the first half of the 20th century, but it was not until 1947 that the BYU Opera Workshop was organized by Don L. Earl.¹² Brandt Curtis succeeded Earl as Opera Workshop director in 1963, and was followed by Clayne Robison in 1973. During its 28 years the Opera Workshop has produced over 100 operas involving about 160 performances.

The various choral groups have had an equally impressive record. In 1951 the 24-voice BYU Madrigal Singers was organized under the direction of John R. Halliday. This small mobile ensemble traveled more than 40,000 miles throughout the United States and Canada during the next eight years and performed in Washington, D.C., before such celebrities as J. Edgar Hoover, Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower, and the wives of the U.S. Cabinet members.

Robert Sauer conducted the BYU Band for 30 years prior to his retirement in 1942, at which time President Harris asked John R. Halliday to assume the band's leadership. The band grew from a 35-piece ensemble to three bands involving 225 players. Norman Hunt became director of bands in 1950, and during his tenure Richard A. Ballou organized the marching band, later called the Cougar Band. Two bands which have been extremely popular are the Symphonic Wind Ensemble and Synthesis, the jazz ensemble.

The Brigham Young University Orchestra was successfully led by LeRoy J. Robertson for 20 years before Lawrence Sardoni became its conductor in 1946. As a result of an extensive touring program under Sardoni's direction, the Symphony Orchestra has gained a national reputation. From 1964 to 1966 the orchestra was directed by Crawford Gates and in 1966 Ralph G. Laycock became its conductor. Under the direction of Ralph G. Laycock, coordinator of orchestras, and because

12. For many years the Theatre Department has cooperated with the Music Department in supplying costumes, scenery, and stage directors for operatic performances. On many occasions the Opera Workshop directors have solicited the expert assistance of other music faculty members, regular and guest, to perform and conduct. Guest soloists from Provo and other parts of Utah and artists from outside the state have frequently been used to enrich this series of opera productions.

of the outstanding supply of orchestral talent, the orchestra area was reorganized into several groups: the Philharmonic Orchestra, which consists of 90 players, a group of near-professional stature; an equally large Symphony Orchestra; the String Orchestra of 25 to 40 members; a Chamber Orchestra composed of 16 to 24 of the first-chair players from the Philharmonic Orchestra; and the Symphonic Wind Ensemble.

Student and faculty recitals have recently numbered around 125 each year, playing to a total audience of more than 10,000 persons. In fact, since the Music Department moved to the Harris Fine Arts Center the number of concerts and the total annual attendance have risen dramatically. In 1964-65, a total of 140 concerts were enjoyed by 70,000 patrons, while in 1971, 287 concerts were attended by 215,650 persons. During the 10 years from 1964 to 1974 the Music Department presented 2,555 formal concerts, operas, and recitals to an estimated total audience of 1,661,274.

Students in the Visual Arts

Prior to the Wilkinson administration the Art Department was small, although the quality of instruction was always high. The faculty consisted of two professors, two assistant professors, and four instructors. Emphasis was placed on art appreciation and self-expression rather than preprofessional training. It was common for serious art students to find themselves in classrooms where the majority of the students were taking the classes merely to obtain a broad academic background.

For many years, classes were conducted in the Education Building on lower campus, where the third-floor hallway served as the exhibit area. The Fine Arts Center had a great impact on the Art Department. At last there was plenty of space for studios, classrooms, lecture halls, display areas, and faculty offices. Enrollment in art classes rose dramatically after 1965. In 1961 there were only 11 teachers and 200 art majors at BYU, compared to 500 art majors and 24 full-time teachers in 1975.

Painting no longer attracts the majority of art students. Instead, courses in such three-dimensional media as ceramics, sculpture, and professional design have become the most popular among professionally oriented students. In fact, there has been such a growing interest in various forms of art expression that classes have to meet in a number of different buildings across campus. The rising interest in art is also reflected in the quality of the exhibits featured in the Harris Fine Arts Center galleries. Outstanding pieces are displayed in a large gallery named in honor of B. F. Larsen and a smaller, more intimate secured gallery. The location of the B. F. Larsen gallery between the two largest theatres in the Harris Fine Arts Center has made it convenient for thousands of people to enjoy art exhibits each year.

Each spring at the Student Art Show, faculty judges select the best

student art produced during the year. Numerous prizes and awards are granted. Since 1951, students have been consistent winners in contests with artists from universities in Utah and throughout the West.

The prestige of the faculty is increased by the number of teachers who have studied at major art centers in America and abroad. The association between Richard Gunn and the Overseas Study Program helped in the establishment of travel study centers in Madrid, Paris, and London. Closer to home, Glenn Turner developed a national reputation in many different art forms. As a cinematographer he won the Hiram Percy Maxin Award in Motion Pictures (1949) and was a medal winner at the Cannes International Film Festival in France (1955).

The emphasis on art at BYU has permitted the school to provide leadership in a number of areas. In art education, for example, many of the leading faculty members of colleges and universities throughout the Intermountain West were trained at BYU. The art departments at every university and college in Utah have had a chairman educated at BYU.

The BYU Art Collection

The Brigham Young University art collection, one of the best in the western United States, began in 1908. Elbert H. Eastmond and Bent F. Larsen acquired a number of outstanding art collections for BYU. Herald R. Clark was instrumental in obtaining 85 paintings by noted San Francisco artist Maynard Dixon. This important collection has since grown to more than 100 pieces, the largest single collection of Dixon's work. The Mahonri Young collection was acquired in 1957, also through the efforts of Herald R. Clark. Among the works in this collection are more than 11,000 sculptures, paintings, drawings, and etchings. Besides more than 1,000 prints by Young, there are also 20 by Rembrandt, an equal number by Dürer and Goya, others by noted European printmakers, and the largest collection of the works of J. Aldin Wier.

During the 1960s the BYU collection was greatly enlarged through the efforts of Wesley M. Burnside. Gifts from individuals such as O. Leslie Stone, William F. Edwards, Millard Duxbury, and others have increased both the size and breadth of the BYU art collection.

Within the framework of American art at BYU is a growing collection of paintings by western artists. Along with the Maynard Dixon collection, BYU now holds works of Delano Couse, Frank Hoffman, Frank Tenney Johnson, Thomas Hill, Thomas Moran, Albert Bierstadt, Nick Eggenhofer, Paul Salisbury, Cyrus Dallin, and Edward Borien. Of importance in this group is the Ebon Comins collection of 138 Indian portraits, donated in 1975.

The interest in art expression during the Wilkinson years is shown by

the more than 1,000,000 people who visited the average of 20 annual exhibitions. During the four years of the Oaks administration this trend has continued so that from 1951 to 1975 there were 563 exhibitions with an attendance of about 1,735,000 art patrons.

Students in the Art of Dance

Each year several thousand students participate in modern dance, ballet, and theatre dance classes. Hundreds of students have also worked to develop skills in ballroom and folk dancing, and these have earned an international reputation.

Beginning in 1960 under the leadership of Benjamin de Hoyos, the ballroom dance team of 30 couples became an immediate success. In 1966 de Hoyos went on sabbatical leave, and Roy and June Mavor of Australia, who had won numerous dancing honors in various parts of the world, took over the leadership of the unit. By 1970 the team membership had reached 100 couples. In 1971 the ballroom dance team achieved international acclaim by winning the British Open Amateur Championships and then defeating the British team in a contest televised on British national television.

The BYU International Folk Dancers was founded in 1956 by Mary Bee Jensen. It soon became one of the most spectacular dance groups on campus. The folk dancers averaged over 100 shows per year from 1956 to 1972, and performed in such places as Lincoln Center in New York City, the Mercur Theater and Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen, Carnegie Hall in Pittsburgh, the Trocadero in Paris, the Turku Konserttisali in Finland, the Circus Theater in Rotterdam, and Disneyland. The original group consisted of seven couples, but it quickly grew to 400 members. In 1969 Don Allen, a long-time member of the group, joined the faculty and serves as assistant director of the team.

A unique contribution of the International Folk Dancers has been the annual Christmas Around the World concert, demonstrating authentic dances from many countries of the world, performed by highly skilled students dressed in authentic costumes.

In 1972 the thirteenth annual concert was highly successful as the dancers put on their biggest and most polished performance in the Marriott Center; 250 students presented dances from Mexico, the Ukraine, Japan, Scotland, Ireland, Israel, Hungary, Russia, and America. The International Folk Dancers have been on 11 European tours, one tour to Israel, and many tours throughout the United States and Canada.

Some idea of the stimulating experience which students have on these various tours may be judged from the itinerary of the two teams which went to Europe in 1972. One team performed on German national television for an estimated 20,000,000 viewers. Another group performed before Princess Grace in Monaco, toured Yugoslavia, and performed at international folk festivals in Nice and Confo-

lens, France. The BYU International Folk Dancers have been featured on national television in every country of western Europe, contributing much toward interest in BYU and the Church.

Orchesis, the Greek word for the art of dance, has been the name of modern dance groups at various universities since the early 1920s. BYU's Orchesis was founded in 1948 under the leadership of Norma Rae Arrington with the support of Leona Holbrook, chairman of the Department of Physical Education for Women. The group consists of modern dance students. The number of members varies according to the number of dancers who can meet the rigorous entrance requirements. Orchesis has presented many outstanding performances on campus and for outside groups. Dee Winterton has done much of the choreography for such performances. In 1972 works by composers John Lawrence Seymore and Robert Cundick were choreographed by Sara Lee Gibb and Dee Winterton and presented by Orchesis. It has now become traditional for Orchesis to present at least two major concerts on campus each year. Student choreographers prepare many of the dances.

Theatre Ballet

Brigham Young University Theatre Ballet was originally conceived as a student club called the Corps de Ballet, organized in fall 1964. The program began under the supervision of Leona Holbrook, chairman of Women's Physical Education, and Joan Koralewski, a graduate teaching assistant. It was not long before the talents of this group were being used for the choreography of BYU operas.

In 1967 Andrea Watkins, a graduate teaching assistant, was appointed sponsor of the Corps de Ballet under the supervision of Sara Lee Gibb. In 1968 Sandra B. Allen was hired as a part-time specialist in ballet instruction, and that same year choreographed the Mormon ballet, *Forever and Ever*, based on the concept of eternal marriage. This production proved so popular that it has been repeated several times since. By 1972 the popularity of Theatre Ballet had increased noticeably. Students passing auditions boosted its membership to 40.

Debate

Brigham Young University has probably been more successful in debating than in any other intercollegiate endeavor, having won six national invitational debating championships in the past 20 years. President Wilkinson sincerely believed in the forensics program, and he worked to allow as many interested students as possible to participate. Soon after becoming President, he granted a larger budget for the forensics program and requested that provisions be made to facilitate increased forensic experience for students.

The 1951-52 forensics season opened in September 1951 with J. Lavar Bateman directing the program. During that year 90 students,

including 12 debate teams — in contrast to a single team the year before — traveled in private cars to forensics tournaments throughout the western states. The number increased to 15 teams and 150 participants the next year, and in 1953 the forensics budget was raised to \$3,100. While this allowed only \$25 per student, with true BYU frugality they managed to get along. Seven campus speaking contests were open to all members of the student body. Contest finalists and one debate team, opposed by a team from Oxford University, spoke and debated before 7,800 students.

When Bateman left BYU in 1954 to conduct an extensive speech program on the island of Guam, he was replaced as director of the forensics program by W. Cleon Skousen. That year, for the first time in BYU history, a debate team qualified for the national collegiate finals at West Point.

In 1955 Jed Richardson came to BYU as forensics coach. Lynn Gardner and Dick Knight gave BYU a national reputation when they took first place at the Tau Kappa Alpha Forensics Honor Society's national tournament, and debate teams won 154 victories.

In the early 1960s the BYU debate squad won the Harvard Tournament, at that time the most prestigious in the country, with Craig Christensen and Tom Read as the winning team. The 1961-62 debate squad traveled 32,000 miles to attend 21 major tournaments. In 1962 BYU made forensics history as Reba Keele became the first woman ever to take first place in the extemporaneous speaking competition at the Tau Kappa Alpha tournament.¹³ Seven years later BYU student Linda McCarter became the second woman to gain this distinction. In December 1967, Kathleen Johnston won first prize in the National Valley Forge Freedoms Foundation Contest.

Since 1951 more than 2,150 BYU students have participated in 339 forensics tournaments. During that time the debating teams compiled a victory-to-loss ratio of three to one, and forensics participants won 760 trophies for the University.

In addition to debating, the art of public speaking has been encouraged at BYU through a number of extemporaneous speaking and oratorical contests. These have included the Heber J. Grant Oratorical Contest, the Donald C. Sloan Extemporaneous Speaking Contest, the American Week Oratorical Contest on patriotic themes, and the *Great Lives* Manuscript Speaking Contest, first held in 1975. The goal of this competition is to foster better speaking from the printed page.

Herald R. Clark and the Lyceum Program

The name of Herald R. Clark has become a legend with artists and leading musical organizations over the nation because of his skillful

13. Reba Keele later received her bachelor's and master's degrees from BYU and her doctorate from Purdue University. Joining the BYU faculty in 1967, she was named Utah's Outstanding Woman for 1975.

handling of the concert series in Provo from 1913 until his death in 1966. He started as an understudy of John C. Swensen and was president of the BYU Community Concert Association from its founding in 1937 to 1966.

Prior to Wilkinson's administration, the Minneapolis Symphony, directed by Dmitri Metropolis, played in Provo five times. The Los Angeles Symphony played eight consecutive performances, and the French National Orchestra with Charles Munch appeared twice. The list continues like a billing for Carnegie Hall. Provo was the smallest city on the nationwide concert tour of the Boston Symphony.

The New York Philharmonic played at BYU, as did such internationally famous soloists as Jascha Heifetz, Fritz Kreisler, Clifford Curson, Helen Traubel, Sergei Rachmaninoff, Bela Bartok, Artur Schnabel, and Ezio Pinza.

Prominent orchestras that appeared on campus during the Wilkinson administration were the New York Symphony, the Boston Symphony, the Chicago Symphony, the Detroit Symphony, the Kansas City Symphony, the Pittsburgh Symphony, the Cleveland Symphony, the Los Angeles Symphony, the Philadelphia Symphony, the Berlin Symphony, and the Vienna Symphony.

Great vocalists who performed were Phyllis Curtin, soprano; Veronica Tyler, soprano; Giorgio Tozzi, baritone; Mary Costa, soprano; Jerome Hines, bass; Donald Gramm, baritone; Jan Peerce, tenor; and Leontyne Price, soprano. Famous pianists Philippe Entremont, Gary Graffman, John Browning, and Lorin Hollander, and great organists Fernando Germani, Flor Peeters, and Karl Richter displayed their talents. Prominent violinists Zino Francescatti and Kossi Spivakovsky, and Julian Bream, a great guitarist, were on BYU's Lyceum Series. By popular demand the Vienna Choir Boys also entertained.

Dean Clark was a master salesman who wanted the biggest and best for Provo. He read the *New York Times* every week to keep track of where famous artists were touring. His budgets were not lavish. However, he parlayed the funds he did have into a rich concert offering by mobilizing community support and by using personal salesmanship and his keen business sense to get the big stars for the least amount of money. He knew the artists themselves, the booking agents, and the tour schedules. If he knew a top performer was scheduled in Denver, he would persuade him to come "over the mountain" for a concert in Provo. When the performers came, Dean Clark took them home to his wife Mable's gourmet cooking and treated them like royalty so that many came again, even though they could have received more money elsewhere. Observers said he probably got more for the concert dollar than any impresario in the country. Clark's melodious voice, affable personality, and selfless desire to serve his community were often able to bring famous performers to his small Utah town for 20 or 25 percent of the normal fee.

Although he claimed no technical skill in any of the fine arts, Clark was keenly aware of the role that the humanities and fine arts play in the development of the human soul. Clark's unexpected death on 24 May 1966 was a great loss to BYU. After his death, the management of the lyceum concerts and programs was taken over by Clawson Cannon for three years with continued success. It is now being managed for the University by Music Department chairman Harold Goodman. It is a joint affair with citizens of Provo, and some active managers for the community have been Mrs. Josephine Bird, Mrs. Olive Mensel, Mrs. Ruth Evans, and Mrs. Travis Jackman.

Thousands of alumni recall with great satisfaction the enriching experiences gained by participation in extracurricular activities while attending BYU. Depersonalization often accompanies bigness in many institutions of higher learning. BYU has avoided this by combining academic excellence with opportunities for wholesome, well-rounded personality development. Much of the latter finds expression and growth in these activities beyond the classroom.

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Rise and Shout, the Cougars Are Out!

Athletics played an important role in student life at BYU during the Wilkinson years. Perhaps more than any other form of entertainment it had the power to unite the student body, faculty, administration, alumni, townspeople, and friends of the University. During his initial year at BYU the varsity basketball squad won the National Invitational Tournament, putting BYU athletics in a position of national prestige.

Wilkinson's Philosophy of Amateur Athletics

Before arriving on the BYU campus, Wilkinson heard an address given by P. A. Christensen, BYU faculty representative, at a meeting of the National Collegiate Athletic Association region 7 in Denver on 26 December 1950, which Wilkinson attended before he became President. In the address, Christensen denounced the growing professionalization of university athletics:

Rarely, I fear, are they [athletes] on our campuses through natural inclination or choice. We have practically forced them to sell themselves to the highest bidders, sometimes in the open market, more frequently, perhaps, in the black one. In the game they are no longer volunteer soldiers fighting out of love for institution and fellow students. Rather they are what the historian calls mercenaries, inspired frequently by no finer motives than a shrewd concern for additional compensation or a feeble sense of present contractual obligations. They are becoming not unlike a group of thoroughbreds, fed, groomed, and stabled apart, exhibited on weekends to ecstatic presidents, faculties, students, alumni, and the sporting public, and, of course, pointed ultimately toward national derbies and sweepstakes. . . .

No one has been a more devoted lover of sports than I have been. I am sorry that my life long devotion to them and the experiences of nearly twenty-five years as a faculty representative have not enabled me to make a more glowing confession of faith in things as they are. Frankly, I see no salvation for athletics in our area and in America as a whole except from a general repentance

and a sincere turning away from sin. I fear we are quite incapable of either.¹

This address made a deep impression on Wilkinson. His life had been devoted to hard work and fair play with no special privileges to any group. Preferential treatment for athletes contravened his philosophy. In his inaugural address on 8 October 1951 he said,

Athletes should neither be given special favors nor be discriminated against. Unfortunately, in some universities . . . there has been a double standard — a double standard in administration, in discipline, in financial aid, and in academic standards. Obviously, at this school there must be a single standard [and] if the present athletic schedules are too onerous to permit the players to maintain high scholastic standards, then the integrity of the university can be satisfied only by curtailing schedules. . . . There has been a tendency in many universities for athletic activities to largely monopolize the field of extracurricular activities, while relatively little emphasis is placed on the intellectual and cultural activities. In my opinion, this is a serious mistake. . . . It will be my endeavor to assist in improving and increasing the cultural and intellectual activities without diminishing wholesome athletics.²

Wilkinson's statement made friends and enemies for him, though he was actually returning to policies in practice not too long before. Former BYU coach Eugene Roberts, then at the University of Southern California, wrote Wilkinson that policy

regarding athletic competition and athletes hasn't changed much if any since you and I were on the BYU campus. We did no proselyting and certainly no subsidizing: When I brought C. J. Hart onto the faculty he first asked what prospective athletes I would like to have him contact. My response was, "We don't do any proselyting." He adjusted immediately and enthusiastically. However, he had to pay the price, as you well know.³

Wilkinson was well aware that BYU would have to "pay the price" if it returned to the genuine amateur status that most colleges professed but few followed. Although the abuses on the Provo campus were not so flagrant as others, it upset the President when he learned that athletes were being given preference by the Athletic Department as to jobs available, preference in housing, special variances in registration, solicitation by the school for summer jobs, and free passes to ball

1. Official Minutes of Mountain States Athletic Conference, book 4, 1937-62, pp. 173-75, copy on file in Centennial History Papers, BYU Archives.
2. "Report of the Proceedings of the Inauguration of Ernest Leroy Wilkinson as Eighth President of Brigham Young University, 8 October 1951," *The Messenger*, November 1951, p. 20.
3. Eugene Roberts to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 11 May 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

games. What disturbed him most was that athletes were being paid three times as much as other students for the same work, and that in some cases coaches did no teaching. He took immediate steps to remedy most of these abuses. Wilkinson believed, however, that the whole problem of commercialized athletics could not be finally resolved until the entire Conference agreed to a standard which would be uniformly respected.

Attempts to Reform the Conference

The first problem Wilkinson tackled was the outright subsidy of athletes, which was widely tolerated, though it was not authorized by the Mountain States Athletic Conference. On 15 March 1951, less than two months after Wilkinson took office, he introduced the problem of athletic subsidies at a meeting of the university presidents of the conference. After a long discussion the final vote was 4 to 4, with 4 institutions in favor of abandoning all subsidies and 4 against.⁴ Wilkinson's resolution therefore failed. A similar effort made by him in November 1951 also failed.

The first encouragement came on 24 May 1952 when the presidents of the conference agreed to adopt a definition of amateurism as set forth in the constitution of the National Conference of Amateur Athletics: "An amateur athlete is one who engages in athletics for the physical, mental or social benefits he derives therefrom, and to whom athletics is an avocation. Any college athlete who takes or accepts the promise of pay in any form for participation in athletics does not meet this definition of an amateur."⁵ Wilkinson felt that at last the presidents had come to some agreement on a code, but the resolution immediately began to lose support. A year later, on 14 May 1953, a majority of the presidents reversed their former position and provided for grants-in-aid for athletes. Wilkinson was also unsuccessful in his effort to limit the number of grants-in-aid. In the 13 December 1953 meeting of conference presidents, Popejoy, seconded by Wilkinson, moved that for the year 1954-55 a competent outsider make an inspection of each of the member schools to determine the extent of their compliance with the code. While favored, this proposal was never carried out.⁶

President Wilkinson and a number of the other presidents felt that there were still many provisions of the code which were not being enforced and they therefore called upon commissioner E. L. Romney to see that the code was adhered to or penalties imposed. Romney's

4. McFarland was a former law partner of Wilkinson in Washington, D. C.

5. "Mountain States Athletic Conference Operating Code," 17 October 1952, box 40, folder 3, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, p. 14.

6. Wilkinson had in mind engaging the services of a prominent attorney in Denver, Byron "Whizzer" White, who had been one of the great football players of the century and who, years later, became associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. He would have been willing to serve, but Wilkinson was unsuccessful in having him appointed.

failure to enforce the rules of the conference finally led to a resolution terminating his services. President Wilkinson was given the assignment of notifying him, which he did. Almost immediately some of the presidents of the conference, after hearing from their athletic fans, decided that the termination should be rescinded. By decision of the presidents this news was also carried to Romney by Wilkinson.

Agitation at Home

The recruiting-ethics issue was clouded at BYU just as it was at other schools. Many, both on and off campus, were sure that athletics, even though subsidized, could make valuable contributions to the school as well as to the Church through favorable regional and national exposure. Edwin R. Kimball, BYU director of athletics, pointed out that the unilateral application of conference rules to BYU athletes was already having devastating results. He explained that

Nineteen of our freshmen players have become discouraged and discontinued school. It is believed by our group that the present rules will result in making participation in athletics at BYU largely an activity available only to young men of considerable financial income. . . . Our teams will soon become the doormat of our conference; it will become increasingly difficult for us to secure a sponsor for our athletic broadcasts; there will be increased public insistence that there shall be winning teams or that losing coaches be released; we will be unable to schedule teams of national prominence; [and perhaps most importantly] we will lose the publicity which has proved so valuable to the Church and School in proselytizing members and students and in creating good will for the Church.⁷

Head basketball coach Stan Watts told Wilkinson in September 1953,

Unless we have similar opportunity to attract the outstanding athletes and to have an equal chance with our opponents, our athletic program will decline rapidly. . . . We assume we are following the rules and are being fair with the boys we contact, only to find differences in interpretation, placing us in an awkward position. The other schools are not interpreting the rules as we are. Your reaction to that, I know, will be that they are not living by the code. By the time that issue is settled, the other schools will have the top athletes and we will have the third-rate boys. Consequently, our athletic program will weaken accordingly.⁸

Changing the Athletic Policy

After three years of strenuous fighting for purely amateur athletics,

7. Edwin R. Kimball to Wayne B. Hales, 11 May 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
8. Stanley Watts to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 1 September 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Wilkinson felt he had done all he could to sustain the ideals of P. A. Christensen and Eugene L. Roberts and that the University would have to operate on the same footing as other schools to compete successfully. In May 1954 he reported to the Executive Committee that he had decided to increase the number of athletic scholarships to 110.⁹ Urging his coaches to use these benefits sparingly, he said, "We expect BYU coaches to rise above the practice of the market place. This is a challenge to them which I hope they will accept."¹⁰ President Wilkinson also felt that the conference should be perfectly honest about whatever gratuities or benefits were awarded to athletes. Some schools were giving athletes \$60 a month which the recipients were not actually earning. Wilkinson therefore favored a proposal to give the athletes their board and room and acknowledge it as an outright grant rather than paying them for work they did not do.¹¹ This was adopted by the conference.¹²

Athletic Administration

Intercollegiate athletics at BYU first came under the aegis of an academic college in 1954, when President Wilkinson organized the College of Physical Education. In view of the athletic abuses noted around the country, Wilkinson believed intercollegiate as well as intramural athletics should be under academic control. The college had only two deans during the Wilkinson years, Jay B. Nash (1954-56) and

9. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 14 May 1954.
10. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Edwin R. Kimball and athletic staff, 19 May 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
11. Wilkinson further recorded that before he voted for the motion he again proposed that the conference forego athletic subsidies of all kinds, work included, and go on a completely amateur basis. Not one of the other presidents agreed. Chancellor Alter of Denver University proposed that the conference give athletes room and board only during the seasons in which they were participating in athletics, and that at other times of the year they work for their board and room. Wilkinson offered to go along with that proposal if the other institutions would agree that the commissioner be invited to check on the work of the athletes at any time. He received no second.
12. It must not be assumed from Wilkinson's vigorous fight for what he considered complete amateurism in collegiate athletics that he was opposed to athletics *per se* — quite the contrary. His two brothers, Robert and Glen, had been quarterbacks on BYU football teams in the 1920s and 1930s, and his son Ernest Ludlow came to BYU as a part of the Naval V12 program, and played halfback on the BYU varsity football team in 1942. This was the team that defeated the University of Utah, for the first time. While Wilkinson deeply regretted the disappearance of what he considered true amateur collegiate contests and saw the dawning of an era of what he still calls semiprofessional collegiate athletics, Wilkinson avidly supported BYU's athletic program and worked to see the University's teams succeed. In college sports, as in other matters, he was in favor of BYU being a great competitor.

Milton F. Hartvigsen (1956-74). The period was marked by tremendous growth, not only in intercollegiate athletics, but also in facilities, faculty, and curriculum.

When athletics became a part of the new college, Edwin R. Kimball, who had been athletic director since 1936, received the new title of chairman of the Department of Intercollegiate Athletics. Kimball was replaced as chairman of the department on 23 November 1963 by Floyd Millett, one of BYU's finest all-around athletes in the 1930s and football and basketball coach in the 1940s. Stanley H. Watts was named chairman of the department in 1970.

The school also had an Athletic Council, which supervised the athletic program within the rules of the conference and the school. P. A. Christensen of the English Department was chairman of the council from 1926 to 1942, when he became faculty representative to the conference. In 1942 Ariel Ballif of the Sociology Department became chairman and continued until 1952, when physics professor Wayne B. Hales became chairman. Dean Milton F. Hartvigsen became chairman of the council in 1967 and served until his retirement in 1974.

Baseball

The Smith Fieldhouse not only made a big difference in basketball, but it also improved the baseball program at BYU. Beginning with the 1952 season the baseball team used the west end of the spacious indoor facility for preseason practices. Dave Crowton became head coach that year. A graduate of BYU in 1938 with letters in baseball and basketball, he had an outstanding coaching career at Brigham Young High School before returning to BYU as athletics relations director in 1950. Before Crowton left in 1955, the BYU baseball squad had won two conference championships.

Wayne Tucker, who had been affiliated with the New York Yankee chain for more than 12 years, came out of retirement to coach the Cougars in 1956. In 1957 Jay Van Noy, one of the all-time great athletes at Utah State University was signed as head coach. That same year the school built a beautiful new baseball diamond just north of the former football stadium. The new coach brought to the team a strong competitive spirit; in 1958 BYU won the Skyline Conference after beating Utah 17 to 2 in the championship game. The Cougars later took the District 7 championship, which gave them a berth in the College World Series at Omaha, Nebraska. However, when the team learned that they would have to play on Sunday, a violation of the University's code, they withdrew from the tournament.

In 1960, Glen Tuckett, former professional baseball player with the Salt Lake City Bees, was named the sixth BYU baseball coach in thirteen years. In 1961, after losing a preseason game to powerful Southern California (the eventual national champions), BYU went on a 24-game winning streak, longest in the nation that year and a school

record. In a doubleheader against Montana, the Cougars hit seven home runs, including a 510-foot blast by Jim Pierson. Winning in the division with an unbeaten record, the Cougars were favored to go all the way to the college World Series, but because the team had refused to play a Sunday game in 1958 the NCAA disqualified BYU from participating even on weekdays.

By 1968 public sentiment compelled the NCAA to relax its rule requiring Sunday play. That same year BYU again won the conference championship as well as the Division 7 crown and took part in the College World Series. Doug Howard, an outstanding member of the 1968 team, was named All-American in 1969 and 1970. Howard signed a professional contract and by 1975 was playing with the St. Louis Cardinals. When BYU went to the College World Series in 1971, the fans saw another all-American, Dane Iorg, who set many records at BYU and later signed a contract with the Philadelphia Phillies.

A new baseball field was completed for the 1969 season. Located northwest of the Marriott Center, the new facility provides seating for about 2,500 spectators.

Under the direction of Glen Tuckett, the Cougars have now won nine straight northern division championships. In 1974 Coach Tuckett led the United States team to the championship of the World Amateur Baseball Tournament at St. Petersburg, Florida, for only the second time in the tournament's 22-year history. Lee Iorg, BYU's outstanding centerfielder who played for the American team at St. Petersburg, was named a first team all-American in 1974. He later signed a professional contract with the New York Mets.

Basketball

Stanley H. Watts was named head basketball coach at BYU on 25 January 1949, succeeding Floyd Millett, who had retired to enter private business. From the beginning of the 1949-50 season, Watts had the advantage of three great basketball stars — Joe Nelson, Mel Hutchins, and Roland Minson. They helped Watts attract national attention to the BYU basketball program. Joe Nelson was named to the all-NCAA team, and both Hutchins and Minson were on the second team. Not only did the Cougars win the conference championships, but they finished third in the NCAA Regional Tournament. That summer Coach Watts took his team on the first of many foreign tours, which did much to promote good will for both BYU and the LDS Church.

The 1950-51 basketball team was the most successful in BYU history. Roland Minson and Mel Hutchins combined with two promising newcomers, Joe Richey and Harold Christensen, to provide a lineup which proved hard to beat. There was no facility in Utah Valley large enough to accommodate the crowds that wanted to see this popular team, but the University of Utah courteously permitted the BYU team to play their home games in the University of Utah Fieldhouse. Utah was the

only team to beat the Cougars that year, and BYU went on to win the Skyline Conference. Coach Watts's team was then invited to participate in the National Invitational Tournament in New York City where a display of consistent teamwork won them the championship. Roland Minson was named most valuable player in the tournament. Minson and Hutchins were both named to several all-American teams. The Cougars finished the season with a 28-9 record.

The next season was just as memorable for Coach Watts and his team as they moved into the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse on 1 December 1951. The seating capacity of over 10,000 assured BYU of what they thought was adequate seating for the first time in many years. In their first game in the Fieldhouse the Cougars beat Arizona 68 to 62 before 6,500 fans, the largest crowd ever to see a basketball game in Utah. Coming on the heels of the NIT championship the year before, this beautiful new fieldhouse was all the Cougars needed to launch them on a series of highly successful seasons which led to BYU being invited to one of the national tournaments practically every year.

Stan Watts became only the seventh coach in the history of college basketball to win more than 100 games in his first five years of coaching. Several BYU players in the 1950s earned all-American recognition under Coach Watts. In addition to Roland Minson and Mel Hutchins in 1951, Joe Richey was named to several all-American teams at the end of the 1952-53 season, and Dean Larsen was named to the Helms All-American team in 1954. Terry Tebbs was named a member of the Associated Press's little all-American team in 1955 and 1956.

BYU again won the Skyline Conference basketball championship in 1957, and Tom Steinke was named to several all-American teams. By the end of the 1961 season Coach Watts had won his 200th game. The Cougars won the Western Athletic Conference Championship in 1965, with all-American John Fairchild at center, and it looked like the team would win another national championship until Fairchild injured an ankle and the Cougars were nosed out by the defending national champion, UCLA.

Coach Watts's Cougars were hoping for a repeat title in 1966, but they finished second in the conference behind Utah. They accepted an invitation to play in the National Invitational Tournament in New York. After defeating Temple and Army the Cougars moved into the finals against hometown favorite New York University. A crowd of 18,470 was on hand in Madison Square Garden with millions more watching on television. For the second time in his career Stan Watts coached his team to an NIT championship as the Cougar squad defeated NYU 97-84. At the close of the season numerous honors came to the three seniors on the team — Dick Nemelka, Steve Kramer, and Jeff Congdon.

In 1968 the Cougars completed a 27-game tour of the Orient and Pacific. In 1969 they won another Western Athletic Conference

championship. In December 1970, one of Coach Watts's most brilliant stars came into national prominence. Yugoslav Kresimir Cosic began making a name for himself as one of the most colorful players in BYU history. The *Daily Herald* described Cosic's antics in a game with New Mexico State:

Stan Watts got off the bench to try and calm him down and to get him to give the ball to a guard so they could go into their semi-stall game.

But Cosic didn't see Stan. He dribbled around a little while and then from nearly mid-court caught from the corner of his eye Bernie Fryer standing all alone under the basket. He whipped an overhand pass through the New Mexico defense in a stunning bit of basketball wizardry that resulted in a simple two points for Fryer, pandemonium for the crowd, and frustration for the BYU coaches.

It was the kind of pass that you only see once a season, but wait a minute. The next time down the floor Cosic duplicated the feat.

Cosic went through the same antics, took the same position on the floor. The New Mexico defense set up in about the same manner as previously, and then all of a sudden — zip — the ball had been looped overhand through the New Mexico defense to Jim Miller all alone under the basket for another two points, another outbreak of pandemonium.¹³

The Cougars were conference champions in both 1971 and 1972. Kresimir Cosic joined the LDS Church while at BYU and, turning down professional opportunities in the United States, returned to Yugoslavia where he is a national athletic hero.

Stan Watts underwent massive surgery for cancer during 1971, but in spite of his illness he continued to serve as both head basketball coach and athletic director. In March 1972 he relinquished the job of head basketball coach to devote all his time to duties as chairman of the Department of Intercollegiate Athletics. In 23 years the teams coached by Stan Watts had won eight conference championships and two NIT titles, participated in four NIT tournaments, seven NCAA playoffs, and every major holiday tournament in the country. His overall record was 431 wins and 260 losses and he was ranked among the nation's foremost coaches.

Glen Potter, one of Watts's former assistants, coached the Cougars for three years. Potter was a champion at maintaining high athletic and moral standards. He also improved the defensive playing of the teams. In 1975 he was replaced by Frank Arnold, a former assistant to the most successful collegiate coach in the history of college basketball, John Wooden. His first year has been a building year and he has yet to make his record as head coach, but he has already become popular,

13. "BYU Looks Strong in Win Over NMS," Provo *Daily Herald*, 8 December 1970.

although he has had the bad fortune of losing four close games by a total of 5 points for all four games combined. BYU basketball teams became so popular that by 1975 their games were being broadcast by over 70 television stations in South America. Many of the South American communities and countries have adopted BYU as their "home team."

Cross Country

For many years cross country races were a featured event at athletic tournaments. Originally these contests were referred to as long-distance races, and were held informally. Cross country did not flourish at BYU until Clarence Robison became the track and field coach in 1950. Robison's influence on the development of cross country racing was largely a result of his experience as a long-distance runner during his college years, climaxed by his competition in the 5,000-meter race in the 1948 Olympics.

In 1962 Sherald James, a graduate of BYU with considerable experience in distance running, joined the track coaching staff and was given responsibility for the cross country program. Under his direction the program has grown and become one of the most popular track events at BYU. Between 50 and 60 young men try out each year for the cross country team, which has a roster of 12. The Western Athletic Conference cross country championship in November gives BYU distance runners an early start on the winter track season. The BYU cross country teams have been very successful, finishing first four times and second five times in the twelve seasons since the Western Athletic Conference was organized.

Football

Football at BYU might well be called the Cinderella sport, since it was the last of the major sports to come into its own. This may have been due to the fact that participation in football was banned from 1900 to 1919 because of the death of a football player in Salt Lake City in the late 1890s and the opposition of Brother Maeser and certain Church authorities.¹⁴ The school's prolonged struggle to field a truly competitive football squad was a perennial source of frustration and embarrassment to students, faculty, and alumni for many years. When President Wilkinson arrived on campus in October 1950, Coach Charles L. "Chick" Atkinson was fighting to lift the BYU football squad from its 1949 cellar berth. The 1950 season was a definite improvement, with Atkinson coaching his squad to a 4-5-1 record. The tie was a 28-to-28 thriller with the University of Utah. By 1951 Atkinson led BYU to its first winning season in five years with a 6-3-1 record. However, BYU

14. "Why Football Was Banned for 20 Years," *Provo Daily Herald*, 28 November 1975.

teams suffered through four consecutive losing seasons after that, and Atkinson resigned at the close of the 1955 season. His record in seven years at BYU was 18 wins, 49 losses and 3 ties.

After months of searching, BYU named Harold Kopp as football coach. Kopp came to BYU from Rhode Island University, where he had served four years as head coach. In his last season there his team was undefeated and won the Yankee Conference championship. But Kopp found a completely new challenge at BYU. Not a member of the Mormon Church, he often commented that he had three teams: "One on the field, one in the hospital, and one on missions."

Kopp immediately began recruiting a strong freshmen team so that by 1957 BYU took second place in the conference. The team set a BYU record by recovering 32 opponents' fumbles. The highlight of the 1958 season was defeating the University of Utah for only the second time in the history of football competition between the two schools. However, BYU still lacked the strength to win the conference. Kopp resigned after three seasons with a record of 13-14-3.

Floyd "Tally" Stevens became the new football coach in 1959. He had been a star player for the University of Utah and most fans expected the Cougars to win their first football championship. But after two discouraging years with an overall record of 6-15, Stevens left BYU.

BYU hired its youngest football coach ever in January 1961 — Hal Mitchell. Mitchell had been coach of the BYU freshmen team in 1959-60, winning seven of eight games. However, tough competition on the varsity level left the team with a 2-8 record.

Until 1962 BYU participated in the Mountain States (Skyline) Conference. In July of that year the new Western Athletic Conference was formed. Charter members of the new conference were Arizona, Arizona State, Brigham Young, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming. Colorado State and Texas-El Paso were added in 1970.

BYU was not considered a threat to the league's crown, yet the Cougars came close to stealing the title thanks to the leadership of all-American tailback Eldon Dortie. The Cougars finished the season in second place. BYU was not so strong the following year, and Hal Mitchell relinquished his three-year post with a record of 8-22.

After a careful search for a new head coach, BYU announced the signing of Tom Hudspeth. Hudspeth had formerly been an assistant coach at Tulsa and at Calgary in the Canadian professional league. He had a flair for wide-open football which was to give BYU some of its finest moments on the gridiron. While Hudspeth was building his squad in 1964, the new 30,000-seat stadium was finished.

Picked by every expert to finish in the WAC cellar in 1965, Hudspeth's team pulled a big upset by winning its first conference championship. Quarterback Virgil Carter, receiver Phil Odle, and running back John Ogden were the mainstays of the team. Coach Hudspeth was honored as the conference's Coach of the Year.

The Cougars maintained the pace in 1966, winning eight games and losing two, finishing in second place in the WAC. Virgil Carter, named to several all-American teams for two years, passed for more than 2,100 yards and set several NCAA records. In the 1966 Homecoming game he threw for 513 yards and 5 touchdowns. His total offense that day, 599 yards, is a national record that still stands. His teammate Phil Odle ranked among the top receivers in college football. He ended his career with a total of 181 receptions for 2,548 yards and 25 touchdowns. Another record set in 1966 was for attendance; 38,333 fans turned out for the BYU-Wyoming game. This was the largest attendance for any athletic event in the state's history.

In Hudspeth's third season as head coach (1968), the Cougars scored a major upset over nationally ranked Oregon State, 31 to 13, at Corvallis. BYU also downed Utah for the third consecutive time. In 1969 Chris Farasopolos, the "Gallopig Greek" from BYU, led the nation in punt returns and set two NCAA kick return records. Golden Richards also specialized in kick returns and led the nation in punt returns in 1971. Pete VanValkenburg, who was dubbed the "Moving Van," was the nation's leading rusher in 1972, setting several conference and school records. Tom Hudspeth coached from 1964 to 1971 with a record of 39 wins, 42 losses, and 1 tie.

In 1972 LaVell Edwards succeeded Tom Hudspeth as head coach and in 1974 his team won the conference championship. This resulted in the Cougars' first invitation to participate in a postseason bowl game. As WAC champions BYU played host to Oklahoma State University in the Fiesta Bowl at Tempe, Arizona. After scoring first on two field goals and dominating play throughout most of the first quarter, BYU's hopes for a Fiesta Bowl victory were dashed when quarterback Gary Sheide was taken from the game with a shoulder separation. Sheide was the nation's second leading passer and key to the team's aerial attack. Without Sheide the Cougar squad was unable to maintain its momentum and Oklahoma State won the nationally televised game 16 to 6.

During his career at BYU Coach Edwards has tutored many outstanding athletes. Not only was Gary Sheide the nation's second leading passer for two consecutive years, but in 1973 BYU's all-American Jay Miller led the nation in pass receptions, setting an NCAA record of 100 catches in a single season. As BYU entered its Centennial year the Cougar football squad could boast of nearly a full decade of top-flight performances.

Golf

As with other intercollegiate sports, BYU's prominence in the field of golf came slowly. One bright spot occurred in 1956 when Coach Fred Dixon's golf team won the conference championship. Dave Crow-

ton, who replaced Fred Dixon in 1961, coached his team to second place in the conference in 1961.

In 1962 Karl Tucker took over and in 1966 his team won the WAC championship after going undefeated in dual meets. BYU was also undefeated in 1967 and won another conference championship in 1968. In 1969 the Cougars enhanced their reputation as one of the nation's finest golf teams by placing third in the NCAA championships. They also played in championship tournaments during 1970 and 1971, and after 12 full seasons Coach Karl Tucker's record in dual meets was 119-17-2. BYU won the conference championship four straight seasons, from 1972 to 1975.

Nine of Tucker's golfers have reached all-American status. Johnny Miller (1967), Ray Leach (1971), Lance Suzuki (1973), and Mike Reid (1974), were all first team selections. Dave Shipley (1971) and Mike Brannen (1975) were third team selections, with Mike Taylor (1966), Joey Dills (1972), and Chip Garriss (1970) receiving honorable mention. Mike Reid is BYU's only golfer to ever receive all-American first team honors twice, in 1974 and 1975. Buddy Allin, another Tucker protégé, went on to win many tournaments as a professional.

Johnny Miller became one of the top golfers in the world, winning the U.S. Open in 1973. In 1974 he tied Arnold Palmer's record of eight first place tournament wins in a season, including the World Open, and won \$351,121 on the professional tour, the most ever won in one season by a professional golfer. As this book goes to press his total winnings have been in excess of \$1,000,000.

Gymnastics

In 1958 a new intercollegiate gymnastics program was inaugurated at BYU with the encouragement of Dean Milton Hartvigsen. Richard Andrus, a graduate of BYU, was chosen as coach. The Cougars traveled to California and Colorado for competitive meets, and they finished the first year with three wins and two losses.

In 1959 Rudy Moe was appointed coach and remained in that position for six years. During this period, Richard Snow of Provo, who was deaf, won the conference championship on the trampoline for two successive years.

In 1965 Bruce Morgenegg became coach and the team finished second in the conference. The team boasted one all-American gymnast, Richard Nickolas, who was BYU's first gymnast to win the Western Athletic Conference all-around title. Nickolas then went on to receive national honors in this same event in NCAA competition. The gymnastic team did not do well during the next two years, except for Dennis Ramsey's excellent work on the side horse. He tied for second place in the NCAA finals, and won second place the next year.

Lavon Johnson took over the coaching duties when in 1970

Morgenegg took a leave of absence to pursue his doctoral studies at Columbia University. In 1972 BYU won the team championship at the Portland Open and finished third in the conference.

Morgenegg returned as coach in 1972, and while the team continued to have difficulty achieving a high rating, the individual achievements of Wayne Young were tremendous. After training in Japan for six months in 1972, Young returned to the United States in top form. In 1974 he was the all-around champion at the NCAA gymnastics competition. At the World Games in 1975 he was the top point scorer for the United States gymnastics team, and during the winter of 1975 Young won the South Africa Cup.

The BYU commitment to excellence in gymnastics was further demonstrated in 1975 when Greg Sano, a non-Mormon, became the coach. Sano coached several fine gymnasts who were members of the Japanese Olympic team.

Swimming

BYU swimming teams were just rising to national prominence at the close of the 1920s when it was necessary to suspend the program because the pool at Provo High School — the only available pool in the area — was closed in 1930. Prior to that time the principal BYU star was Bud Shields, a member of the team in 1928 and 1929, who held the American record in the 220-yard and 440-yard free style. In both 1928 and 1929 Bud Shields was high point man at the national collegiate swimming meet.

Not until 34 years later, when Walter Cryer was appointed head swimming coach at BYU, did intercollegiate swimming become important in Cougar sports. Swimming competition was launched into prominence after 1965 when the Richards Building was completed. This building, housing two swimming pools and one diving pool, constituted one of the finest collegiate swimming facilities in the nation. During the next six years the Cougars compiled a dual meet record of 63 wins, 15 losses, and 3 ties. Between 1966 and 1969 Fred Baird won six individual titles, more than any other WAC swimmer, and Dennis Meyring was the only swimmer in the history of BYU to win three WAC titles in one year.

Walt Cryer left his coaching assignment in 1973 to complete his doctorate. After eight seasons his teams had achieved a record of 72 wins, 22 losses, and 3 ties in dual meets. Cryer was replaced by Michael Burton, former captain of the United States Olympic swimming team and holder of ten world records. He led the Cougars to the conference championship in the 1973-74 season and left the following year to accept a position with an East Coast swim club. Tim Powers, former aquatic director and head swimming coach at Los Gatos High School in California, replaced him in the spring of 1975.

Tennis

Tennis at BYU is closely associated with the name of Fred "Buck" Dixon, who became a legend in Utah coaching circles. As a BYU student from 1923 to 1926, he won four letters each in football, basketball, and tennis, and was one of the finest all-around athletes ever to don a BYU uniform. During 35 years he coached nearly every sport at BYU and for two decades coached tennis. His teams won the state championship several times.

In 1964 Wayne Pearce was named to head the tennis program at BYU, and in 1966 the Cougars were 10-2 in dual meets and took their first conference championship. At the end of the 1975 season, Pearce's coaching record stood at 143-52 in dual meets.

A top BYU star was Zdravko Mincek of Yugoslavia. Mincek came to BYU in 1968 and completed an enviable four-year career at the school. The highlight for him and the University came in 1970 when he led the team to its second consecutive conference title and gained all-American status by making it to the semi-finals of the NCAA singles championship.

Track and Field

Clarence Robison, who took over as head track and field coach in 1950, has posted one of the most impressive records in track and field history. Robison started with an inexperienced group, which he slowly built. Beginning in 1955 his teams won the conference championship for eight straight years. Competition intensified with the formation of the Western Athletic Conference, and BYU rose to national prominence. Robison's teams finished second in the new conference meet during the first five years of competition. They also finished in the top ten nationally from 1964 through 1967. In 1966 they finished second nationally. In June 1967 and again in 1975 BYU hosted the NCAA championships.

The Cougars won their first WAC championship in 1968 and repeated that feat in 1969. In 1970 they fell to second, but won again in 1971. After six consecutive years of finishing in the top ten nationally, Coach Robison's team shared the NCAA title in 1970 with Kansas and Oregon, as each team scored 35 points at the national meet, and top-scoring University of California was disqualified.¹⁵ Several track performers at BYU won all-American status and, in 1970, 440 high-hurdler Ralph Mann set a world record at Des Moines, Iowa. Mann, running a perfect race, captured his second NCAA title in world-record time of 48.8 seconds. In 1970 he became a three-time winner in the NCAA championships. Two achievements during this period were trips by the track team to Europe in 1956 and 1959, in which they made

15. UCLA, which scored more points, was disqualified because of a violation of the rules of its conference.

impressive records against Europe's finest. Coach Robison was honored in 1956 with the Dale Rex Memorial Award, and in 1959 he was named coach of the year by *Coach and Athlete Magazine*.

In keeping with the winning ways of Coach Robison, BYU continued to dominate the WAC in track and field competition by winning the outdoor championships in 1970 and 1973 and the indoor championships in 1971, 1973, and 1974. During that time, many members of Robison's team garnered all-American honors. The list includes Richard Reid in 1972; Gary Cramer, Raimo Pihl, Mitch Wiley, and Richard Reid in 1973; and David Johnson, Bengt Gustafsson, Zdravko Pecar, Kenth Gardenkrans, Runald Backman, and Paul Cummings in 1974. Since Mann's NCAA championship in 1971, Pihl won top honors in 1973 in the decathlon, and Pecar, Backman, and Cummings won NCAA championship honors during the 1974 season in the discus, decathlon, and mile. Raimo Pihl, 1973 champion, repeated his winning effort in 1975, setting a new NCAA meet record and a new BYU stadium record in the decathlon.

Wrestling

Wrestling was discontinued during World War II but resumed in 1947 when Reed Nilsen became the coach. By 1955 the tally of wins in dual meets was exceeding the number of losses, but BYU did not get close to the conference crown. After 1955 Ray Thomas, Wally Nalder, Allen Davis, and Reed Weight each tried his hand at coaching the Cougar team and each achieved some success. However, it was not until UCLA graduate Clint Whitfield was named head wrestling coach in 1962 that BYU became a threat to the wrestling teams of her sister institutions. That year the team came away with its best record in years, 10-4-1. Heavyweight Steve Goodsell was unbeaten in 17 matches. The following year the Cougars won the conference championship, and when Whitfield resigned, Fred Davis, a former NCAA wrestling champion at Oklahoma State, came to BYU and launched a winning program beginning in 1966 that produced a 40-10-1 dual meet record and three straight conference championships. Mac Motokawa, a senior member of the 1966 team, concluded a remarkable career with his fourth individual WAC title. He won 40 consecutive dual meet decisions and finished first in the national AAU meet in both free style and Greco-Roman style wrestling. The NCAA national wrestling championships were held in Provo in 1969.

Between 1970 and 1975 the Cougars won four of five conference championships under Coach Davis. He produced several all-Americans, including the Hansen brothers, Laron and Mike, and Ben Ohai. As the Centennial year arrived, Davis, after ten years of coaching, had amassed a dual meet record of 122-31-4. He has produced seven WAC championship teams and coached more than three dozen individual WAC champions.

Women's Intercollegiate Athletics

Competitive intercollegiate sports for women at BYU began before the turn of the century. Maud May Babcock was one of the most effective leaders during this period. In 1899 a girls basketball team played the University of Utah. Women's tennis teams were organized in 1911, and the first intercollegiate matches were played against the University of Utah in 1913. By 1918 women were participating in track and field events. In 1921 the Girls Athletic Club was organized to encourage interclass and intramural sports among women students. Swimming clubs were organized for faculty and students in the fall of 1921.

In 1932 Wilma Jeppson was directing BYU Women's Athletic Association teams and Vera Conder became a serious contender for the United States Olympic track team, her specialty being the 50-yard dash and the 80-meter hurdles. Although she did not make the team, her participation gave incentive and encouragement to women athletes at BYU.

Leona Holbrook came to BYU in 1937 as chairman of the Department of Physical Education — Women. In addition to her academic background, she had experience in recreation, camping, and athletics. By 1938 BYU was able to host the annual State Women's Athletic Association convention. By 1940 the women's program had expanded to include field hockey, softball, skiing, tennis, badminton, and volleyball. By the late 1950s the BYU women's sports program was competitive in interstate meets. Elaine Michaelis took over coaching responsibilities for the program in 1962 and served until 1965, when Ann Valentine took the tennis and badminton teams and Lu Wallace coached the gymnastics team.¹⁶ Until 1966 female BYU contestants used women's physical education class uniforms for competition in intercollegiate events, but field hockey tunics were purchased for the team members for the 1966-67 season.

The 1967-68 school year was very successful for the women's athletic program. Of the 30 meets in which they participated, the BYU women won 17 titles and placed second 8 times. In all, they claimed first or second place in 25 of 30 meets. By this time an increasing number of BYU women athletes were participating and at the spring 1968 intermountain intercollegiate meet a total of 430 BYU women competed.¹⁷

By 1971-72 athletics for women were accelerating across the nation. By that year approximately 275 schools, including BYU, joined together to form the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW).

16. Transcribed interview with Elaine Michaelis, 15 November 1974, in the possession of Phyllis Jacobson. *See also* transcribed interview with Lu Wallace, 15 November 1974, in the possession of Phyllis Jacobson.

17. "Women's intramural Historical Scrapbooks, 1957-58 through 1968-69," in the possession of Phyllis Jacobson.

From 1970 to 1973 the women's intramural sports program was under the direction of Nila Mae Ipson and Kathryn Lewis. The number of participants and the variety of activities increased each year, and by 1973 more than 8,000 girls participated annually in BYU's intramural sports program. Leona Holbrook served as chairman of the Department of Physical Education—Women for 35 years and performed outstanding service. She was succeeded in 1972 by Phyllis Jacobson, who had directed the intercollegiate sports program for women since 1968.

The fourth national intercollegiate volleyball championships were held at BYU in February 1973. Besides serving as tournament director, Elaine Michaelis coached the BYU team to second place.

As the length of the competitive season increased and as the demand for high-level performance grew, there came a need for improved conditioning programs for female athletes. Consequently Earlene Durrant, with professional background in athletic training, was named trainer for the women's teams. The women's intercollegiate program at BYU, which has been almost as successful nationally as the men's, is of equal if not more importance and has succeeded in avoiding the quasi-professional flavor of the men's intercollegiate athletic program.

Intramural Athletics

While intercollegiate athletics received the greatest publicity during the Wilkinson years, the administration was equally interested in the intramural sports program, the development of which was one of Wilkinson's principal goals in the field of athletics when he first came to BYU. The appointment of non-Mormon Jay Bryan Nash as dean of the new College of Recreation, Physical Education, Health, and Athletics demonstrated the President's concern for a more balanced approach to student athletic activity. A graduate of Oberlin College, Nash also had studied at the University of California and Columbia University, receiving his doctorate from New York University in 1929. Thereafter he became one of the foremost leaders of physical education in America, serving as president of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation. As a reflection of his international reputation, he conducted the first World Seminar on Physical Education, Health, Recreation, and Youth Work in Helsinki, Finland, in 1952.

Nash fought hard to establish a special budget for intramurals and in some area of athletics. A large increase in participation also occurred 1954 approximately 3,000 men, women, and faculty became involved in some area of athletics. A large increase in participation also occurred in 1955, and by the time Dean Nash resigned because of age in 1956, he had successfully established a permanent intramural program at BYU.

Milton Hartvigsen became dean of the college on 1 July 1956. He had obtained his bachelor's and master's degrees from Utah State

Agricultural College and had been an athletic coach and superintendent of schools in Grace, Idaho, as well as president of Bannock Stake in Pocatello, Idaho. He obtained his Ed.D. degree from the University of California at Los Angeles just prior to his appointment at BYU.

Hartvigsen was first sent on a fact-finding tour to Harvard, Emory, and other universities to make recommendations for the intramural program at BYU.¹⁸ Upon his return, intramural sports were placed under the Department of Recreation with Israel Heaton as chairman and William J. Hafen as intramural supervisor.¹⁹

The development of intramural sports at BYU paralleled the national trend in emphasizing physical fitness, and the program in Provo made such progress by 1959 that an NCAA committee selected Michigan State University and BYU as the only two institutions in the country that would receive official recognition for improvement in their physical fitness programs.²⁰

From this point on the only thing holding back further development of the intramural program at BYU was the lack of a physical education building.²¹ This need was finally fulfilled in 1965 with the completion of the Stephen L Richards Physical Education Building, and participation in intramural sports immediately accelerated, particularly in the case of women students. In 1969-70 participation by women rose to 2,684 entries in intramural events, and by 1972-73 the figure had risen to 11,718. These figures represent total individual entries — those who participated more than once were counted more than once. Involvement in men's intramurals also skyrocketed. For the year 1968-69 the total number of entries in intramural events was 10,084. By 1972-73 the figure had jumped to 31,071 entries, and in 1974-75 to 38,261.

While winning in collegiate sports was being emphasized throughout the nation, BYU was sponsoring intramurals designed to promote friendly competition and encourage healthful exercise. All of these activities combine to give BYU one of the largest, if not the largest, intramural programs in the nation.

Accusations of Racism

The only incident that threatened to mar BYU's otherwise successful intercollegiate athletic program during the Wilkinson years was the unfortunate eruption in 1969-70 of racial accusations against BYU. The charges grew out of the fact that at that time BYU had no Blacks

18. BYU Presidency Meeting Minutes, 26 March 1956.

19. Hafen obtained his bachelor's degree from BYU in 1950 and his master's degree from Washington State University in 1963. Thereafter he received a director of recreation degree from Indiana University and a doctor of education degree from the University of Utah. He became head of the Recreation Department at BYU in the summer of 1968.

20. BYU Administrative Council Meeting Minutes, 15 January 1961.

21. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 5 January 1960.

on its athletic teams. President Wilkinson answered the charges candidly. He wrote to President Joseph Ray of the University of Texas-El Paso,

So that the record will be straight on this matter, may I inform you that we have consistently had a policy against discrimination at this University, and all Negroes who apply for admission and can meet the academic standards are admitted. . . . In point of fact, we have had Negro athletes on our track teams. However, since we have only one Negro family living in Provo (both the husband and wife of whom work in Salt Lake City) very few Negroes have ever applied for enrollment at this institution, although we do have some enrolled at the present time.²²

In spite of explanations, however, incidents began to occur which were designed to embarrass BYU and the LDS Church. There were demonstrations and protests when BYU played a football game against San Jose State, and the Black members of the team refused to participate in the game. A BYU Symphonic Band Concert was cancelled by a California high school because of alleged racism. Throughout the 1969-70 basketball season there were a number of ugly demonstrations at conference games and at the University of New Mexico an inflammable liquid was thrown on the playing floor. At Colorado State University, against the advice of President Wilkinson, who was present, CSU officials allowed dissidents to engage in a demonstration against BYU at halftime, which got out of control. The demonstration resulted in obscene language, vulgar gestures, and threatened physical injury to BYU cheerleaders and band members.

One of the most highly publicized events occurred at the University of Wyoming, when the Wyoming coach expelled 14 Black players from his team for the entire season because they threatened to wear black armbands during the football game with BYU as a protest against the Mormon Negro priesthood doctrine. The players brought suit against the university but the case was dismissed and the decision of the lower court was upheld when it was appealed.

Feelings intensified and student clubs combined with Black student alliances, ACLU members, and others to try to obtain BYU's expulsion from the Western Athletic Conference. Fortunately the reputation of BYU, its officials, its coaches, and its teams successfully aborted this campaign. Nevertheless, on 12 November 1969 President Kenneth Pitzer of Stanford suspended all future relations with BYU in any type of contest either athletic or nonathletic. BYU immediately responded with a news release prepared by Heber G. Wolsey, director of university relations:

The Stanford policy to drop BYU on a religious issue is as unfair as

22. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph Ray, 3 May 1968, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

it would be for Stanford to drop Notre Dame or Southern Methodist because their sponsoring religious organizations have doctrine contrary to the beliefs of certain pressure groups on the Stanford campus. . . . It has never been our policy at BYU to retaliate against unfair accusations, but we believe that the public is entitled to know our policy as it actually is, and not as it is interpreted by those who may not have taken the time to study it. . . . A thorough study by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare showed BYU to be in complete compliance with the Civil Rights Act. Furthermore, the official letter from the Civil Rights Director of the Department, dated 27 March 1969, stated: "We think you might like to know that we still consider Brigham Young as being one of the very finest schools we have visited."²³

Both BYU and Stanford received a flurry of letters concerning President Pitzer's announcement. Many of the letters were from non-Mormon Stanford alumni. All of the correspondence received by BYU deplored the action of Stanford's president. A number of Stanford alumni changed their yearly contributions from Stanford to BYU.

Others on the Stanford staff also commented unfavorably about it. After a visit by one of them to a professor of another institution the latter wrote to President Wilkinson,

Mr. [Roscoe] Tanner from Stanford was telling me how silly it really is. He says he cannot play BYU teams in tennis because of the Stanford ban on the Mormon school because of the negro priesthood thing. But his coach's wife — is LDS — at Stanford itself. Then the coach at UCLA is LDS. . . . Your [BYU's] best player Mincek — is a Catholic — so that means Tanner (who is Presbyterian) at Stanford, being coached by a man whose wife is LDS, cannot play a Catholic (Mincek) from BYU because of the priesthood squabble — but he can play any player (even though a Mormon) from UCLA which is coached by a Mormon — because UCLA administrators have not banned the Negroes from any Priesthood. That reads like a drunkard's explanation of income tax or something, doesn't it? P. S. Tanner can play all the U of U fellows — who are mostly LDS coached by an LDS — but not Catholics from the Y.²⁴

The criticism of Pitzer by Stanford's alumni on this and other matters became so intense that he resigned on 25 June 1970.

A similar crisis in connection with the University of Washington caused BYU to publish a full-page statement in the leading papers in Washington and Oregon citing the official policy of BYU and quoting the catalog of the institution to the effect that students of any race, creed, color, or national origin were accepted for admission to

23. Heber G. Wolsey, "News Release," 12 November 1969, box 516, folder 11, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

24. Paul Harmon to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 1 February 1971, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Brigham Young University. These full-page advertisements won the support of many Mormon and non-Mormon citizens in the Northwest.²⁵ As the tide of public opinion turned, the racism issue faded for lack of merit and substance, and BYU returned to its former cordial relations with institutions of higher learning throughout the country.

Athletic Standards

During the 13 years the Western Athletic Conference has been in existence, BYU's overall supremacy has been clear. At the conclusion of the 1974-75 school year BYU had won a total of 41 team championships. The University of New Mexico, BYU's closest rival, had won only 26. In 1971 the University's athletic balance was recognized nationally. A survey conducted by the daily newspaper at the University of Tennessee ranked BYU fourth in the nation in its sports program. The other three leading schools were all on the Pacific Coast.

BYU has also been recognized for its adherence to high standards among student participants and the coaching staff. President Wilkinson always informed coaches that although they could not be expected to win all their games the school did expect them to observe not only the standards of the school but the standards of the conference and the NCAA. When Wilkinson learned that a football coach helped players obtain off-campus work during the football season beyond what was allowed by the NCAA, his contract was immediately terminated. Wilkinson's swift action brought a response from the NCAA that if other presidents would take the same kind of action there would be little need for discipline from the NCAA. And to this date (1975) the school has not had any athletic scandal. The University has also acquired a solid reputation for good sportsmanship on the part of its fans. Occasionally there was a breach of courtesy when overzealous Cougar supporters expressed their disdain for an official's ruling or a visiting player's conduct, but generally speaking the BYU fans were and are well-known for the warm welcome they extend to visiting players and the hearty applause they give opposing teams for outstanding performances. This has been commented upon by officials and others.

25. A copy of this statement is contained in the appendices to Volume 4 of *Brigham Young University: The First Hundred Years*.

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Realizing Academic Aspirations

While the tremendous building program was underway at BYU during the 1950s and 1960s, some feared that little attention was being given to the academic development of the school. However, those close to the administration knew of the constant effort to upgrade scholastic quality. Hundreds of hours of interviews were being conducted to bring to the BYU campus the finest LDS teachers and scholars in the nation. From the outset Wilkinson insisted that the building program was only a means to academic achievement and spiritual growth. Competent and dedicated faculty and administration members struggled to preserve the friendly and personal qualities of a small school even while enrollment transformed BYU into the largest private university in America, making restructuring and expansion necessary in every college and department on campus. The record will show that the intellectual surge kept pace with and in some cases moved faster than the building program.

College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences

Prior to the Wilkinson administration the reputation of Thomas L. Martin had given the agricultural sciences at BYU a great boost. Growth in the College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences had been held back because there was a conscious effort by the Board of Trustees not to duplicate the excellent educational resources available at Utah State Agricultural College. However, President Wilkinson was determined to give greater impetus to the biological and agricultural sciences. After three years of effort Wilkinson succeeded in getting Clarence Cottam to leave the U.S. Department of Agriculture to become the new dean in place of Thomas L. Martin, who had retired. Although Dean Cottam stayed only a year, his presence gave considerable prestige to the college. He was followed by two acting deans, Raymond B. Farnsworth (1955 to 1958) and Merrill J. Hallam (1958 to 1960). In May 1960 Hallam unexpectedly died, cutting short an outstanding career.

In 1960 President Wilkinson appointed Rudger H. Walker, a scientist of international reputation who had been dean of the School of Agriculture at Utah State Agricultural College for 20 years, and also had served as director of the Agricultural Experiment Station at USU. During his tenure the Heber J. Grant Library was converted into a museum and exhibit center for the botanical and zoological laboratories, and two greenhouses were built. He also set up a cooperative program with the U.S. Forest Service for research projects. He helped plan the new life sciences buildings and was pleased to see one of the buildings named for his mentor, Thomas L. Martin. By the time of Walker's retirement in 1968 the college had witnessed its greatest growth in terms of academic programs and physical facilities.

Dean Walker was succeeded by A. Lester Allen, who received his doctorate from the University of California at Los Angeles and was chairman of the Department of Zoology at BYU from 1965 to 1968. He also worked on curriculum reorganization and strengthened the doctoral programs in botany, zoology, and microbiology, which had been authorized by the Board of Trustees in 1961. Through the years many loyal faculty members struggled to give this college the stature which they felt it deserved. For example, the Department of Zoology and Entomology was headed by Vasco M. Tanner for 33 years. His service spanned the administrations of five BYU Presidents. He was instrumental in establishing *The Great Basin Naturalist*, a professional journal which he edited for 29 years. Tanner also helped expand the department's collection of zoological specimens, which had an inventory of 5,000 mammals, 6,000 birds, and 650,000 insects in 1971.

Another branch of the college, the Department of Microbiology (formerly Bacteriology), has for many years had a higher rate of acceptance for its graduates in medical and dental schools than the national average.

The Department of Agronomy and the Department of Horticulture were merged in 1967 to strengthen a program dating back to the administration of President Cluff in the 1890s. Thomas L. Martin made a notable contribution in agronomy and trained some of the top soil scientists in the nation. When Martin earned his Ph.D. at Cornell, the dean of his college requested that he be appointed to the faculty. The president refused the appointment because Martin was a Mormon. Recruited by President Harris for BYU, his dynamic and totally enthusiastic approach inspired dozens of young men to obtain their doctorate degrees in agronomy. Near the end of his teaching career he was honored by the American Society of Agronomy as being the leading teacher of agriculture in America. This honor was bestowed because more of his students (over 100) had obtained doctorate degrees than those of any other teacher. At that time 75 were on the faculties of 32 universities in the United States and Canada — and one was dean of the School of Agriculture at Cornell University.

The Department of Agricultural Economics not only provided research in food industry marketing problems — it also included the BYU Indian Assistance Program under the direction of Lowell Wood. This service concerned itself with the economic development of Indians on reservations in the United States and Canada, and in the mixed populations of Mexico and South America.

The Botany Department was under the direction of Bertrand F. Harrison from 1935 to 1958. Acclaimed as a researcher, he was also an outstanding teacher, receiving the Karl G. Maeser Distinguished Teaching Award in 1966. Various chairmen who succeeded Harrison extended improvements he had initiated so that by 1971 the department had acquired an arboretum, an herbarium, a new greenhouse, fossil plant collections, and an electron microscope, including a Hitachi Hulle transmission electron microscope for botany research. In 1970 the name of the department was expanded to include range science, a discipline of growing importance at BYU.

In the Department of Animal Science, Phil Shumway, chairman from 1962 to 1974, worked to expand the BYU dairy and beef herds, poultry development, and the Dairy Products Laboratory. One of the great teachers during this period was Grant Richards. Prior to his sudden death in 1965, Richards taught for 20 years at BYU and at the time of his death his own herd was one of the leading prize-winning herds in the state. He had also helped develop the BYU dairy herd to a prize-winning level. He was a member of the board of directors of the Holstein-Frisian Association of America.

College of Business

The College of Business (formerly Commerce) benefited immensely from the leadership of dean William F. Edwards, who headed the college from 1951 to 1957, and Weldon J. Taylor, who succeeded him.¹ The Department of Accounting increased its faculty nearly two and one-half times between 1957 and 1974, and the number holding doctor's degrees multiplied nearly eight times. Of the 22 accounting faculty members, 19 are certified public accountants, and Robert J. Smith, who later became associate academic vice-president of BYU, led the nation in his score on the national examination for certified public accountants.

Beginning in 1958 with only one teacher on the faculty with a doctorate, by 1973 the Department of Business Education and Office Management had 12 teachers with doctorates and two with master's degrees.

Another department enjoying tremendous growth at this time was

1. Much of the material in this section is taken from Edward L. Christensen, "College of Business: A Century of Progress at BYU," 15 September 1973, typescript in BYU Archives.

the Department of Economics, which had followed the traditional nonmathematical approach to the study of economics until the advent of computers, when economics became much more mathematically oriented. Between 1957 and 1973 the undergraduate offerings in this department jumped from 5 courses to 24. The permanent full-time faculty increased approximately 250 percent, while the number of faculty with doctorates more than quadrupled.

The Business Management Department doubled its faculty between 1958 and 1973, and the number of those holding doctoral degrees tripled. The Master of Business Administration (MBA) program began in 1961, adding to the prestige of the graduate program of the College of Business.

In 1971 the College of Business organized the Department of Organizational Behavior. Seven teachers with doctor's degrees were aided by two professors from the Department of Psychology and two from Political Science. The Department of Organizational Behavior is devoted to studying human behavior problems relating to the urban-industrial complex.

The unique contribution of Mormons in higher education for business has been described by two respected scholars, David Riesman and Christopher Jencks: "With the possible exception of the Mormons, who have brought to higher education the same enormous communal zeal as to other activities in the state of Utah, no religiously oriented culture has so far managed to grapple with modern industrial society in the United States in a way that is satisfactory to the most sensitive and talented."²

College of Education

From the days of Karl G. Maeser, teacher training has been one of the mainstays of BYU academics. During the Wilkinson years many innovations greatly expanded the prestige and reputation of the BYU College of Education. Dean Antone K. Romney succeeded in having BYU's education program fully accredited by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education. He also organized a University Council which centralized the control of teacher certification. Among the most imaginative innovations of the college is the off-campus doctoral program, in which candidates are taught by BYU professors at off-campus bases during the school year and at BYU during summer sessions. Many non-Mormon educators have expressed high praise for this program. William Dressler, principal of the El Camino High School in Carmichael, California, wrote,

I have been involved in many educational experiences in my life. . . . Each demanded a special type of training and self-renewal

2. Nevitt Sanford, ed., *The American College* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964), p. 94.

that I finally found offered at this university. . . . It was a first real taste of a practical, realistic, humanistic learning experience. . . . Experiences at Brigham Young University have been inspiring, warm, life-developing, emerging happenings that have had impact in the lives of many people and programs.³

College of Family Living

This college was the first of its kind in the country, and its success is reflected by its growth: between 1954 and 1962 the number of students majoring in the college increased from about 200 to 950.⁴ The first dean, Marion Pfund, left a legacy of expansion and excellence to her successor, Jack B. Trunnell, who became dean in 1958. In 1961 Virginia Cutler replaced Trunnell. At this time 6,953 students were taking courses in the college. The College of Family Living was one of the largest home economics training centers in the nation.

In September 1966 Dean Cutler accepted a visiting professorship at the University of Ghana to establish a degree program in family living under the sponsorship of Cornell University. Blaine R. Porter, chairman of the Department of Child Development and Family Relationships, was appointed acting dean. The following year, when Dean Cutler resigned, Porter replaced her.

The Department of Child Development and Family Relationships has been one of the most popular and progressive departments in the college. By 1973 it operated 14 child development laboratory groups, two of them in public schools. From 1966 through 1972 the department awarded 90 graduate degrees, including 12 doctorates. In 1973, 22 faculty members served the department, 18 of them with doctor's degrees.

The Department of Clothing and Textiles has also made excellent progress, and in the 1972-73 school year there were 2,553 students enrolled, including 408 majors. A survey two years earlier showed that 70 percent of the graduates of this department were employed in fields related to their major.

New programs of study led to the development of the Department of Housing and Home Management, the Department of Food Science and Nutrition, and the Department of Interior Design. A new Department of Environmental Design under the dynamic leadership of Milo Baughman, offering majors in environmental landscape and urban design, was established in 1969.

College of Fine Arts and Communications

The cultivation and promotion of fine arts has been a tradition at

3. William Dressler to Curtis N. VanAlfen, 6 August 1974.

4. Much of the material in this section is taken from Virginia B. Poulson, "History of the College of Family Living," typescript in BYU Archives.

BYU since 1875.⁵ It began with Karl G. Maeser, who was serving as Tabernacle organist in Salt Lake City when called to Provo to preside over Brigham Young Academy. As principal he taught elocution, directed the choir, and insisted that every student pass a test in musical performance before graduation.⁶

Franklin S. Harris established the College of Fine Arts at BYU in 1925. Gerrit de Jong, Jr., was dean of the new college, the first of its kind in the intermountain states. De Jong served as dean for 34 years (1925 to 1959), during which time he became recognized as one of the great figures in the promotion of fine arts for the LDS Church and Brigham Young University.⁷

Dean de Jong was succeeded by Conan Mathews, who brought to the position his highly developed professional skills as a painter and art historian, along with unusual competence as an administrator. Mathews was president of Boise Junior College for three years and chairman of the BYU Art Department for four years. The construction of the Harris Fine Arts Center during his term of office was pivotal to the subsequent development of the college.

When Mathews retired in 1966 because of illness, Clawson Cannon served as acting dean until the appointment of Lorin F. Wheelwright in 1967. Wheelwright brought to BYU a rich background in fine arts. He had a Ph.D. in music from Columbia University and had served as a professional organist and pianist in New York City, professor and head of the music department of Oswego State Teachers College, and music supervisor of the Salt Lake City Schools for 13 years. He was also the head of a publishing company in Salt Lake City. He had been manager of the arts division for the Utah Centennial Commission in 1946-47 and was responsible for the events in art, drama, parades, music, and pageantry, including the musical *Promised Valley* (music by Crawford Gates, book and lyrics by Arnold Sundgaard). He therefore had experience in every department of the college, which is a rare qualification for a dean. After coming to BYU he helped establish the Mormon Festival of Arts as a campus tradition. By the time of Wheelwright's retirement in 1974 he had seen the college grow in size to approximately 2,500 majors and 125 full-time faculty. Upon his retirement that year Dean Wheelwright was appointed by President Dallin H. Oaks to plan and direct the BYU Centennial celebration. Lael J. Woodbury, chairman of the Department of Dramatic Arts, was ap-

5. Much of the material in this section is taken from Oliver R. Smith, "A History of the College of Fine Arts and Communications," unpublished typescript in BYU Archives.

6. James E. Talmage, "Founders Day Oration," *White and Blue*, 20 October 1915.

7. John R. Halliday served as acting dean during the 1947-48 academic year while de Jong was directing the United States Cultural Institute in São Paulo, Brazil.

pointed the new dean of this college, which had been expanded to include communications.

The Department of Communications had only 27 majors in 1950, but by 1971 there were 631. The new department encompassed the Department of Journalism, the broadcasting program (including radio and television), and advertising. J. Morris Richards, chairman of the department from 1967 to 1971, brought to the department many years of experience as a newspaper editor and publisher in Arizona.

An important segment of the college has always been the Department of Art, which for 17 years was headed by Bent F. Larsen, who retired to emeritus status in 1953 after having taught at BYU for 45 years. He lived to see the completion of the Harris Fine Arts Center, with its most prominent gallery named in his honor.⁸

The Department of Music has also been a prominent part of the school's tradition since 1875. Anthony Lund was taken from the music faculty to become Tabernacle Choir director in 1916. Richard Condie, who also served as Tabernacle Choir director (1957-74), was a graduate of this department and taught at BYU for one year. The present choir director (1975), Jerold Ottley, and his assistant, Donald H. Ripplinger, are also BYU graduates, and Ripplinger is a member of the BYU faculty. In 1965 Robert Cundick was recruited from the BYU faculty to serve as a Tabernacle organist.

Faculty members have contributed major works to the nation's musical literature. In 1947 LeRoy J. Robertson's symphony *Trilogy* won the Reichhold Award for the Western Hemisphere and a prize of \$25,000 from the Detroit Symphony. That same year he completed the *Book of Mormon Oratorio*. Other notable contributions include the Utah centennial musical *Promised Valley*, music for the Hill Cumorah Pageant, and *Sand In Their Shoes* (book and lyrics by Don Oscarson), all composed by Crawford Gates; *Son of Nephi* (lyrics taken from 2 Nephi 4: 16-35), by Robert Cundick; and *Restoration Oratorio* by Merrill Bradshaw. Faculty members have written anthems, hymns, symphonic works, instrumental collections, operettas, and a host of other works, including the famous song "Springtime in the Rockies" written by Robert Sauer at BYU in the 1920s.

Academically, the department developed much of its reputation under the chairmanship of John R. Halliday, who served from 1948 to 1960. Successors to Halliday include Crawford Gates (1960-66) and the present chairman, A. Harold Goodman.

The Opera Workshop was directed for 16 years by Don Earl, who produced 54 operas. The workshop was taken over in 1963 by Brandt Curtis and by Clayne W. Robison in 1973. The symphony orchestra enjoyed continuous growth and improvement under LeRoy J. Robertson, Lawrence Sardoni, Crawford Gates, and Ralph Laycock. The A

8. Larsen died in 1970 at the age of 87.

Cappella Choir prospered under such directors as Newell Weight and Ralph Woodward. BYU music education has come into national prominence under the leadership of A. Harold Goodman and James Mason, who has served on many national committees and as president of the Western Music Educator's Conference. The Department has received full accreditation by the National Association of Schools of Music and is authorized to offer a doctorate degree in music.

Another notable BYU personality in the fine arts, who added great strength to this college, was T. Earl Pardoe, who came to BYU in 1919 and began a lifelong career building the Department of Public Speaking and Dramatic Arts. In 1953, after 34 years, T. Earl Pardoe was retired from teaching. He was assigned to assist the Alumni Association, a position he held until his death in 1971. Because the phenomenal growth of speech and dramatic arts was built upon the foundation laid by Professor Pardoe and his wife, Kathryn, the large drama theatre of the Harris Fine Arts Center was named in their honor.

Another program that has received considerable attention is the Center for Speech Rehabilitation. The new Harris Fine Arts Center included a professionally designed clinic with observation rooms and large areas for group therapy.

The College of Fine Arts has been commended for the strong position it has taken on its moral responsibility to encourage the kind of theatre "that is consistent with the ideals of the gospel."⁹ At a time when commercial and campus productions across the nation were sinking to new depths of moral laxity the standards maintained by this college have made BYU a distinguished example of theatrical performance untarnished by obscene actions or profane language offensive to Christian ideals.

College of Humanities

The College of Humanities has the largest faculty of any college at Brigham Young University, with more than 140 full-time teachers supported by about 150 part-time teachers and student instructors. This college was not organized as a separate administrative unit until June 1965, although the two areas of study — English and foreign languages — have been an integral part of the University from the beginning.

Bruce B. Clark was appointed dean of the college, and in the fall of 1968, R. Max Rogers, a member of the German faculty since 1945 and a proven administrator in the language department, was appointed as assistant dean.

When the college was formed in 1965 it consisted of four areas: the Department of English, for many years the largest department on

9. Oliver R. Smith, "History of the Department of Speech and Dramatic Arts," unpublished typescript in BYU Archives.

campus, the Department of Languages, a small interdepartmental program in humanities, and another interdepartmental program in Latin-American Studies. Since then these areas have expanded into many active and excellent departments.

Six foreign language departments regularly offer courses in 28 modern and ancient languages. Another important part of the College of Humanities is the Language Research Center, where extensive research is done in developing computer-assisted language translation, an intercultural data bank, and other research and scholarly projects. In 1972 a Department of Linguistics was organized to study linguistic structures and provide specialized training in English for bilingual foreign students.

Since its organization in 1965, the College of Humanities has developed doctoral programs in English, French, German, and Spanish and master's programs in many other areas. The college has also helped Continuing Education develop overseas study programs in Austria, France, Spain, Israel, and England, and strengthen the summer residence program in Mexico.

College of Industrial and Technical Education

Brigham Young provided in the original Deed of Trust that "each of the boys who shall take a full course, if his physical ability will permit, shall be taught some branch of mechanism that shall be suitable to his taste and capacity."¹⁰ During the next 50 years this program did not get beyond the manual training level. Nevertheless, this type of instruction was encouraged by the completion of the Mechanic Arts Building in 1918, and during the Harris administration courses in auto mechanics, welding, and electricity were added to the industrial arts curriculum. For a short period there was also a course in industrial arts teacher education.

President Wilkinson, like President Harris, believed that college training should not be confined to the children of wealthy individuals who intended that their children would enter the professions, but that it should also be made available to artisans. Consequently, Wilkinson not only reinstituted the industrial arts teacher education program in 1952, he also encouraged the offering of additional technical courses as part of the BYU curriculum.

In 1966, after 91 years of continuous struggle for survival, the industrial and technical education program finally came into its own with the organization of the College of Industrial and Technical Education. Ernest C. Jeppsen was appointed dean. Jeppsen had taught industrial education courses at four different colleges in Utah and Hawaii and had served as a technical education specialist for the U.S.

10. Much of the material in this section is taken from Glade C. Bailey and Ernest C. Jeppsen, "Historical Report of the College of Industrial and Technical Education," April 1973, typescript in BYU Archives.

government in Panama, France, and the Philippines. He organized the college into three departments, including the Department of Industrial Education, the Department of Industrial Technology, and the Technical Institute.

From a small beginning the Industrial Education Department grew to become one of the leading industrial education departments in the nation. It was the first to be accredited by the National Engineers' Council for Professional Development, and the department received special recognition for a number of its innovative contributions, including the development of the hydrogen engine that won the antipollution award of the National Urban Vehicle Design Contest in Detroit, Michigan, in August 1972.

Because of increasing demand for technical craftsmen, BYU organized the Technical Institute in 1958. Most of its 25 programs were designed as two-year courses, but a student could generally continue in a four-year program without loss of time or credit if he so desired. From the time of its founding until 1973, more than 4,000 students enrolled in two-year associate degree programs in the Technical Institute. Of this number, 1,364 graduated with technical certificates and associate degrees, though an estimated 1,500 more completed the associate degree program and then transferred into four-year baccalaureate degree programs for their graduation. The attrition rate of students in the Technical Institute was lower and the placement of graduates higher than in BYU as a whole.

In 1968 the Air Force and Army ROTC units were attached to the College of Industrial and Technical Education. They are now part of the General College. Under the Oaks administration the College of Industrial and Technical Education was discontinued and the rest of its functions transferred to the new College of Engineering Science and Technology.

College of Nursing

The critical shortage of nurses throughout the United States has made the training resources of the BYU College of Nursing increasingly important. The greatest growth and maturation of this college came during the last 10 years of the Wilkinson administration, and the most important innovation during this decade came in September 1963, when the college adopted a two-year intensive training program for nurses desiring an associate degree. This was done at the urging of Beulah Ream Allen, M.D., who assumed the post of dean in 1961. Allen felt that the associate degree would not only fulfill a serious need for nurses but also provide an alternative for students who did not feel they could complete a four-year degree. Opposed at first by the National League of Nursing, the associate degree program was finally sanctioned and became an integral part of the College of Nursing.

The associate degree program was successful from the beginning

and by 1975 it had produced over 600 graduates. In many cases students who had obtained an associate degree in nursing continued and obtained their bachelor's degree under the four-year program. Therefore in 1973 the College of Nursing developed a "ladder" curriculum which permitted students to progress from a two-year to a four-year degree without interruption. By 1974, 801 students had graduated with a bachelor's degree from the College of Nursing.

College of Physical Education

The College of Physical Education was organized in 1954.¹¹ Only two deans served during the Wilkinson Administration — Jay B. Nash (1954-56) and Milton F. Hartvigsen (1956-73). Soon after President Wilkinson arrived, the facilities for physical education at BYU were greatly improved with construction of the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse. The completion in 1965 of the mammoth Stephen L Richards Physical Education Building gave the University one of the finest physical education centers in the country. These facilities, together with the football stadium completed in 1964, and the indoor tennis courts and the 23,000-seat Marriott Activities Center, gave the University what is probably the greatest plant for physical education, athletic performance and spectator observation of any university in America. Additional tennis and paddleball courts and auxiliary fields for intramurals were added in 1974 and 1975.

From 1954 to 1959 the curriculum of the Health Department more than doubled. An additional 27 undergraduate classes were added from 1959 to 1972. Special workshops were conducted on tobacco, drugs, alcohol, suicidology, mental hygiene, safety, and criminal and social justice. Between 1959 and 1972 enrollment increased from 2,848 to 8,800. In 1956 only one student was doing graduate work in health science, while 15 years later the number had increased to 69.

The Department of Recreation received tremendous impetus in 1956 when Israel C. Heaton was appointed department chairman. Under his direction the department emphasized courses in youth and adult service agencies such as boys clubs, camping education, park planning and development, sports, community and family recreation, dance, and therapeutic recreation. In 1968 Israel Heaton was appointed director of the Community School Regional Center, which grew out of a series of grants totalling almost \$500,000 from the Mott Foundation. The project has benefited Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and Nevada.

Another unique training center in the College of Physical Education is the Department of Youth Leadership, which is specifically designed to train LDS college men for a career of service to the Boy Scouts of

11. Much of the material in this section is taken from Clayne Jensen, coordinator, "History of the College of Physical Education at BYU, 1875 to 1972," unpublished typescript in BYU Archives.

America. The Youth Leadership Department also provides training for volunteer scouting service in the wards and branches of the Church. Royal Stone, deputy regional scout executive serving the four northwestern states and Alaska, resigned his position to organize the department. After four successful years of administering the department, Royal Stone resigned to accept a position with the head office of the National Council of Boy Scouts. Thane Packer was named his successor.

One of the outstanding features of the College of Physical Education has been the unusual attention given to women's physical education.¹² The Department of Physical Education—Women was under the leadership of Leona Holbrook, who completed a highly successful career of over 30 years of service between 1938 and 1972. Leona Holbrook was succeeded by Phyllis Jacobsen.

From the beginning of the Wilkinson administration students were urged to take regular physical exercise, and physical education credit is required for graduation. Next to the College of Religious Instruction and the Department of English, the Physical Education Department drew more students than any other department.

Along with intramural activities and intercollegiate athletics, the College of Physical Education sponsors extramural competition in soccer, volleyball, skiing, rugby, and lacrosse for men and basketball, field hockey, softball, volleyball, gymnastics, archery, badminton, bowling, golf, paddleball, tennis, track and field, swimming, and diving for women. These activities are becoming increasingly popular, both for participants and spectators.

College of Physical and Engineering Sciences

The Eyring Science Center had been completed prior to President Wilkinson's arrival at BYU, and in 1954 courses relating to physical and engineering sciences were organized into the College of Physical and Engineering Sciences. Steps were immediately taken to add distinguished scholars and researchers to the already fine faculty.

Harvey Fletcher was appointed dean and served for three years. He was succeeded in 1957 by Armin J. Hill. While serving with the Motion Picture Research Council in Hollywood Dr. Hill developed an improved stereoscopic motion picture system and designed the powerful projection system used in motion picture process work. During his administration as dean of Physical and Engineering Sciences at BYU, a new engineering and technology building, a nuclear reactor laboratory, an underground laboratory in physics, and a chemical stores building were built on campus.

The College of Physical and Engineering Sciences did extensive research in a number of areas during the Wilkinson years. The directors of research during the Wilkinson Administration were prominent

12. See Chapter 28 for more details of the women's athletic program.

scientists: Harvey Fletcher (1952-55), H. Tracy Hall (1955-67), Lane A. Compton (acting, 1967-70), and Leo P. Vernon (1970 to the present). Prior to coming to BYU Tracy Hall worked at the General Electric Research Laboratory in Schenectady, New York, where he successfully transformed ordinary graphite into a diamond, something scientists had been trying to do for more than 150 years. He invented a device called "The Belt," which could generate pressures of 2,000,000 pounds per square inch simultaneously with temperatures of 3,500 degrees fahrenheit. Since this invention became the property of General Electric, Hall went to work after coming to BYU and invented and patented the tetrahedral anvil press, also capable of making diamonds. Hundreds of scientists from all over the world have come to BYU to examine this device. As a result, since General Electric kept his first invention cloaked in secrecy, the science of high pressures at high temperatures spread to the world from BYU rather than from General Electric. More than 500 laboratories worldwide now work in this field, and approximately 1,500 research papers appear each year with BYU continuing to be a leader in the field. Hall has used his inventions for highly technical research in chemistry, physics, and geology, and he has received many awards for his pioneering work.

In 1967 Lane A. Compton became the acting director of research to permit Tracy Hall to devote his entire time to increased scientific research. Compton received his master's and doctor's degrees in educational administration from the University of Utah and served under Hall as assistant director of research for three years. During the next three years Compton was highly successful in obtaining a number of large research grants. External funding for BYU research projects doubled during this time.

In 1970 Leo P. Vernon was appointed director of research at BYU and has continued in that position to the present (1976). Vernon graduated from BYU in 1948 and obtained his doctorate from Iowa State University in 1951. His postdoctoral research was at the University of Wisconsin and Washington University in St. Louis before he came to BYU in 1954. Following a 1960 sabbatical leave at the Nobel Institute in Stockholm, Sweden, he became director of the C. F. Kettering Research Laboratory in Yellow Springs, Ohio, where he continued until returning to BYU.

The College of Physical and Engineering Sciences made tremendous growth during the Wilkinson years. In 1951 there were 20 members of the faculty who taught physical sciences. By 1971-72 the faculty of the physical and engineering sciences had increased to 185. Many of these faculty members have become notable in their fields either as scientists or great teachers. One of these is the much loved Wayne B. Hales, who graduated from BYU in 1916 and received his doctorate from the California Institute of Technology in 1926. After five years on the faculty of Ricks College, Hales became president of Snow College

(1921 to 1924) and, after subsequently spending four years at Weber College, came to BYU in 1930. He did not retire until 1972, having served his alma mater 42 years. Hales was chairman of the Diamond Jubilee Celebration at BYU in 1950, dean of the General College from 1958 to 1964, and chairman of the Physics Department from 1953 to 1958, and has probably been on as many committees and contributed as much to the overall progress of the University as any other person. At various times he has served as president of the Utah Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the Utah Conference on Higher Education.

College of Religious Instruction

Since the entire student body at BYU participates in some type of religious instruction, the work assigned to the Division of Religion became such a monumental task that in 1959 the BYU Board of Trustees authorized the creation of a College of Religious Instruction. President David O. McKay warned, however, "We must always remember at the BYU that religion is to be taught in any and all subjects and not confined to the College of Religion."¹³

Five academic departments were organized and David H. Yarn, Jr., was chosen as the first dean. Dean Yarn received his doctorate from Columbia University in 1958, and while teaching at BYU had been chairman of the Department of Theology and Religious Philosophy. During Yarn's tenure as dean the Board of Trustees made the Book of Mormon course mandatory for all students.

Due to illness, Yarn was released as dean in 1962 to be replaced by B. West Belnap. Under Dean Belnap's administration the faculty of the college increased from 31 to 41 and administrative work was reorganized. Roy W. Doxey served as chairman of the Department of Undergraduate Studies in Religion, while Chauncey C. Riddle became head of the Department of Graduate Studies in Religion. Dean Belnap brought instructional television into the college and had syllabi prepared for certain large basic courses. Dean Belnap underwent surgery for a brain tumor in May 1966 and died in January of the following year, a tragic loss to the college and the entire University.

Daniel H. Ludlow was appointed the new dean of the college. Dean Ludlow obtained his undergraduate degree at Utah State Agricultural College, where for two years he was studentbody president. He then earned his master's degree at the University of Indiana and his doctorate at Columbia. Ludlow was an excellent teacher, and because of his ability was awarded the first Danforth Fellowship ever given to a member of the LDS Church. In 1960 he was selected as BYU professor of the year and he received the Karl G. Maeser Award for Teaching Excellence in 1967. In 1955 Dean Ludlow taught the first televised Book of Mormon course offered by the college.

13. Richard O. Cowan, "A History of the College of Religious Instruction," October 1972, unpublished typescript in BYU Archives, p. 28.

In 1969 a separate Department of Philosophy was created, and a number of superbly trained young scholars joined the faculty.¹⁴

In 1971, Dean Ludlow was taken by the Church for a position in the correlation program,¹⁵ and Roy W. Doxey became dean. Doxey had been called at an early age to be head of the Eastern States Mission, and for many years authored texts for a study of the Doctrine and Covenants by the LDS Relief Society.

As much as any other college on campus, the College of Religious Instruction achieved popularity among the students as a whole. A large proportion of the professor of the year awards have gone to teachers from the College of Religious Instruction.

College of Social Sciences

For many years the social science departments of Archaeology, Geography, History, Political Science, Psychology, and Sociology were part of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences. In 1961 eleven courses in cultural and physical anthropology were added as well as an Institute of Government Service under the aegis of the Political Science Department. This was followed in the same year by the addition of an Asian Studies program, and by permitting a course of study in economics to be taken through this college as well as the College of Business. In the fall of 1964 two interdisciplinary programs, International Relations and Russian Studies, were instituted in the college.

In 1965 President Wilkinson received permission to organize a separate College of Social Sciences with John T. Bernhard, who was then Wilkinson's administrative assistant, as dean. A native of New York City, Bernhard obtained his bachelor's degree from Utah State Agricultural College in 1941, where he joined the LDS Church, and then earned his doctorate in political science from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1951. At the time of the establishment of the new college there were 73 faculty members teaching 315 courses. Bernhard resigned in 1968 to become president of Western Illinois University. He is now president of Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo.

In the 1970-71 academic year, Martin B. Hickman became the new dean of the College of Social Sciences, having obtained his bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees in political science from the University of Utah. He had also earned a master of public administration degree

14. The following members of the Philosophy Department faculty and the institutions from which they took degrees evidence the level of professionalism within the new department: David H. Yarn, Jr., Ed.D., Columbia, 1958; Chauncey C. Riddle, Ph.D., Columbia, 1958; Truman G. Madsen, Ph.D., Harvard, 1960; C. Terry Warner, Ph.D., Yale, 1967; Noel B. Reynolds, Ph.D., Harvard, 1970; and Dennis F. Rasmussen, Ph.D., Yale, 1970.

15. From the beginning Dean Ludlow became a great help to the Church authorities, and is now director of correlation review in the Correlation Department.

from Harvard. He served for seven years in the United States Foreign Service in West Germany and Hong Kong, and was a member of the faculty of the University of Southern California for six years. By the time Hickman took over as dean, the college employed 115 faculty members and offered nearly 500 courses at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Programs for both master's and doctor's degrees had been developed in many areas in the college. Several members of the faculty had published articles and some texts in their various fields.

General College

By 1965 BYU had attracted more Indian students to its campus than any other university in the nation. It was the goal of the University to encourage them in every possible way and give them special assistance wherever it was needed. Indian students, however, were not the only ones having to make the adjustment to university life, and it was decided that all students who requested special attention should be given an opportunity to break into college work at an initial level somewhat less intense than other students. Accordingly, in June 1965 the General College was created with Lester B. Whetten as the first dean. He immediately undertook several studies, and by 1966 the Dean's Council decided that the General College would establish a two-year associate degree program in general education adapted to the needs of students electing to enroll in the college. The faculty assigned to the college were teachers of demonstrated ability.

In 1966 Dale Goodson was hired to supervise the guidance program and teach a newly created noncredit orientation course. The class reviewed the offerings of each BYU college, and related occupations were discussed to assist students in choosing a college major early in their academic careers. Tutoring services were also coordinated by this department. More than 500 students each year have utilized these services at a cost of about two dollars per hour for tutoring help. Some student tutors, particularly those in the honors program, have offered free tutoring.

Because so many students enter college with undetermined majors, provision was made early in the Wilkinson Administration for a Department of Provisional Registration, later called Career Orientation. This department was assigned to the General College in 1965, at which time it enrolled more than 2,400 students, and the number has remained consistently high since that time.

Attempting to consolidate all the services dealing with Indian students, Dean Whetten created the Department of Indian Education in 1966 with Royce Flandro as chairman. This department was designed to give Indian students specialized education, assist in recruiting Indian students, help those presently enrolled acquire grants and scholarships, provide proper counseling, and help students find housing and jobs.

The General College, now called the College of General Studies, also includes the Air Force and Army ROTC units. The Air Force ROTC program began in 1951, and proved to be an outstanding success from the start. The Army ROTC program at BYU began in 1967 under the direction of Colonel David R. Lyon. Upon Lyon's retirement in 1972, Colonel Bartley E. Day became chairman of the Department of Military Science (Army ROTC).

BYU now has the largest all-voluntary Army ROTC unit in the United States, having commissioned 515 cadets in its first seven years. Because of his support for the AROTC and his numerous patriotic addresses throughout the country, Ernest L. Wilkinson was awarded the Outstanding Civilian Service Medal by the Department of the Army in 1972. By 1975 BYU was producing more Army ROTC graduates than any other nonmilitary university in the country — surpassed only by the Virginia Military Institute and Texas A & M.¹⁶ BYU's Air Force ROTC is the fifth largest unit in the country, and while ROTC units at other universities are declining BYU's program is growing.

Through the years the General College has been extremely valuable as a means of recouping and stimulating students who, through neglect or indifference, could have been lost. The future will continue to provide additional opportunity for specialized programs and accelerated learning techniques to help students with unusual needs.

Graduate School

Work in graduate studies at BYU began in 1921 with Christen Jensen serving as chairman of the Graduate Division. A formal organization of the Graduate School occurred in 1929, and Jensen was appointed dean, a position he held until his retirement in 1949. Asahel D. Woodruff, his successor, received his doctorate from the University of Chicago in 1941 and for eight years was director of the Bureau of Educational Research at Cornell University.

In 1954 George H. Hansen was given a two-year appointment as dean of the Graduate School under a new policy of rotation. Hansen received his doctorate from George Washington University in 1925 and served as chairman of the Department of Geology from 1928 to 1954.

In 1957 Dean Hansen was succeeded by A. Smith Pond, who received his doctorate from Northwestern University in 1942 and served as chairman of the Department of Economics at BYU from 1952 to 1955. He had been president of the Utah Conference on Higher Education and acting dean of the College of Humanities and Social

16. Address of Brigadier General Wilfred K. G. Smith to commissioning class of BYU Army ROTC, 14 August 1975, Army ROTC files, BYU Archives.

Sciences in 1955. After a tenure of only a few months, Pond suffered a heart attack and died on 2 April 1959. George H. Hansen served as acting dean during the summer of 1959, and Stewart L. Grow was appointed acting dean for the 1959-60 school year. Grow received his doctorate from the University of Utah in 1954 and served as the first chairman of BYU's Political Science Department from 1956 to 1961. He was instrumental in founding the highly successful Institute of Government Service and served as its director from 1961 to 1970. In 1959 he was BYU professor of the year.¹⁷

When President Wilkinson came to BYU, less than half of the faculty held doctorates, which made it difficult for the Graduate School to receive the needed guidance and instruction. By 1960 the administration felt that the faculty had been strengthened sufficiently on the graduate level to give the Graduate School increased responsibility. To carry out this assignment Wesley P. Lloyd was appointed dean. He obtained his doctor's degree from the University of Chicago in 1937 and then joined the BYU faculty, serving as dean of students from 1945 until his appointment as dean of the Graduate School. During the next nine years the Graduate School made substantial progress under his direction.

The Graduate School received authority to begin doctoral programs in 1957 and thereafter these were inaugurated as follows: Church history and doctrine, Ancient Scriptures, child development and family relations, chemistry, educational administration, geography, history, music, sociology, psychology, physics, educational psychology in 1960; microbiology, botany, range sciences, zoology in 1961; French, Italian, Germanic languages, Spanish, Portuguese in 1963; dramatic arts in 1965; and English in 1969. The Board of Trustees also authorized the establishment of master's degree programs in business administration and industrial education in 1960; the Institute of Government Service in 1961; accounting in 1962; Asian studies, Latin American studies, and statistics in 1963; art, health, safety education and recreation education in 1964; music, library science, and engineering science in 1965; linguistics in 1966; industrial education and civil engineering in 1967; and community school leadership, comparative literature, and community disorders in 1969. Master's programs for civil, electrical, and mechanical engineering were later approved.

Dean Lloyd established regular meetings of the graduate deans of BYU, Utah State University, and the University of Utah. The Graduate School became a member of the Council of Graduate Schools in the United States and continued its active role in the Western Association of Graduate Schools. Lloyd resigned in 1969 to become dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at the new International Univer-

17. In 1970 Grow was given the Karl G. Maeser Award for Teaching Excellence. He was also honored with the special academic rank of Distinguished Professor, making him one of only four persons so designated.

sity in San Diego, California, and Chauncey C. Riddle was appointed the new dean. With both his master's and doctor's degrees from Columbia University in philosophy of science, and with extensive administrative and outstanding teaching experience at BYU, Dean Riddle was considered a wise choice to head the Graduate School. Many innovations have been made under Riddle's administration and the Graduate School has continued to make progress.

At Brigham Young University, a total of 9,331 master's degrees have been awarded between 1918 and 1975, and 882 doctoral degrees conferred between 1960 and 1975.

Faculty Evaluation

When the Wilkinson administration began with a faculty of around 200, it was a relatively easy matter for the President — under instructions from his Board of Trustees — to alone determine salaries and, in doing so, evaluate relative merit. Since he knew most of the faculty and could talk with chairmen and deans about each one individually, he was reasonably confident of his ability to evaluate their services and to decide the amount of their salaries. As the faculty grew, however, this became increasingly difficult. More and more the President had to rely on the evaluations of deans and chairmen in making his salary determinations.

By 1964 the faculty was so large that a permanent organization was set up to appraise the competence and effectiveness of each teacher. Stephen Alley of the College of Education was placed in charge of this project. Under his supervision, student as well as administrative evaluations were made of each teacher. Attempts to have a supplementary appraisal by the teacher's peers, however, never became very effective since few teachers felt that they had either the information or inclination to judge their co-workers.

After examining questionnaires used by other universities to gather student evaluations of their teachers, Alley developed a rather careful instrument which combined the best features of those which were reviewed. With this information, and the explicit comments of deans and department chairmen, Alley then met with President Wilkinson and the academic vice-president, at first Earl C. Crockett, then Robert K. Thomas, to make his final recommendations. For a while this procedure was carried out for every teacher on a yearly basis. Later, only new faculty members received such extensive examination; others were reviewed on a three-year cycle.

President Wilkinson, the academic vice-president, and Stephen Alley were always aware that student evaluations were questionable on several counts. For instance, few students had a good basis for comparing teacher effectiveness, and many were inclined to give a high rating to faculty members who entertained them. By the time they were

upperclassmen, however, many of the students were at least as critical as deans and department chairmen. Thus, evaluations by senior students, the estimates of deans, and the explicit review of department chairmen were given about equal weight in a final determination. To be sure that he was not overlooking evidence that these procedures did not unearth, during the last years of his administration Wilkinson also met with the faculty of each college to discuss their work. Occasionally this gave him an insight into an individual teacher that he could gain in no other way.

Over several years Wilkinson was struck by the fact that most students took their opportunity to rate teachers very seriously. For several years he had each graduate at the time of graduation list his best teachers. Invariably they were the ones generally known on campus as the "toughest." He felt that this was a tribute to both teachers and students.

The wide range of teaching effectiveness identified by students and acknowledged by deans and department chairmen had at least one unmistakable effect on President Wilkinson: it reinforced his opposition to standardized salaries at any academic level. Attempts to set lock-step salary schedules seemed to him to reward incompetence and ignore merit. While appropriations for faculty salaries limited his ability to make the discriminations he always hoped to bring about, Wilkinson never gave up on his efforts to recognize and reward superior teaching. Upon the appointment of Stephen Alley as dean of the College of Education, the evaluation project was headed by Bertrand Harrison and, later, by Hugh Baird, but emphasis on finding objective ways to identify the best teachers at BYU remained at the heart of this evaluative effort.

32

The Key to Financial Stability: Tithes and Offerings

One of the distinguishing characteristics of Brigham Young University is its method of financing. While most churches have relinquished financial support of the American universities they founded, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints continues to largely finance the operation of BYU with Church tithing funds. In that way it retains control of BYU, while other denominations have lost control of the institutions they founded. This carries out the revelation recorded in Doctrine and Covenants 78:14: "Notwithstanding the tribulation which shall descend upon you . . . the church may stand independent above all other creatures beneath the celestial world." This philosophy of operation is based on Brigham Young's idea that schools should be founded and supported by churches so that the word of God could be taught alongside the learning of man.¹ This philosophy of independence from government accords with the views of most of the founders of the United States, who feared that the welfare clause in the Constitution might be misinterpreted to allow the federal government control over religion and education and to impose its political views on school children. As stated by James Madison,

If Congress can apply money indefinitely to the general welfare, and are the sole and supreme judges of the general welfare, they may take the care of religion into their own hands; they may establish religious teachers in every State, county, and parish and pay them out of the public treasury; they may take into their own hands the education of youth, establishing, in like manner, schools throughout the Union: . . . It would subvert the foundation and transmute the very nature of the limited government established by the people of America.²

In our own day these fears have become a partial reality as federal

1. While this would have placed a large burden on churches, it would also allow decreases in taxes.
2. William C. Rives, *History of the Life and Times of James Madison*, three vols., (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1868), 3:237. See also *Annals of Congress, 1791-1793*, pp. 385-89.

funding of American education has served as a means to impose federal political and sociological policies upon local school boards. This has been made possible by the decision of the Supreme Court that "the United States may regulate that which it subsidizes."³ However, the policy of Brigham Young University has been to maintain complete control of its funding resources in order to insure its integrity in the purposes for which the school was founded.

The Tradition of Church Schools

Higher education in the United States began with church schools. Nine colleges were founded during the colonial period, and all nine were sponsored by religious sects. The first of these, Harvard College, was founded in 1636 by John Harvard, a Puritan who left a large part of his fortune in trust for "the education of others that they might better serve their God." The main goal of the college was to teach its students "to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life."

In 1701, 65 years after the establishment of Harvard, Elihu Yale, noting that the ministerial graduates of Harvard were becoming liberal and secular in their approach to religion, founded Yale University to give scholars an opportunity to study at a more fundamentally religious institution. Thomas Clap, one of the earliest presidents of Yale, adhered to the original tenets of that school by saying, "Colleges, are *Religious Societies*, of a Superior Nature to all others."⁴ As late as 1937, Yale president Charles Seymour tried to perpetuate the spirit of religion at that institution. In his inaugural address he said,

I call on all members of the faculty, as members of a thinking body, freely to recognize the tremendous validity and power of the teachings of Christ in our life and death struggle against the forces of selfish materialism. If we lose that struggle, judging from the present events abroad, scholarship as well as religion will disappear.⁵

Jonathan Edwards, the president of Princeton University, which was organized by Presbyterians in 1746 as the College of New Jersey, said that since the main design of colleges should be to train for the ministry, they should resolutely be "*schools of the prophets*" to prepare persons to be "*ambassadors of Jesus Christ*."⁶

Senator and Mrs. Leland Stanford established Stanford University

3. *Ivanhoe Irrigation District vs. McCracken*, 357 U.S. 275 (1958), citing *Wickard v. Filburn*, 317 U.S. 111, 131 (1942).

4. Thomas Clap, "The Religious Constitution of Colleges, Especially of Yale-College in New-Haven" (New London, Conn., T. Green, 1754), p. 4.

5. William F. Buckley, Jr., *God and Man at Yale* (Chicago, Henry Regnery Company, 1951), p. 2.

6. Jonathan Edwards, *Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England*, 1740 (New York: The American Tract Society, n.d.), pp. 419-21.

as a memorial to a son and expressly provided in the deed of trust that this school was established to teach “that there is an all-wise, benevolent God, and that the soul is immortal.”⁷ Other prominent universities which were established as denominational schools include Columbia University (originally King’s College), Notre Dame, University of Chicago, Northwestern University, Baylor University, Southern Methodist University, Texas Christian University, and Brigham Young University.

The Decline of Denominational Colleges and Universities

At the beginning of the 20th century 146,903 students attended privately controlled institutions of higher education in the United States, most of which were founded by churches, while only 90,689 students attended publicly controlled institutions of higher learning.⁸ This meant there were nearly two students in private institutions for every student in public institutions. By 1974 there were only about 2,200,000 students in private schools compared to 7,400,000 in public institutions, a ratio of more than three to one in favor of the public institutions.⁹

Today most private institutions, not being supported by taxes, charge such high tuition and fees — some over \$4,000 a year — that the ordinary student cannot afford to enroll in them.¹⁰ On the other hand, taxes for support of public schools have become so high (in Utah over 50 percent of state taxes goes to the support of public schools) that many taxpayers feel they have insufficient money left to make contributions to their churches for the support of private schools. A 1966 Danforth Foundation report on church-sponsored higher education concluded that the average amount of church financial support is a meager 13 percent of the individual school budget. Roman Catholic schools receive the least amount of financial support from the parent church, although most major Protestant denominations rarely provide a major proportion of their schools’ total expenses. The Danforth report noted,

The most urgent financial need of the church institutions is for an increase in current income — that is, funds for general support of the educational program. . . . In most cases official church support is entirely inadequate. Noteworthy exceptions are the Lutheran

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7. Leland Stanford, “Mr. Stanford’s Address,” given to the Board of Trustees of Stanford University, 14 November 1885, in “The Leland Stanford, Junior, University” (pamphlet issued upon the founding of Stanford University, 1885), p. 31.
 8. Seymour E. Harris, *A Statistical Portrait of Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972), p. 926.
 9. W. Vance Grant and C. George Lind, *Digest of Educational Statistics* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 77.
 10. Some of these tuitions will be given later in this chapter.

Church — Missouri Synod, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) which have provided generous appropriations for their institutions.¹¹

Furthermore, many parents observe that denominational universities and colleges are becoming so thoroughly secularized that there is little advantage in sending their students to church schools. The Danforth report vigorously warned that failure to adequately finance church schools invited government funding with the consequent ideological adulteration of church schools.¹²

Secularization of Church Schools

The declining identification of universities with their parent churches is part of what noted American historian Henry Steele Commager refers to as “steady secularization.” Said Commager,

The Church itself confessed to a steady secularization: as it invaded the social and economic fields, it retreated from the intellectual. Philosophy, which for over two centuries had been almost the exclusive property of the clergy, slipped quietly from their hands. . . . No longer did the Protestant churches control higher education. Denominational colleges, to be sure, still flourished, particularly in the South, but it was beyond the competence of the most subtle students to discover the religious implications of those affiliations for such institutions as Harvard, Yale, Columbia, or Chicago Universities. In 1840 the president of every important college in the country was a clergyman or trained to the church; a century later no clergyman adorned the presidential chair of any of the leading institutions of learning.¹³

Most church schools have become so secularized that, even though they are still in some instances partially supported by the churches which brought them into being, they no longer have the teaching of Christianity as their purpose and function, let alone the tenets of the Church which founded them.¹⁴ In acknowledging total defeat in this

11. Manning M. Pattillo, Jr., and Donald M. MacKenzie, *Eight Hundred Colleges Face the Future: A Preliminary Report of the Danforth Commission on Church Colleges and Universities* (St. Louis: The Danforth Foundation, 1965), p. 22. The chancellor of a church-sponsored university in a neighboring state reported to Wilkinson that the contribution of the sponsoring church was less than the contribution of a member of the LDS Church in his community to BYU.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 58. The predictions of the authors of the Danforth Report have already been fulfilled. The regulations of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare preclude the use of federal funds for any purpose that touches on religion.
13. Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 167.
14. See Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 4 Vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 1:558-69.

ideological struggle a study sponsored by Harvard University in 1968 endeavored to rationalize the poverty of spiritual values in American education. The Harvard report discarded religion as a potential source of the desired unifying purpose and idea of education and concluded, "But whatever one's views, religion is not now for most colleges a practicable [or desirable, the report urges throughout] source of intellectual unity."¹⁵

Shortly after completing his graduate studies at Yale, William F. Buckley wrote *God and Man at Yale*. In this book he described the complete abandonment of the philosophy and faith of its founder and pointed out that, "While a great many of the young men come to Yale imbued with a religious philosophy, they go away completely apostate as far as their faith is concerned." Buckley concluded by quoting president John S. Nason of Swarthmore College: "It is small wonder that a majority of students will go their way, troubled perhaps and a little uneasy in the absence of answers, upon the assumption that religion does not matter."¹⁶

Financial Uniqueness of Brigham Young University

The main difference between most institutions of higher learning founded for religious purposes and Brigham Young University is that Brigham Young University has not apostatized from the faith of its founder. It is still a wholly owned subsidiary of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Its Board of Trustees is composed of the highest leadership of the Church. Its purpose continues to be the one Brigham Young stated in the Deed of Trust. It is still dedicated to, supportive of, and dependent upon the teachings of Jesus Christ.

Even before the Articles of Incorporation were adopted in 1896 BYU looked to the Church for financial support. This support was meager but it kept the school alive. Since its incorporation BYU has been supported almost entirely by Church funds and tuition. Because the Church has generally supplied about two-thirds of the operating costs of the University, tuition rates and fees have been kept remarkably low. When President Wilkinson came to BYU, tuition and fees were only \$150 per year. These gradually increased because of inflation, increased salaries, a tremendous increase in the cost of maintaining new facilities, and the expense of providing improved educational opportunities for the student body. Twenty years later tuition and fees amounted to \$600 for members and \$900 for nonmembers. In 1976 tuition and fees increased to \$720 for Mormons and \$1,080 for nonmembers each year, compared with the tuitions and fees of the following universities:

15. *General Education in a Free Society* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 39.

16. Buckley, *God and Man at Yale*, p. 35.

University	1974-75 Tuition
Yale	\$4,050
Princeton	3,900
Amherst College	3,795
Columbia	3,650
Brandeis	3,550
Harvard	3,400
University of Southern California	3,266
Chicago	3,225
Notre Dame	3,000
Southern Methodist	2,450
Texas Christian	2,425 ¹⁷

While figures for 1975-76 tuition costs are unavailable, it is estimated that increases will be far above the present inflation rate of about ten percent.¹⁸

For many years BYU charged the same tuition and fees for both Mormon and non-Mormon students. However, beginning in 1964 it was felt that since so much of the operating expense of the University is paid by Church tithing funds, it was only fair that non-Mormon students be asked to pay a fee about 50 percent larger. The bulk of non-Mormon educational costs are still borne by the Church.

Room and board of \$825 per year at BYU is also very reasonable when compared with \$1,745 at Harvard, \$1,600 at Yale, \$1,460 at the University of Chicago, and \$1,200 at Notre Dame as of 1973.¹⁹

Student fees pay for the operation of student government, various student programs, health services, publications, physical education uniforms and equipment, extramural programs, and operation of the Wilkinson Center. In addition, a building fee which is a part of the tuition and fees has been the chief source of funds for the construction of the Ernest L. Wilkinson Center, the football stadium, the J. Willard Marriott Center, and the recent addition to the bookstore. While tithing funds have been the main source of funds for the construction of educational buildings, they have sometimes been supplemented by student fees or gifts of friends.

Fighting Federal Aid

Because of the ever-mounting federal debt and the governmental regulation that inevitably follows the acceptance of government funds, BYU has struggled fiercely to maintain the school's financial independence. One of the most distinctive characteristics of BYU during and since the Wilkinson era was its refusal to accept direct federal gifts and

17. "Tuition and Fees at Over 1,300 Colleges," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 31 March 1975.

18. Pamela Swift, "Up and Up," *Parade Magazine*, 1 February 1976, p. 1.

19. James Cass and Max Birnbaum, *Comparative Guide to American Colleges*, 6th ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp. 73, 256, 757, 124, 481.

subsidies. From 1951 to 1972 federal aid to education increased from about \$2,200,000,000 in 1951 to almost \$21,000,000,000 in 1972.²⁰

The Church was so concerned about pending Federal legislation providing additional billions for educational aid (and that much more indebtedness to the nation) that Ernest L. Wilkinson was asked to prepare and forward to Washington an official statement on the matter. The statement, which was read into the *Congressional Record*, enumerated seven reasons for the Church's opposition to federal aid. The first reason given was that federal aid to education is inconsistent with the traditions of our country and at least the spirit of our Constitution. Second, Wilkinson argued that the acceptance of these funds could easily result in federal control of American political thinking. Wilkinson quoted Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University for 44 years:

Once more to tap the federal treasury under the guise of aiding the states, and once more to establish an army of bureaucrats in Washington and another army of inspectors roaming at large throughout the land, will not only fail to accomplish any permanent improvement in the education of our people, but it will assist in effecting so great a revolution in our American form of government as one day to endanger its perpetuity. The true path of advance in education is to be found in the direction of keeping the people's schools closely in touch with the people themselves. . . . Unless the school is both the work and the pride of the community which it serves, it is nothing.²¹

Wilkinson's third argument was that the states were showing their ability to handle school needs, while the federal government was in no financial position to undertake further fiscal obligations.²² His fourth point was closely related to the third: federal aid would probably soon blossom into an unwieldy colossus. The fifth contention was that the

20. Figures for 1951 from Seymour E. Harris, *A Statistical Portrait of Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972) pp. 619, 640; 1972 figures from U.S. Bureau of the Census, 95th ed., *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1974* (Washington, D.C., 1974), p. 247.

21. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Statement of Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson, Administrator of the Unified School System of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and President of Brigham Young University, on the Question of Federal Aid to Education," 23 May 1961, p. 25, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers, BYU Archives.

22. By 1960 federal indebtedness for present and accrued liabilities totalled \$750,000,000,000, which is the equivalent of \$4,100 for every man, woman and child in the United States; Wilkinson, "Statement on Federal Aid to Education," pp. 18-19. By 1961, federal liabilities, including payments for services already rendered and goods already delivered, exceeded \$1,000,000,000,000 which is more than \$5,000 for every man, woman, and child; personal correspondence with Maurice Stans, director of the Budget, and U.S. Representative Otto E. Passman, chairman of the House Sub-committee in charge of foreign appropriations.

kind of federal aid then being proposed would slow down the remarkable progress being made by states and local communities. The variations in capacity to pay among the states were rapidly narrowing and, while inequities still existed, these were rapidly decreasing.

His sixth point was that federal aid would wrest control from local communities and state governments.²³ And the seventh and final argument was that large federal aid programs would destroy local initiative and creativity.²⁴

Some criticized BYU for rejecting such government assistance as the student loan program; however, strong commendation came from many others. An editorial in the Oakland, California, *Tribune* stated, "Brigham Young University has established a pattern that is commendable, one that is courageous as well as meeting the demands of common sense."²⁵ Similar sentiments were expressed in an editorial in the Tucson, Arizona, *Daily Citizen*:

The Mormon Church . . . has just set a fresh example of the kind of independence and self-help which has won such respect and admiration for the church and its members. . . .

Brigham Young University . . . rejected the federal student loan program under the National Defense Education Act.

They did not stop there, however. They set up a student loan system of their own for Mormon students, allowing for a maximum borrowing over the college years of \$2,200 and bearing 3 per cent interest until repayment. Deserving BYU students will not suffer for lack of financial aid in completing college.

It must be a shock to the aid advocates, and a proud satisfaction to a group like the Mormon Church and even their admirers, when at least in one instance a Brigham Young University comes along and says, "No, thank you! we'll take care of our own needs ourselves!"²⁶

University Loan Fund

The Brigham Young University loan fund was administered by O. Wendle Nielsen, who had been executive vice-president of National Drug Company (now Richardson-Merrill) in Philadelphia. Wilkinson thought that the management of a fund of this nature required busi-

23. President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., wrote Wilkinson on 27 March 1961, "There is an old 'saw' which, as I recall, runs somewhat like this: 'He who pays the fiddler calls the dance.' I think education should, as nearly as possible, be within the control of parents. I am against anything that would remove it from that control. This, I am sure, will express my feeling about putting the maintenance of schools, whether great or small, under Federal aid."

24. Wilkinson, "Statement on Federal Aid to Education," p. 24.

25. "Federal Aid Rejected," *Oakland Tribune*, 31 July 1959.

26. "Mormons Will Handle Own Student Aid, Thank You!" *Tucson Daily Citizen*, 29 July 1959.

ness experience rather than academic training. When students applied for loans Nielsen counseled with them, and in some cases students found that a loan was not necessary. The loan fund was a great success. From 1959-60, when Nielsen took over the management of this program, to 1970-71, a total of 9,960 long-term loans were made — payable after a student graduated — aggregating \$3,172,492. During the same time, 32,335 short-term loans were made — payable during the semester — aggregating \$4,303,246. These constituted a total of 42,295 loans for a total of \$7,475,738.²⁷ The average long-term loan per semester was \$319. The average short-term loan was \$133.

Uncollectible loans were less than one percent of the total amounts loaned — a remarkable record.²⁸ In contrast to this, the U.S. Office of Education reports a default rate of about 19 percent on the Federal Student Loan Program, and the General Accounting Office estimates the default rate will reach 24.3 percent. This means that nearly “one out of five students won’t or can’t pay back money advanced for an education.”²⁹ According to the Consumer Bankers Association, the default rate on loans to vocational and proprietary school students is more than 40 percent. Since 1973 more than 2,000 students a year have taken out bankruptcy to avoid paying off government loans.³⁰

A Tempting Offer

In 1963 Congress passed the Educational Facilities Act which established a program to give institutions of higher education \$230,000,000 a year for three years primarily for construction and renovation of buildings. BYU’s share would have come to \$750,000 a year. If BYU did not accept the money, the amount would go to the state and be divided among the state institutions of higher learning.³¹

It was a tempting offer. Initially some Board members felt that the school could accept the money to build a power plant or stadium or to expand student housing or some other off-campus facility which had no relation to religious teaching. Others suggested that since these funds came from the people, the Church membership could accept the idea of having some of their tax money returned to help BYU. Finally, one or two felt that since BYU was not restricted to LDS students, the school could accept these grants in good conscience. But in the end the Board of Trustees unanimously opposed the acceptance of these funds, and sent President Wilkinson to Washington to appear before

27. Memorandum from Douglas J. Bell to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 11 June 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

28. Memorandum from Wendle Nielsen to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 13 June 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

29. “Student Deadbeats — Alarming Rise in Loan Defaults,” *U.S. News & World Report*, 23 June 1975, p. 55.

30. *Deseret News*, 28 April 1975.

31. BYU Board of Trustees Minutes, 15 August 1963, BYU Archives.

congressional committees and publicly oppose the act. But in view of the deficit spending philosophy of the Congress at that time, opposition was of no avail.

Assistance to Government rather than Acceptance of Subsidies

Although BYU does not accept federal subsidies or governmental aid, there are two areas where BYU assists the government. First are the federally sponsored research projects for which BYU teachers give service equivalent in value to the compensation received. Wilkinson explained this policy as follows:

At Brigham Young University we have refused to apply for any outright federal grants or loans even though available to us. We have also rejected matching grants available under the federal scholarship program. We have, however, permitted our teachers to apply for research grants because we believe they will give an honest quid pro quo for moneys received. At the same time, we have been concerned about the growing liberality and scope of the various research programs of the government; hence we reserve the right to refuse participation in those future projects wherefrom we may derive more benefit than the value we can contribute.³²

The second situation in which BYU assists the Federal Government is the maintenance of ROTC programs, which are linked to national defense and security. By accepting ROTC, BYU is adhering to its own tradition of loyalty to the nation and support for the cause of liberty and American self-protection. While the government supplies the cost of operation, the school supplies the facilities. The school also, with some reservations, participated in the GI Grants Benefits Program because it did not involve any subsidy to the Church and was a relationship between the government and the individual veteran. But apart from governmental obligations to veterans, the University advised against other grants to students.

The Destiny Fund

The Wilkinson era began with no established fund-raising program, but by 1955 it became apparent that BYU alumni and friends of the University would have to supplement the resources of the Church in order to provide the needed facilities called for by its expanding programs. In the same year Harvard University, with 10,406 students, had an endowment fund of \$450,000,000. Yale, with 7,500 students, had \$216,000,000.³³ The endowment fund at BYU totalled less than

32. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Glenn E. Snow, 15 May 1963, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers, BYU Archives.

33. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 6 February 1958, BYU Archives.

\$300,000 — consisting mainly of the old Knight endowment.³⁴ Nevertheless, the Board of Trustees was reluctant for a number of reasons to encourage a new fund-raising drive. One of these reasons was the fear that some members, by making such a gift, would cut down on their tithing. President Wilkinson did, however, obtain permission in 1954 to appoint a committee to study the possibility of a permanent fund-raising program. The study was conducted by Raymond Beckham, newly appointed executive secretary of the Alumni Association; Floyd Taylor, athletic business manager; and W. Cleon Skousen, former executive secretary of the Alumni Association. The committee's recommendation in favor of a permanent fund-raising program was approved by the administration, and on 29 April 1955 the Board of Trustees authorized the formation of a permanent fund-raising organization.³⁵ Actual implementation of the plan was delayed for two years while President Wilkinson worked to persuade William Noble Waite of Los Angeles to become the program director. Waite was an energetic leader. At five feet ten inches tall he was an All-American basketball player at the University of Nevada in 1921. After graduation he was a successful high school principal in Los Angeles, conducted a million-dollar fund-raising drive for the Los Angeles Temple, and headed a successful campaign in 1955 for a \$133,000,000 bond issue for Los Angeles schools which had previously failed. Nevertheless, even after he came to BYU fund raising began slowly. Fortunately, just before Waite's arrival on campus the Ford Foundation presented BYU with a gift of \$1,220,000, part of the foundation's unprecedented 1956 donation of \$240,000,000 to scores of universities in a national effort to increase faculty salaries.³⁶

With this encouragement BYU launched its first major drive. The First Presidency gave a strong endorsement in a letter to stake presidents:

The operation of this great school in its rapid growth (its enrollment having already doubled in six years) requires millions of dollars each year for instruction, laboratories and new buildings. Since its unique facilities for spiritual and intellectual growth should be available to our young people without excessive tuition fees, we shall be grateful for whatever cooperation you give to Brother Waite. He comes to you with our approval and blessing.³⁷

34. "First Security Bank of Utah N.A. Trustee — Jesse Knight Endowment Fund, 28 February 1954 to 30 April 1954," UA 355, B 124, BYU Archives.

35. First Presidency to all stake presidents, 4 November 1957, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers, BYU Archives.

36. Memorandum from Ernest L. Wilkinson to William F. Edwards, 3 July 1956, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers, BYU Archives.

37. First Presidency to all stake presidents, 4 November 1957, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers, BYU Archives.

The title "Destiny Fund" was coined from this letter, and Noble Waite and the members of his committee established a \$5,000,000 goal to be reached over a period of 40 months. The Destiny Fund committee enjoyed limited success, however, and by the end of 1961 only \$203,186 had been raised. Meanwhile, Provo community leaders combined with the BYU faculty and student body to assist in local fund raising. DaCosta Clark, a local physician, was chairman of a seven-man executive committee which supervised the activities of 1,500 campaign volunteers.³⁸ This combined effort finally raised \$2,000,000, and while this was far from the goal, it did demonstrate that fund raising could be done.

Matching Funds

Just as the Destiny Fund began, General Electric Company of New York initiated its Matching Fund Program to assist universities throughout America. Essentially this plan provided that contributions given by an employee of General Electric to an educational institution would be matched by the company dollar for dollar up to a total of \$4,000.³⁹ Before long it was proposed that LDS employees of General Electric earmark part of their tithing for BYU and this contribution in turn would be matched by General Electric and other participating corporations. This plan was fully disclosed to the participating corporations and most of them agreed to it. The money received was deducted from the BYU budget. BYU immediately began receiving a large number of donations through this plan, and some corporations, such as International Business Machines, informed the University that they were giving more money to BYU under the matching gifts program than to any other university. However, this program was abandoned in 1971 because Church officials finally decided that the earmarking of tithing for special projects was not in accordance with Church procedure. The Destiny Fund raised \$4,350,000 between 1957 and 1964, but the drive was interrupted when Noble Waite was called to serve as mission president in Scotland.⁴⁰ His health declined after he left for Scotland, and he was soon released from his mission. President Waite died a short time later. Church officials and supporters of BYU lost a great friend who had successfully pioneered the school's first sustained fund-raising effort.

Individual Gifts

After Waite's death two years passed before a new national program was launched. During the interim, Raymond E. Beckham of the

38. "Destiny Fund Intensifies Drive," *Daily Universe*, 30 September 1958.

39. BYU Board of Trustees Minutes, 1 January 1958, BYU Archives.

40. Memorandum from Raymond E. Beckham to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 15 October 1962, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers, BYU Archives.

Alumni Association persistently called for a revival and perpetuation of the program Waite had started.

Fortunately, BYU began receiving a number of substantial bequests, which came from non-Mormons and Mormons alike. One of the first of these was a gift from copper magnate Daniel C. Jackling, a non-Mormon. In his will he bequeathed to BYU less than \$25,000, together with whatever proportion this bequest represented of the residue of his estate.⁴¹ Before the estate was settled, the value of his assets had so increased that the total value of the bequest was \$750,000.⁴²

Early in 1957 prominent Los Angeles attorney and bishop of the Glendale West Ward Reed Callister persuaded one of his clients, George Luther Barrett, a non-Mormon, to make a gift to BYU. Barrett conveyed most of his property to BYU. When this property is all sold his gift will ultimately bring to the school well over \$3,000,000.

Another contribution came from Guy Anderson of Safford, Arizona, an active member of the Church, who donated a number of valuable mining properties to BYU. When these properties were sold to the Phelps-Dodge Corporation in 1974, BYU received several million dollars and a royalty on future mining. From all appearances, this may prove to be the largest gift ever made to an educational institution in Utah.

In addition to contributions to the development fund, several contributions were received for scholarships. One of these came from Robert H. Hinckley and his brothers in honor of their father, Edwin S. Hinckley, who was in the presidency of BYU during the Brimhall Administration. The donation for the Edwin S. Hinckley scholarship fund amounted to \$100,000. Walter Mathesius, former head of the Geneva Division of U.S. Steel Corporation, and his wife, Ebba, not members of the Church, founded the Mathesius Music Endowment of which BYU was beneficiary.

Meanwhile, the man most responsible for keeping alive whatever initiative remained from the defunct Destiny Fund and for prodding the administration into further activity was Raymond E. Beckham. Beckham was an innovator, frustrated with delays. Finally, in 1964 acting president Earl C. Crockett appointed Beckham acting director of the new BYU Development Fund. Beckham was also asked to continue as executive secretary of the Alumni Association.⁴³ After original planning, Beckham recommended to Wilkinson, after his return, that outside specialists in fund raising be used and strongly recommended that an appeal be made to donors outside as well as within the Church. The Board of Trustees organized an advisory committee to give direction to the new program: Ezra Taft Benson,

41. BYU Board of Trustees Minutes, 7 May 1958, BYU Archives.

42. *Ibid.*, 2 September 1959.

43. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 26 March 1964.

Delbert L. Stapley, Howard W. Hunter, and Marion D. Hanks.⁴⁴ In selecting a chairman for the Development Fund, Church leaders approached David M. Kennedy, chairman of the board of directors and chief executive officer of Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Company of Chicago who had been a member of the Chicago Stake Presidency and whose four daughters had all been students at BYU.⁴⁵ Kennedy accepted and an executive committee was organized with volunteer chairmen heading specific groups. These included O. Leslie Stone, Alumni Committee; J. Willard Marriott, Friends Committee; Ralph J. Hill, Non-alumni Parents Committee; Kline D. Strong, Deferred Gifts Committee; Morris Wright, Foundations Committee; Royden Derrick, Business and Industry Committee; and Guy Anderson, Mineral Development Committee.⁴⁶

A Brigham Young University Development Council also was organized with some of the most prominent names in the Church representing various geographical regions. All of these activities were supervised by a full-time staff at the University headed by Raymond Beckham. Staff members included Donald T. Nelson, Rex Hardy, and Kenneth Porter.

From the start, most of the contributions came in the form of deferred gifts such as real estate and stocks. A deferred gift generally consists of the conveyance of property to the school in exchange for which the school agrees to pay the donors an annual income until the death of the donor or donors. At that time the gift becomes the property of the school. Many of these deferred gifts were substantial, and over 70 percent of the contributions were from non-Mormons.⁴⁷

One example of a deferred gift was the acquisition in 1967 from Ray and Nellie Reeves of 1,040 acres in San Clemente, California, from which it was anticipated that the University, after paying life incomes to certain of the donors' relatives, would realize millions of dollars. Not members of the Church, Ray and Nellie Reeves had visited BYU and had been impressed with the standards of the institution, in particular the decorum and caliber of the students. Unfortunately, after the consummation of this transaction there was a sharp decline in the value of property in this area, and since the University did not have funds to pay the life incomes and develop the property it was transferred to the Church for administration and ultimate disposition.⁴⁸

During this period members of the Church also made important

44. Ibid., 24 June 1965.

45. Ernest L. Wilkinson, diary, 3 July 1965. Kennedy had been a student of President Wilkinson when the latter was on the faculty of Weber College.

46. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 16 December 1965.

47. BYU Board of Trustees Minutes, 4 February 1970, BYU Archives.

48. After the above transaction, Dr. and Mrs. Reeves joined the LDS Church and established another trust for the Church College of Hawaii. They also made another large gift to the J. Reuben Clark Law School.

contributions. Wayne E. and Vera Hinckley Mayhew of Berkeley, California, entered into a trust agreement creating the Mayhew Endowment Fund, under which funds to be derived from the income and sale of valuable property in California were to be used to encourage short story and essay writers, playwrights, and poets by providing cash award contests. Since their inception these contests have provided excellent incentive for both students and faculty to exercise their finest literary talents.⁴⁹

In 1968 Charles Redd, a wealthy southern Utah cattleman with a great love for the history of the opening and development of the West, committed himself to a gift of approximately \$500,000 to establish a center of Western American History at BYU to be headed by Leonard J. Arrington, a leading economic historian who five years later was appointed LDS Church Historian. This chair was named after Lemuel Hardison Redd, Jr., Charles Redd's father. The Redd Center has proven to be a great boon to recent historical researchers of both Western American and Mormon history.⁵⁰

Contributions also began to come from foundations. The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation chose BYU as a regional center for the training of leaders in school-community recreational programs in western America. Gifts to this center now amount to nearly \$350,000.⁵¹ In addition, the Charles E. Merrill Trust contributed \$25,000 to the College of Humanities and Social Sciences for scholarly efforts of faculty members.

Besides furnishing the steel for the new stadium, in 1970 the United States Steel Corporation gave BYU a large tract of land between Provo and Springville which it was hoped could be used for the establishment of an installation similar to a Stanford Research Center. Unfortunately, this property was found to be unsuitable for a research center and no decision has been made as to its use.

In early 1969 President Nixon appointed David Kennedy secretary of the treasury. He was replaced as chairman of the BYU Development Fund by Glenn E. Nielson, president of Husky Oil Company. Shortly afterwards, Raymond E. Beckham was released as director of the Development Office to pursue doctoral studies at the University of Southern Illinois, and David B. Haight, assistant to President Wilkinson and future LDS Apostle, became director of the Development Office.⁵²

In 1969 the Kresge Foundation donated \$50,000 toward the con-

49. Wayne E. Mayhew to Bruce B. Clark, 18 February 1967, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers, BYU Archives.

50. BYU Board of Trustees Minutes, 5 July 1968, BYU Archives.

51. "BYU Receives \$100,000 From the Mott Foundation," *Provo Daily Herald*, 17 June 1971.

52. BYU Board of Trustees Minutes, 9 April 1969, BYU Archives.

struction of the Widtsoe Life Science Building.⁵³ The Donner Foundation granted \$85,000 to BYU's Indian program.⁵⁴ The Charles F. Merrill Trust conveyed \$50,000 for the BYU Indian Agriculture Home Management Program.⁵⁵

In 1969 Elwood, Douglas, Lynne, Junius, and Golden Driggs of Arizona and Utah gave the University securities which on their death were to be available for the creation of a chair in finance and banking. The University appointed William F. Edwards, who had been away from the University for 14 years, as the first holder of the Driggs chair. Former BYU student J. Fish Smith and his wife, Lillian, provided a generous gift to the University which made it possible to establish an endowed chair of economics in 1970.

Among other important gifts was one from Mr. and Mrs. Louis Meitus consisting of 1,386 acres of land near Santa Monica, California. Said Meitus, "I am of the Jewish faith, but BYU has a worldwide program of exceptional academic merit, and my interests are with every faith and especially in helping young people."⁵⁶ In 1970 Kenneth DeVos and his wife, Lillian, also non-Mormons, through the efforts of his secretary, Mildred Pierpont Cotner, a 1941 BYU graduate, executed a sizeable revocable trust for the University. Upon their deaths in 1974 the University received a substantial amount from their bequest.

Beginning in 1970 and continuing into the Oaks administration, David Jordan Rust of Palo Alto, California, gave BYU more than \$500,000, Mr. and Mrs. J. Murray Rawson donated about \$1,000,000 to BYU, and John William Boud also made a large gift to the University.

The most important contribution to the Marriott Center was the gift of J. Willard Marriott and his wife, Alice Sheets Marriott. In 1927 Marriott went to Washington, D.C., to open a chain of A & W Root Beer stands which, in the ensuing 48 years, grew to include a vast restaurant business, 44 first-class hotels in the United States and abroad, a steamship company in southern Europe, and other business enterprises with a gross income approaching \$800,000,000 per year. Significantly, each of the large donors to BYU began in humble circumstances and accumulated his wealth by hard work and not by inheritance.

In April 1970 David Haight was appointed an Assistant to the Council of the Twelve, necessitating his resignation as director of the Development program. He was succeeded by Richard C. Stratford, who

53. "Kresge Foundation Gives \$50,000 Gift," *Daily Universe*, 19 June 1969.

54. Memorandum from David B. Haight to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 22 October 1969, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers, BYU Archives.

55. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the Charles E. Merrill Trust, 15 January 1971, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers, BYU Archives.

56. "Land Gift Given Y," *Daily Universe*, 7 April 1970.

had been a partner in a large Los Angeles accounting firm. At about this same time Neal A. Maxwell was appointed commissioner of education for all Church schools and it was decided that the BYU Development Fund Program should be changed to the Church Educational Development Program. The objective of the program was to enable all Church schools to benefit from contributions made by both Mormons and non-Mormons. It continues to operate on the BYU campus under the direction of Ben E. Lewis as chairman of the Development Committee. Donald T. Nelson has been director of the Development Office since 1971.

The future prospects of this office are most encouraging since there are now more than 150,000 BYU alumni, most of whom are just beginning their business and professional careers. Since over 80 percent of these former students have become alumni since the beginning of the Wilkinson administration, they are expected to be fruitful sources of gifts to the University in the future.

While the future financial security of BYU still depends on the Church program of tithes and offerings, BYU is expected in the future to draw more and more funds from many other sources.

33

A City on Temple Hill

What would Brigham Young, the Dusenberry brothers, Karl G. Maeser, or Abraham O. Smoot say if they could see the BYU campus today? In a single century the educational acorn they planted in 1875 with such profound hopes but under such impoverished circumstances has germinated and become a gigantic oak, which is practically a self-contained metropolitan center virtually covering the entire summit of Provo's Temple Hill, and suggesting the title, "A City On Temple Hill."

The population, counting students, faculty, staff, and language training missionaries, is over 30,000. BYU serves an average of over 25,000 meals a day; furnishes daily from its own farms approximately 2,000 gallons of milk and large quantities of fruits and vegetables; provides on-campus housing for 5,708 students and several hundred missionaries, and approves off-campus housing for 15,977 students (January 1975); employs over 6,000 students part time and more than 3,000 people full time; owns and operates one of the largest private branch telephone exchanges (PBX) west of the Mississippi; operates a bookstore which is seventh in volume of all university bookstores in America; publishes a college newspaper which ranks eighth in circulation among college newspapers in the United States and fifth largest among all newspapers in the state of Utah; maintains the Brigham Young University Press, which has become one of the larger university printing operations in the nation; provides a diversified program of recreational activities for its students; operates one of the few university motion picture studios in the country; provides a program of cultural arts for students and friends of the University which in some years has attracted a larger annual audience than all athletic contests combined; maintains one of the largest, if not the largest, intramural athletic programs of any university in the nation; has one of the largest university art collections in America; operates its own laundries and dry cleaning facility; provides parking spaces for 12,124 automobiles; makes an economic contribution to the state of Utah of at least \$100

million a year; and operates an ecclesiastical system of 12 stakes and 120 branches (congregations) of the LDS Church.

Organizing Auxiliary Services

Early in his administration Wilkinson realized that the auxiliary services should be organized into a cohesive unit and placed under the direction of someone with business experience. One year after he took office he lured Ben E. Lewis from a position as a top executive of Marriott Enterprises, where he had been assured of financial security and business prestige. Lewis, a former BYU studentbody president, returned to his alma mater at a very modest salary and proved so extraordinarily competent and dedicated to the destiny of the University that he supervised or created nearly all of the above-named enterprises. Starting as treasurer with special additional assignments, Lewis was made vice-president for business affairs on 1 February 1961 and executive vice-president for business affairs on 19 January 1969. In addition, he served for 16 years as president of the LDS Sharon East Stake and has been a regional representative of the Twelve in charge of two regions in California since 1972.

Consistent with the policy of the Board of Trustees, it became the goal of Ben E. Lewis to make all of the auxiliary services self-sustaining or operative within the limited budget appropriated by the Board of Trustees. During the Wilkinson Administration gross income of all auxiliary operations increased nearly 25 times. However, profit margins were modest in order to provide services to the students and faculty at lowest possible cost.

Food Services

During the first five months of President Wilkinson's administration he received more complaints about the quality of Food Services than about any other aspect of the University. In 1953 Lewis persuaded Wells P. Cloward and his wife Myrle to accept, under his supervision, the management of the food services. The Clowards had enjoyed years of success in the restaurant business in Payson and Provo, and soon had BYU Food Services not only operating in the black but also serving better meals. When the Clowards first arrived the combined eating facilities provided only 150 seats.¹ By the end of the Wilkinson administration there were facilities capable of accommodating several thousand at any given meal period. When banquets are held, this could be as many as 8,000 to 10,000 individuals. Within a few years after the arrival of the Clowards BYU began receiving awards for the quality and efficiency of BYU Food Services.

1. "Cougar Eatery Provides Complete Snack Service," *Universe*, 3 February 1953.

The BYU Farms

Beginning in 1946 BYU operated a small dairy farm on the outskirts of Provo. The farm was a part of the training program for students in agriculture and animal husbandry. In 1951 a poultry farm was purchased and two years later the project was moved to its present site at 2230 North Canyon Road.² As enrollment grew these two farms no longer had adequate facilities to give the needed training for students in agriculture and animal husbandry, and their contribution to Food Services was insufficient. It was therefore decided that the school would purchase a large farm that would satisfy, at least in part, both of these needs. The new farm, located on a 600-acre tract of land just south of the mouth of Spanish Fork Canyon, started out operating in the red, and at first did not accomplish its objectives. It was only after management was delegated to Auxiliary Services under Ben Lewis that it became self-sustaining. The purchase price was \$393,000. The down payment was made through a \$75,000 gift from President Wilkinson during his first year in office. The Church loaned the school \$300,000. In addition, the Auxiliary Services also made loans from time to time, and others have also contributed to the farm. Arza Adams of Pleasant Grove contributed a feed mill and storage facility with an estimated value of \$140,000, and Pat and Ted Spurlock of Navajo, Arizona, contributed a silo, forage wagons, and a chopper estimated at \$70,000. Other gifts of smaller amounts have also been made.

The Church loan is being repaid on time. The farm is now valued in excess of \$1,000,000.³ It has become one of the most productive farms in Utah Valley and is also an excellent training place for students interested in agriculture.

Because of the poor quality of the soil it took many years to revitalize the farm through the use of animal and commercial fertilizers and crop rotation. This was accomplished by Bliss Allred, a very successful farmer who as a courtesy to the school operated the farm from 1959 to 1968, when the farm came under the general supervision of assistant dean of the College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences Max Wallentine, who has been successful in bringing about a rare combination of high productivity and quality academic instruction. As the reputation of the farm improved so did the enrollment and production quotas. By 1975 enrollment in agriculture and animal husbandry classes totaled 1,739, and corn yields increased from 9 to 25 tons per acre on the poorer-than-average soil. Hay yields have risen from 1.7 to as high as 6 tons per acre with three cuttings annually.

The farm also has some 400 dairy cows, of which 300 are always

2. Ephraim Hatch and Karl Miller, "A History of the BYU Campus and Department of Physical Plant," 6:15.

3. Interview of Ernest L. Wilkinson by Max Wallentine on 24 September 1975.

milking, making this one of the largest dairy operations in the state. There were two herds of purebred holsteins, a University herd and a project herd in which students were assigned individual cows. Both herds have won many prizes, and as early as 1959 the average BYU cow was giving 6,276 quarts of milk annually and 470 pounds of butter, which is more than twice the national average.⁴ Both herds have been listed on the Purebred Dairy Cattle Association's national honor roll. This project has enabled BYU to operate its own creamery for the processing of milk, cheese, and ice cream. In addition to dairy products, meats, eggs, and fruit are also made available to BYU Food Services, and these have all contributed to making the operation self-sufficient. Hundreds of students have at the same time received agricultural training.

Auxiliary Services under Lewis has also been assigned the task of supervising for a number of years other farming operations which were purchased as part of the proposed BYU junior college project. One such farm is a 257-acre site in the north end of the San Fernando Valley in California, which produces oranges, lemons, and grapefruit. Another is a 138-acre site almost in the center of Anaheim, California, which produces strawberries, and others include a 313-acre tract in Portland, Oregon; a 199-acre tract in Fremont, California, which raises apricots; a 249-acre tract in Phoenix, Arizona; and a 280-acre tract in Idaho Falls.

Because of her love and respect for LeGrand Richards, Mrs. Jacqueline E. Lewis, living in Lido Isle, California, also gave to the Church a 200-acre tract in La Verne with permission to use it as a junior college if the Church desired. When the decision was made that the Church could not afford the junior college program, the management of these properties was turned over to the Church and some have been sold.

BYU also purchased for investment purposes the Rolling Hills Orchard near Emmett, Idaho, which contains 1,332 acres and has 48,000 apple, cherry, and plum trees. All of these properties have greatly increased in value, some as much as 300 percent, since they were first acquired.

The Mushrooming of Student Housing

One of the most conspicuous problems facing Ernest L. Wilkinson when he became President of BYU in 1951 was the desperate shortage of student housing both on and off campus. Heritage Halls for women and Helaman Halls for men were built to solve the problem, but even when two additional Helaman Halls units were constructed for women to meet the greater demand for women's housing, these facilities did not satisfy the demand.⁵ They even indirectly contributed to it, since

4. "BYU Dairy Herd Above Average for Utah, U.S.," *Daily Universe*, 23 June 1959.

5. BYU Board of Trustees Minutes, 2 September 1959.

these attractive new student residence halls became a major factor in drawing several thousand more students to the BYU campus. Therefore the school had to depend in large part on the community to provide housing for those who could not be accommodated on campus. Student rentals contributed substantially to the prosperity of the community, and though community housing expanded and improved along with BYU's housing program, together they could not keep up with the extraordinary growth of the BYU student body. At the same time, students became more conscious of their impact on the community.⁶

At a time when most universities were petitioning the Federal Government to secure funds for student housing, on-campus housing projects at BYU were financed by loans from the LDS Church at interest rates below those being charged by the government or private institutions. The BYU administration in turn set its student rental rates at a very modest level that would still permit housing projects to be paid off within 40 years.

As the school grew, married students, who accounted for about 20 percent of the student body, had the greatest difficulty finding housing. Consequently, in 1959 the Board of Trustees authorized the construction of 462 apartment units for married students at a final cost (including furnishings and landscaping) of approximately \$5,500,000. This housing complex, known as Wymount Terrace, is situated northeast of campus. The individual units were named after distinguished men and women who had made contributions to the Church. (Short biographical sketches of each of them are included in the appendices to *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, Vol. 2, pp. 740-45.)

Wymount Terrace was followed by the construction of five large residence halls north of Heritage Halls, called Deseret Towers. These seven-story structures, completed in September 1964, were the tallest buildings in Provo. Three of the halls are occupied by men and the other two by women students, making total accommodations for 1,350 persons. These five units were named after men and women who had devoted their lives to the Church. (Short biographical sketches of each of them are included in *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, Vol. 4, appendices.)

Completion of Deseret Towers marked the end of large-scale housing construction at BYU during the Wilkinson era, although in 1969 the Trustees authorized another unit to be added to Helaman Halls; this unit and a swimming pool were completed in 1969. The Board of Trustees also authorized the development of a mobile home complex for full-time married students. Named Wyview Park, and located west of the football stadium, this needed addition to student housing

6. "Number of Renting Students Grows," *Daily Universe*, 17 November 1960.

facilities of 150 units was completed on 24 July 1971. The outstanding support of the Board of Trustees during this period of extensive housing construction is reflected in the fact that between 1953 and 1965 the Church loaned the University over \$24,000,000 for its housing needs. The University administration prides itself on the fact that all payments on these loans have been made promptly and sometimes in advance. It is further noted that as a result of the low interest rates charged by the LDS Church for these loans, the rentals charged to students have been considerably lower than the national average. The students have cooperated by maintaining an unbelievably low level of losses resulting from failure to pay. Between 1951 and 1963 the amounts outstanding ran less than .01 percent.⁷ The students have also taken extraordinarily good care of the buildings.

In October 1964 Auxiliary Services was reorganized with Ben Lewis becoming University vice-president for auxiliary and communications services. Former housing director Fred A. Schwendiman became the new director of Auxiliary Services, and Carl Jones was given the post of housing director. Upon Jones's resignation to go into private business he was replaced by Delyle Barton. The coordination of student housing in Provo and surrounding communities was assigned for many years to Rulon Craven, followed by Robert Thornock, who was later replaced by Harold Redd. Rulon Craven was called as a mission president in 1967 (New Zealand North Mission) and is now a member of the Aaronic Priesthood Committee for the LDS Church in Salt Lake City. The married student housing manager since 1955 has been Bruce Barrett.

BYU Bookstore

Throughout its 69-year history the bookstore, operating in four different locations during that time, served well the needs of the faculty and students, and at the same time made a modest profit, which was used for University purposes. Until the summer of 1961 the bookstore had been an "orphan" in the organizational structure of the University, but one of the first new buildings erected during the Wilkinson administration provided it with an attractive home. Herald R. Clark, after whom the Student Supply Association Building was named in 1953, was bookstore manager from 1915 to 1952. He operated the facility in addition to his other duties. From 1952 until 1961 the bookstore was managed by H. Neil McKnight, who was followed by Ivan L. Sanderson. When Sanderson resigned to become manager of the Stanford University Bookstore in 1968 he was replaced by Roger E. Utley, former assistant manager.

When the Wilkinson Center was completed the bookstore was made

7. Memorandum from Ben E. Lewis to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 7 August 1963, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

a conspicuous part of the new facility. The construction of the bookstore in the Wilkinson Center was financed entirely by bookstore profits. Furthermore, the monthly rental which it pays the Wilkinson Center helps to defray the cost of operating the whole building. By this arrangement there is no need to rely upon tithes of the Church for financial aid.⁸ The profits of the bookstore have also helped finance many major capital improvements on campus including the Herald R. Clark Building, the seating in the old football stadium, and part of the construction costs of the new library. It has also assisted in the financing of a number of other campus structures. Many fine paintings on campus have been purchased from bookstore profits.

From 1968 to 1974 the BYU Bookstore ranked seventh among American college bookstores in terms of total sales volume. For the 1974-75 school year the bookstore employed 57 full-time and an average of 182 part-time student employees.⁹ The 52,500 square feet of floor space occupied by the original Wilkinson Center bookstore was expanded another 43,712 square feet in 1975, with the bookstore's own profits.

The University Press

One of the most important services offered by Brigham Young University is professional publishing and graphic arts work. Printing Service began rather primitively in 1933 under the name of BYU Press, and it was housed in the south end of the Maeser Building basement. Frank R. Haymore was appointed full-time manager in 1939 and held that position until September 1972, when he was appointed assistant director of a greatly expanded press.¹⁰ Additional equipment and larger facilities gradually were obtained prior to the press's move into the present building. Until late 1967 the Department of University Publications was separate from the BYU Press. On 1 September the two were combined under the overall direction of Auxiliary Services.

The present University Press Building, completed in 1968, is located on the northern periphery of the BYU campus. Ernest L. Olson serves as director of the Press, and supervises five departments: Printing Service, Editorial, Graphic Communications, Marketing, and Mail Service. This consolidation of services represented a great improvement over the uncoordinated and widely scattered assignments which the various departments previously filled. For example, the Editorial Department was originally a faculty committee appointed to prepare the BYU general catalog. By 1956 it had grown sufficiently to be

8. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Ezra Taft Benson, 4 May 1970, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

9. "History of the Office of Executive Vice-President," unpublished typescript, BYU Archives, p. 20.

10. Haymore has served as president of the Printing Industry of Utah and in other important positions.

designated the Office of University Publications, created with Ernest L. Olson as chairman. He reported to Lester B. Whetten, director of University Relations. When the Editorial Department became part of the University Press in 1968 it produced and distributed practically all University service publications and all University Press scholarly and creative publications.

For years the Graphics section of the Educational Media Services Department was housed in the Herald R. Clark Building and functioned as a miniature art department. When it became a part of the BYU University Press in 1967 it was designated the Graphic Communications Department. Graphics for academic class instruction remained under Educational Media Services. Lance Turner, who had supervised and promoted graphics activities for several years, became director of the new department. In 1969 McRay Magleby succeeded Turner as director.

In 1967 the University Press embarked on the challenging enterprise of publishing books, monographs, and periodicals. The editorial work and production became the responsibility of Gail W. Bell, and this service developed so rapidly that in 1972 she became the managing editor of the Editorial Department, which today (1976) has a staff of 17 full-time editors, proofreaders, and assistants, and 8 part-time student employees. In order to merchandise University publications, Publication Sales was created with William Rawcliffe as chairman. He was succeeded in December 1969 by Kenneth G. Trane, and in 1972 this service became known as the Marketing Department.

Another important service which the University Press inherited in 1967 was the University Mail Service. This service was under the direction of Harold S. Hintze until his retirement in 1975. University Mail Service handles all aspects of campus mail, bulk mailing, and contracting for the BYU Branch of the U.S. Post Office established on the ground floor of the Wilkinson Center in 1964. On a normal school day the Mail Service handles approximately 10,000 pieces of U.S. mail and campus mail. In addition, an average of 250,000 pieces of bulk (printed matter) are mailed out from the Provo campus. Mail Service also oversees the Mail Answering Service, which was formerly a part of University Relations.

The expanded University Press now employs 130 full-time staff and approximately 200 students on a part-time basis. It publishes 25 to 30 books a year, issues hundreds of University service publications, and distributes millions of pieces of mail. Total University Press income for 1974 was more than three times the income in 1967, and the BYU Press is now among the top 20 American university presses in terms of sales volume and number of titles published annually. In 1975 the BYU Press was admitted to membership in the prestigious 60-member American Association of University Presses.

Motion Picture Production

The need for motion picture production for the LDS Church was discussed informally for many years but it was not until Wetzel O. "Judge" Whitaker left a top position at Walt Disney Studios to take over the BYU operations that LDS movie making at BYU became a reality. As early as July 1952 trustees Harold B. Lee and Henry D. Moyle held a special dinner conference with Judge Whitaker and his wife, Doris, to persuade them to work for the Church. Whitaker had coproduced earlier Church Welfare films in association with Eric Larson, Scott Whitaker, and W. Cleon Skousen. At the dinner meeting

Brother Lee told Judge Whitaker that several of the Brethren were most desirous of initiating a motion picture production program. . . . It was indicated that films are needed for the Priesthood, the training of bishops, the welfare program, and for the use of the anti-liquor-tobacco committee. Harold B. Lee stated that he thought the BYU was the ideal place to launch such a program.¹¹

Bishop Joseph Wirthlin of the Presiding Bishopric agreed to have the Bishopric finance the first few films, which Judge Whitaker felt could be produced on an extremely modest budget if BYU would provide the equipment and facilities.¹² The Motion Picture Department was accordingly organized in January 1953, and although it began with numerous handicaps and under primitive conditions in temporary buildings on campus, the quality of the films produced by Whitaker was such that the Church authorized the construction of a small but modern motion picture studio on a beautiful 17-acre site near the Provo River. Judge Whitaker was joined by his talented younger brother Scott, a skillful screenwriter. Together they organized a highly professional team of experienced motion picture production personnel that produced top quality films at costs considerably less than on-going commercial rates.

Motion picture production at BYU was designed to be self-sustaining. However, many of the Church auxiliaries provided such low budgets for their films that in the beginning it was difficult for the Whitaker team to provide the top quality films they desired. For a while they had to operate in the red. It was only through hard and constant work that Judge Whitaker was able to enjoy the complete satisfaction of seeing his department liquidate all indebtedness.

The Whitaker brothers were favored with a strong staff which greatly contributed to the success of the program. Experienced engineer Frank S. Wise was added to the staff in 1953 and made available

11. W. Cleon Skousen to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 21 July 1952, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

12. Interview of Wetzel and Scott Whitaker by Richard E. Bennett, 31 January 1975.

his knowledge of equipment, photography, and film editing. Robert W. Stum soon joined the staff, bringing expertise in still photography and general cinematography. By 1975 the department employed about 50 full-time workers. Jesse E. Stay, who joined the staff in 1969 as managing director, became director of the department upon Judge Whitaker's retirement in 1974. Stay, an able and aggressive administrator who had been instrumental in launching the BYU Air Force ROTC on campus, is attempting to continue the Whitaker tradition of high quality films.

The BYU Motion Picture Department, one of few such departments operated by universities in the nation, is probably also the largest. During its existence it has produced hundreds of films. Most of these have been financed or purchased by auxiliary organizations of the Church, although with the development of its reputation it is now producing such recognized movies as "Run Dick, Run Jane" (produced in conjunction with the National Jogging Association) and "Cipher in the Snow." Movies produced by the Motion Picture Studio (notably "Cipher in the Snow") have received many national and some international awards for excellence in film production. A more complete list of the more important of these films is contained in the appendices to Volume 4 of *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*.

The Ernest L. Wilkinson Center

While the Ernest L. Wilkinson Center is a campus showplace, it was designed to be utilitarian. As a student union building it is one of the finest of its kind in the country. Among other things, the Wilkinson Center is designed to provide a home for student government and the preparation of student publications. It also provides several attractive eating facilities, the BYU Bookstore, and a center for a variety of social and recreational activities, including a motion picture theater and a dance hall which accommodates 2,000 couples. Lyle S. Curtis was appointed director of the building in the spring of 1960 and was also appointed assistant dean of students. In supervising the business operations of the building Curtis reports to executive vice-president Ben E. Lewis, but in supervising the elaborate program of student activities he reports directly to dean of student life J. Elliot Cameron. Student activities are coordinated by Curtis Wynder under Lyle Curtis's supervision. Betty Kane is the supervisor of scheduling not only for the Wilkinson Center but also for the entire University. Robert Moss, assistant director for business, is in charge of all the physical aspects of the Wilkinson Center. In 1975, Lyle Curtis was named Director of Auxiliary Services.

While the building was planned for 15,000 students and faculty, the number using the Center is more than double that figure. By actual count there are as many as 35,000 visits to the Center on a given school

day, and during the school year 1970-71¹³ there were 7,662 separate functions in the Center, about half of them sponsored by students and the other half by the University in the form of conferences, classes, and seminars. Community groups sponsored 758 functions.¹⁴

Auxiliary Services Complex

The Auxiliary Maintenance Building, dedicated in 1968, provides the custodial, equipment, laundry and dry cleaning services for all campus housing units and other BYU buildings not under the immediate jurisdiction of the Physical Plant Department, which cares for the instructional and administrative buildings. Food Services administers the extensive concession and vending operations on campus. During the first ten years of the Wilkinson Administration the laundry requirements of the University increased ten times, and by 1968 it was necessary to erect a new laundry building on the north edge of campus.¹⁵ This facility meets the laundry requirements of the University with the exception of the athletic departments, which have their own central laundry in the Richards Building.

Telephone Services

In 1957 a \$220,000 switchboard with six positions for operators was installed in the Smith Family Living Center. This was the largest private branch exchange in the mountain states at that time, with 1,100 student extensions, 1,400 office extensions, 200 trunk lines with Provo, one direct line to Salt Lake City, and a complete dial system with 2,500 numbers.¹⁶

Chief operator Evelyn Christensen retired on 31 August 1973 after more than 20 years of outstanding service. She was replaced by James Marshall as chief operator and manager. Telephone service to the rooms of hundreds of students was eventually removed from the University Central Exchange and serviced directly by the Provo telephone exchange. By 1975 there were 16 switchboard positions, 12 full-time operators, and more than 30 students working part time to handle the volume of telephone calls, which average about 400,000 per month.¹⁷

Employment Services

In October 1951 William F. Edwards strongly recommended that a

13. "History of the Office of Executive Vice-President," p. 166.

14. Ibid.

15. Memoranda from Ben E. Lewis to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 7 August 1963 and 24 August 1965, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

16. "Largest PBX System Installed at BYU," *The Monitor*, April 1957, 50:3:12.

17. Dallin H. Oaks, "A Wise Steward," Preschool Workshop Address to faculty, fall 1974, p. 9.

separate placement department be established for all students on campus, and in September 1952 B. Keith Duffin was appointed director. Since a large percentage of BYU students needed part-time employment in order to remain in school, the first step was to obtain employment opportunities through local businessmen. This campaign was so successful that during 1952 there was a 309 percent increase in off-campus jobs for students. BYU's rapid growth also offered many new opportunities for part-time student employment on campus. In 1973-74, 12,483 students were employed on campus and 3,074 off campus at some time during the year.¹⁸

Beginning in 1953, Placement Bureau approval was also required for hiring nonacademic full-time staff. Extensive studies were made, jobs were classified, and salary inequities were rectified. Employment policies and regulations were made more uniform, and an employee's handbook for nonacademic personnel was produced. During the 1967-68 school year the Benefits Office was established in order to coordinate the various University benefits programs.

A special Training Office was organized to instruct employees in more efficient and effective methods of performing their assigned duties. The Training Office also published a quarterly employee paper entitled *The Communicator*, which was distributed to all personnel in auxiliary, business, and communication services. Inspections of work areas were conducted and recommendations made to department heads concerning the deployment and improved utilization of personnel. The wisdom of developing these new offices became apparent as the University continued to grow. From 172 staff employees in 1951, the non-faculty staff grew to 1,357 in 1974.

The next major program undertaken by the placement office was a vigorous campaign to help BYU graduates find employment. By 1954 this service included the placement of prospective elementary and secondary teachers. The quality of BYU graduates was attested by the fact that one large school district in California offered to employ BYU's graduating teachers without interviews if they were recommended by the BYU Placement Bureau. Deans and faculty members contacted prominent business and industrial firms with which they had been formerly associated, and invited them to include BYU in their recruiting program. The activity of the placement center is shown by the fact that in 1968-69 there were 35,677 positions listed with this center, 3,042 persons registered for career placement, 1,089 employer visits, and 13,602 interviews conducted at the placement center.¹⁹ B. Keith Duffin became widely recognized for his work in this field and was elected president of the College Placement Council, the national body

18. Report prepared by University Personnel Services, 11 April 1975, BYU Archives.

19. "Placement Center Annual Report, 1968-69," BYU Archives, p. 27.

of college placement workers and leading employers of college graduates.

In 1964, when the Western College Placement Association conducted a survey among 270 major western employers to determine the effectiveness of their college placement offices, the BYU Placement Center received the highest overall rating among the 57 colleges with an enrollment of 10,000 or more which were ranked.²⁰ A similar study four years later again gave BYU the top rating.

When Ben E. Lewis was appointed vice-president for business affairs in 1969, the Placement Center and employment office together became the Department of University Personnel Services, with B. Keith Duffin as director.

Student Health Center

Student health services began in the McDonald administration with Seth Smoot as director from 1948 to 1952. The rapid increase in the campus population during the Wilkinson administration required an expansion in both personnel and facilities. Five doctors contributed their talents as director of this service after Dr. Smoot left to enter private practice. They were Ariel Williams, 1952-56; Alan Barker, 1956-59; Richard A. Nimer, 1959-62; Jack B. Trunnell, 1962-63; and Cloyd C. Hofheins, 1963 to date. They were assisted by many other doctors, but special commendation must go to Paul Edmunds who has rendered dedicated service from 1957 to the present.

When the health service came under the supervision of Dr. Hofheins, a number of significant changes were made. Hofheins worked with director of nurses Meryle Wiley to transform the nurses into assistants, counselors, and health teachers. In addition to seven full-time doctors on the staff, medical specialists from the surrounding area have established specialty clinics for student problems in gynecology, general surgery, dermatology, orthopedics, internal medicine, podiatry, and ears, eyes, nose, and throat. Those students who had subscribed to the campus health services plan received these services free; the others were charged a small additional fee.

Although the McDonald Health Center was designed as a treatment center for minor ailments, it provided emergency facilities and 15 to 18 beds for in-patient care. In 1971 all in-patient care was discontinued and students needing hospitalization were referred to the Utah Valley Hospital, which had been taken over by the Church. This made it possible to improve service without increasing the cost. In 1973 the health fee was \$7.50 per student per semester including laboratory tests. In 1973-74 there were 60,007 individual visits to the Health Center.

20. "Placement Center Annual Report, 1964-65," BYU Archives.

Financial Services

BYU alumni of the past two generations find it difficult to think of the treasurer's office at BYU without recalling the name of Kiefer B. Sauls. Sauls came to BYU as a student from Louisiana in 1911, and was employed by President Franklin S. Harris in 1921 as secretary and purchasing agent. In 1938 he was appointed secretary and treasurer and from 1954 until 1971 served exclusively as treasurer — an employment of 50 years. In 1956 J. Alan Blodgett, who had worked as a student in the treasurer's office, joined the full-time staff. Lyman Durfee, a graduate of BYU, joined the accounting staff that same year. During the early years of the Wilkinson administration the treasurer's office was responsible to vice-president William F. Edwards. After Edwards left in 1957 to work with the First Presidency, Joseph T. Bentley was named comptroller and supervised the treasurer's office. Blodgett soon became an assistant to Bentley and was then called into military service. At that time Lyman Durfee assumed Blodgett's position in the comptroller's office. Blodgett returned to the University after his military service, but was soon called into the Church Auditing Department. His competence was immediately recognized and he is presently Director of the Financial Department for the entire Church.

By 1967 financial services at BYU had expanded to the point where a director was needed to administer its many programs. Accordingly, on 27 February 1967 Lyman J. Durfee was appointed director of Financial Services.

Through the years the treasurer's office developed several important subdivisions, such as the Purchasing Department under the direction of Cornelius R. Peterson; head cashier, a position first held by C. Joseph Rowberry and then by Muriel Thole, who was still serving in 1976; the Accounting Department, which was converted to IBM data processing in 1954; and payroll supervisor, which was set up under MacCene Grimmer in March 1954 and 20 years later (as she retired in 1975) was issuing checks to more than 9,000 employees. MacCene Grimmer was succeeded by Rena Scarpino. When the IBM machines first started running the payroll, the checks came off the machines in long, continuous forms. Employees in Payroll and the treasurer's offices reported to work at 4 or 5 in the morning to have the checks ready for distribution by 8 o'clock. For many years the treasurer's office was also responsible for handling the campus insurance program, the retirement program, and all fringe benefits. These functions have now been organized into the Benefits Office in the Personnel Services Department under Jay A. Adamson.

Purchasing Department

The Purchasing Department did not become a separate division until 1 July 1921 when Kiefer Sauls, President Harris's personal secre-

tary, was appointed purchasing agent. Besides his duties as purchasing agent, Sauls also filled the position of secretary and treasurer to the Board of Trustees from 1939 to 1952. With Ben Lewis's appointment as associate treasurer in 1952 and his assumption of responsibility for both food services and housing, he was also given responsibility for the Purchasing Department.

Following tenure in the Maeser Building from 1926 to 1951, the Purchasing Department resided briefly in the Eyring Science Center and the Herald R. Clark Building before moving to the Abraham O. Smoot Building in 1962. Purchasing was assigned the entire north half of the C wing on the ground floor of the Smoot Building. In 1946, Cornelius R. "Neal" Peterson was appointed purchasing agent, a position he still holds.

Not long after moving to the Smoot Building, the Purchasing Department was placed under the supervision of director of Auxiliary Services Fred Schwendiman. Since 1973, the BYU Purchasing Department has been a part of the Central Purchasing Department of the LDS Church.

Receiving and Delivery Department

The Receiving and Delivery Department at BYU has been likened to a government military supply base. From 1950 to 1968 this service operated out of a large quonset building shared with the Physical Plant Department. As University services grew during the Wilkinson years the demands placed on this department became gargantuan. It was necessary to store large quantities of food, custodial supplies, office furniture, and other related items. In July 1968 the entire operation was moved into a new building adjoining the University Press. This new facility, under the direction of Roger Sundquist, has ample accommodations for both the Receiving and Stores departments. A total of 121,984 packages were processed and delivered by the department during the 1971-72 budget year.

Division of Instructional Services

In 1965 an attempt was made to unify the many services which support and implement the instructional program at BYU. Darrel J. Monson resigned his position as chairman of the Electrical Engineering Department to develop an excellent Learning Resource Center. In 1972 the Division of Instructional Services was created to supersede Monson's former department and he was named director.

Electronic Media Services

As early as 1924 BYU had a small collection of charts and lantern slides available to the faculty. In 1933 Elsworth C. Dent came to Brigham Young University and organized BYU's audiovisual materi-

als into one of the finest collections in the Rocky Mountain area. Among the items of equipment belonging to the department was a 35mm camera originally owned by Rudolph Valentino and a 16mm camera used in 1933 to film a football game. During the early Wilkinson years the rapid growth of the Audio-Visual Center continued and by 1958 the services of the center were extended to seven western states and three foreign countries with a catalog circulation of 3,511.

In 1959 LeRoy R. Lindeman was appointed director of the Audio-Visual Center. He served until 1965, when this service was removed from Continuing Education and placed under the Division of Communications. It was given the new title of Educational Media Services with R. Irwin Goodman as director. With a library of 10,500 films, filmstrips, and recordings, this department provides audiovisual aids to the entire faculty for classroom use. Educational Media Services also distributes Church-produced and other films throughout the United States and provides a wide variety of educational films to Utah schools. In 1970 James Sterling Astin was named director of the department and an information retrieval system was created. The system was centered in the fifth floor of the library and at other designated areas. Students using headphones and a dial system could plug into class lectures, supplementary class material, devotional and forum speeches, background music, and even weather reports.²¹

In the process of developing Educational Media Services a Communications Systems Department was organized to handle audio repair, engineering design of new installations, and all recording functions, including the school's entire public address system.²² Two hundred miles of cable were spread like a spiderweb across BYU to carry sound and television transmissions to every major building on the campus. Dean M. Austin, current Director of the Electronic Media Department, has provided strong leadership in this field for many years.

Photo Studio

The Photo Studio has made great progress since the early 1930s

21. "Dial Access Starts at BYU This Fall," *Daily Universe*, 22 March 1968. For a more complete description of this retrieval system, see David Gallacher, "A History of the Instructional Media Facilities from 1920-1973, As They Relate to the Development of the Learning Resource Center Concept at Brigham Young University," master's thesis (Brigham Young University, 1973).
22. The most interesting projects of this department include laying 200 miles of cable to allow sound transmission from the Herald R. Clark Building to anywhere on campus; the transmission of assemblies to other buildings; the playing of the national anthem every morning and evening; telelecture facilities; operating a public address truck; custom tape editing and dubbing; and building sound systems and broadcast services; "New Dept. Is Created," *Daily Universe*, 20 October 1965.

when Joseph Boel was engaged to take pictures of BYU students for the *Banyan* each year. BYU's growth necessitated extensive use of photographic processing and gradually the latest technical equipment for automatic film development was obtained. In 1965 the Photo Studio became a branch of the Division of Communication Services, and in 1967 James Walker was appointed director. Walker remained in that position until 1969 when he was replaced by George Hampton. In 1970 Graphic Services was combined with the Photo Studio, forming an entirely new department, Instructional Photo/Graphics. This department is responsible for the production of all visual aids, transparencies, slides, graphs, and charts, including graphic material used in BYU television productions.

Broadcast Services

Radio broadcasting at BYU was pioneered under the leadership of T. Earl Pardoe and Owen Rich of the Speech Department in 1946. Regular broadcasting began under the sponsorship of the BYU Radio Club and was designed at first for on-campus listening only. However, in 1948 the Club obtained a ten-watt carrier-current station, the first such facility west of the Mississippi. The new station provided the first off-campus broadcast. It was not until 1960 that FCC approval was granted, and BYU began FM broadcasting under the call letters KBYU-FM. This was the same year that Owen Rich obtained his doctorate at Penn State University, and upon his return to BYU he and T. M. Williams gradually enlarged the facilities and improved the programming until KBYU's classical music and public network broadcasts enjoyed a listening audience throughout a large portion of Utah.

In the early years of the Wilkinson administration steps were taken to use television for both instructional and public relations purposes. Closed circuit broadcasts could be used for certain types of class instruction on campus and public broadcasting could be used to give extensive exposure to BYU athletic contests, forums, devotionals, concerts, and Continuing Education training programs. In 1956 attempts were made to establish a television station as a cooperative venture with the University of Utah and Utah State University. However, no satisfactory arrangement was made and in 1956 the University of Utah obtained authorization to establish KUED, Utah's first educational television station. Later, a commercial television station in Provo (KLOR-TV) ran into severe financial difficulties and became available for purchase. President Wilkinson obtained permission to make a firm offer and in 1962 the University completed the purchase. After numerous delays because of technical difficulties, construction problems, and securing clearance from the Federal Communications Commission, KBYU-TV finally went on the air on 8 November 1965.²³

23. BYU Board of Trustees Minutes, 3 November 1965.

KBYU-TV was assigned Channel 11 and authorized to transmit with sufficient power to give a coverage pattern extending beyond Nephi, Utah, on the south and to the Idaho border in the north. In September 1966 Earl J. Glade, Jr., whose father was instrumental in founding KSL, was appointed director of BYU Broadcast Services. On his resignation, Bruce Christensen was named his successor.

In the fall of 1971 the instructional television production functions were separated from Broadcast Services, named Instructional Television Services Department, and placed under the direction of Harold R. Hickman. Instructional television activity started in 1964 when history and religion lectures were videotaped for playback on a large Eidophor screen. Most of the programs were produced on videotape and can be shown by closed-circuit television before large classes. Programs can also be sent by microwave to the BYU — Salt Lake City Center for classes there.

A very recent development in the field of instructional communications has been the organization of an autonomous unit named the Department of Instructional Research, Development, and Evaluation. R. Irwin Goodman, Darrell Monson, William D. Farnsworth, and David Merrill coordinated the Division of Instructional Services. Dr. Monson was eminently successful as the head of this entire area. On 10 November 1975 academic vice-president Thomas was quoted as saying that the BYU Learning Center was the leader in the United States.²⁴ Monson died of cancer on 3 December 1975, leaving a legacy of great accomplishment in the comparatively short time he directed this area. William Farnsworth, who had been administrative assistant to Monson, succeeded him in his position.

Computer Services

The history of Computer Services at BYU parallels the explosive growth of computer technology. Facilities have grown from a small computer in cramped, isolated quarters, including crawl-space storage, to a multimillion-dollar complex with equipment installed in three major centers with terminals connected all over campus. Computer job capacity multiplied from almost nothing to more than 2,000 jobs per day. Personnel involvement has increased to approximately fifty full-time workers and one hundred student employees. The Division of Computer Services, currently occupying approximately 27,000 square feet, serves 3,000 students per year. The main computer center serves at least ten colleges and instructional units, and provides for extensive administrative requirements. In addition, twenty-nine departments and administrative areas were using mini-computers as of March 1975.

In 1952 Rulon R. Brough came to BYU to establish the machine accounting system in the treasurer's office. The first use of a calculator

24. *Monday Magazine*, 10 November 1975.

(an IBM 602-A Calculator) was an effort to streamline registration procedures by use of IBM punch cards. Gradually, the use of similar electronic equipment spread into other areas such as payroll, budget, financial reports, and wherever a multiplicity of statistics demanded rapid electronic computation. Organization of class schedules and computation of grade point averages also were assigned to the new machines. In 1953 the University offered its very first class in machine accounting. In 1955 the new Data Processing Department was made part of the Office of Admissions and Records under dean Bliss H. Crandall, and the IBM 602, operated by Dave Bachelor, was used almost exclusively for administrative purposes such as payroll and registration.

A new Computer Research Center was established in the basement of the Smith Family Living Center in 1959 to correlate all computer operations and to offer an expanded curriculum in computer science. The center, directed by C. Edwin Dean and utilizing a new IBM 650, was moved to the recently completed Jesse Knight Building. In July 1963 the administration persuaded Gary Carlson to leave California and come to Provo. A leading computer technician, Carlson started with IBM Corporation in 1946 and gained a wealth of computer knowledge through subsequent employment. He and four other LDS computer specialists approached the General Authorities in 1957 about the progress the Church could make by using computers. Their work prompted the establishment of the Latter-day Saint Data Processing Center, which has used computers in working with membership and tithing records, in genealogical research, and in many other areas.

With Carlson's appointment as director of the Computer Research Center and with the hiring of other assistant professionals such as Norm Wright and Willard Gardner, the center made two important decisions, both innovative in academic use of computers. The first was to combine academic and service operations into one, resulting in the acquisition of a new, larger IBM 7040 Computer. The second decision was to use COBOL (Common Business Oriented Language), a new language for computer programming. Carlson foresaw that future computers would accommodate this new language, and that its use would save time. Experience has borne out Carlson's predictions, saving BYU much capital and time. COBOL made it easy and inexpensive to convert from the older IBM 7040 to the bigger IBM 360/50 that was purchased in 1968.

In contrast with most other schools, BYU's Computer Center is a separate administrative entity, not a part of an academic college or department. This maintains the universality of the computer as a research tool and makes it easily accessible to faculty and students of all colleges. This organizational structure has also facilitated the establishment of several university committees such as the Computer Guidance Council, the Computer Users Committee, and the Technical

Committee, which have helped to inform and assist the entire computer-using community at BYU.

In response to growing student demand, the Computer Science Department was organized in 1970 with C. Edwin Dean as chairman. In February 1971, upon completion of the James E. Talmage Mathematical Sciences-Computer Building, computer services and equipment were transferred into the air-conditioned facility. The Computer Science Department became part of the College of Physical and Mathematical Sciences in 1972.

Until 1966 the Computer Center was supervised by Joseph T. Bentley, school comptroller. Upon Bentley's appointment under Harvey L. Taylor as comptroller of all Church schools, the Computer Research Center became the direct responsibility of the vice-president of business affairs, Ben E. Lewis, who has given strong support to computer services on campus.

Institutional Research

Deans and administrative officers who were at BYU when President Wilkinson first arrived recall the sense of virtual panic which sometimes descended upon them as the new President bombarded them with continuous demands for statistics and other factual information on the composition and performance of the entire BYU operation. These administrative studies revealed significant facts not previously recognized, and were extremely important in helping President Wilkinson persuade the Board of Trustees of the urgency of many of the school's needs. The statistics compilations and factual summaries were often hand-printed on huge placards, sometimes as large as four feet by eight feet, and then taken to Salt Lake City to help President Wilkinson in his frequent presentations at meetings of the Board of Trustees. One of the most important pieces of information given the Trustees, not even previously recognized on the BYU campus, was that although BYU was then smaller, BYU had twice as many LDS girls as the other two institutions in Utah combined. When this fact was presented to the Trustees, they immediately authorized the building of Heritage Halls for women. This was at the beginning of the huge building program at BYU. Wilkinson always insisted that when the Board had the facts the Board acted. He did not believe that rhetoric had much to do with their decisions.

For the first ten years of the Wilkinson era these studies were conducted by individual departments. Analyses of student enrollment came from the Office of Admissions and Records, space utilization studies were conducted by the registrar, and cost and student-faculty ratio studies were made under the joint direction of the academic vice-president and the comptroller. Arthur H. Browne, chairman of the Department of Instruction in the College of Education, worked in the President's office part-time to calculate future enrollment trends

and analyze faculty teaching loads.²⁵ The coordinating of these various studies became more difficult with each passing year, and finally necessitated the establishment of a specialized Office of Institutional Research in June 1962. Leland H. Campbell, former director of institutional studies at the University of Utah, was employed as director of this department. To assist in completing and compiling the administrative studies, Albert J. Eastman, Jr., was hired as computer systems analyst. He spearheaded development of University Code Master and Curriculum Inventory Systems programs.

A mountain of facts became available to the administration. The automated system provided needed information concerning admissions, applications, current enrollments, future trends, utilization of space, faculty teaching loads, grade-point averages, the rank of each student in his respective class, a credit-hour analysis, class sizes, individual student performance reports, and an evaluation of the utilization of time by the faculty. By having such facts continually available it became possible to better anticipate the constantly changing needs of the University.

One way of indicating the growth of Brigham Young University during its 100 years is to note the auditoriums which have been available over the years, from the large 400-seat room in the Lewis Building to the Marriott Center with 23,054 seats, which at times has not been able to accommodate all those who wanted to participate at a particular function. (The progress in seating capacity of the different auditoriums is set forth in a footnote.)²⁶

25. Browne left BYU to become a member of the joint staff on higher education for the State Colleges of California, after which he was recalled to Utah to become the second director of the Utah Coordinating Council for Higher Education. He then became the associate director and later acting executive director of the Illinois Board of Higher Education, and then the executive director of the Wisconsin Coordinating Council for Higher Education. He is now vice-president for academic planning and development of the five campuses of the University of Arkansas.

26.	<i>Building</i>	<i>Year Built</i>	<i>Seating Capacity</i>
	Large Upper Room in Lewis Building	1882	400*
	Assembly Room on Second Floor of Z.C.M.I. Building	1884	400*
	Room "D" in Education Building on Lower Campus	1891	500*
	College Hall in College Building on Lower Campus	1898	800
	Maeser Building Auditorium	1911	264
	Joseph Smith Building Auditorium	1941	1,044
	Smith Fieldhouse	1951	11,012

(In 1956, 11,614 fans crowded in to witness the game with USC)

*Seating capacity is an estimate based on dimensions of room, photographs, and statements that all students at that time could be seated in the hall.

Economic Contribution to the State and Community

Although the University absorbs a share of the spending power of BYU students in the form of tuition, fees, textbooks, campus room and board, and related activities, Provo and surrounding communities receive substantial economic benefit from the city on Temple Hill. In fact, the off-campus expenditures of BYU and its students and personnel exceed \$85,000,000 a year. Brigham Young University employs about the same number of personnel as the United States Steel Corporation at Geneva and more than half as many as the Kennecott Copper Corporation. Off-campus student expenditures alone amount to about \$38,000,000 annually, including housing, \$11,000,000; food, \$9,000,000; recreation, \$4,000,000; clothing, \$3,000,000; medical services, \$2,000,000; transportation, \$4,000,000; and \$5,000,000 in miscellaneous expenditures.²⁷ BYU also attracts thousands of visitors who would not have occasion to come to Provo were it not for the athletic and cultural attractions on campus and the desire of parents to visit their sons and daughters. Within the last several years many retired people have moved to Provo because of its religious and cultural advantages. All of these financial factors combine to make the city on Temple Hill an invaluable asset to Utah Valley and the state as a whole.

Noneconomic Services Provided by the City on Temple Hill

Facilities and activities discussed elsewhere in this history, such as the religious life of its students, are vital to the city on Temple Hill. No city in America can equal the functional activities and density of religious participation provided by the 12 on-campus stakes with their 120 branches of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This represents one branch (congregation) for every 200 potential communicants. In addition, the students have access to a Temple where sacred ordinances are performed. The wide range of live cultural activities, including drama, dance, music, speech, and art, has fostered a cultural climate that pervades the surrounding cities. BYU has become a “city that is set on a hill” which “cannot be hid,” and which lets its “light . . . shine before men.”²⁸

Continued from previous page			
	Football Stadium	1964	30,120
	DeJong Concert Hall,		
	Harris Fine Arts Center	1964	1,451
	Marriott Center	1971	23,054
27.	Office of Residential Student Housing, “Financial Impact of BYU Students on the Provo Community and Surrounding Areas,” June 1975, BYU Archives.		
28.	Matthew 5:14-16.		

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The World Becomes Our Campus

Since 1965, when BYU became 90 years of age, the main entrance to the campus at 1200 North and 150 East has been flanked by two large epigraphs of BYU as an institution of higher learning. Inscribed on the south side is the name “Brigham Young University — The World Is Our Campus,” below which appears the seal of the school with its motto “The Glory of God is Intelligence.” The companion marker on the north side declares “Enter to Learn — Go Forth to Serve.”

As the first century closed, the university had three sets of students: the resident student body of 25,000 students, over 150,000 alumni with whom the University maintains continuous contact, and the 300,000 students participating in off-campus educational programs that are directed from Provo but which extend to many parts of the world. In another three or four years it is expected these will include half a million students.

The Provo Campus — A Cosmopolitan Student Body

By the end of the Wilkinson administration the student body at BYU had reached 28,270 daytime students (including summer).¹ These students represent every state in the union and include over 8,000 returned missionaries, a broad American Indian representation, transfer students from other institutions of higher learning, and students from many foreign countries. Although enrollment at BYU is open to every race, color, creed, and nationality, some 96 percent are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Nevertheless, such religions as Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism are represented, as are the following Christian sects: Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Baptist, Church of Christ, Congregational, Christian Science, Episcopal, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Jehovah’s Witness, Seventh-Day Adventist, Unitarian, and Reorganized LDS.

1. *BYU Enrollment Resume*, 1970-71, p. 2.

Despite the different religious and geographical origins of the students there is a homogeneity of spirit on the BYU campus apparent even to the casual visitor. Many who visit BYU comment on the friendliness, modesty of dress, good manners, consideration for others, and absence of smoking, drinking, or profanity among students, all of which has been brought about by adherence to LDS standards of conduct by Mormons and non-Mormons alike.

BYU Alumni

In all 50 states of the union and 106 foreign countries are former BYU students, who largely reflect the spirit and aspirations acquired or strengthened on the Provo campus. This great body of former students is six times the size of, and far more influential than, the smaller student body on campus.

The Alumni Association was organized in 1893 with Joseph B. Keeler as its first president. His immediate successors were George H. Brimhall, Milton H. Hardy, Reed Smoot, Maybelle Thurman, and Edwin S. Hinckley. Since that time there have been 60 presidents of the Alumni Association elected from year to year by the members. Their names are given in the appendices of Volume 4 of *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*.

The first paid executive secretary of the Alumni Association was A. Rex Johnson, professor of economics at BYU, who was selected in 1926 when Oscar A. Kirkham was president of the association. Johnson served for 12 years, during which time a board of directors was established, a variety of fund-raising projects were undertaken, and the Alumni Distinguished Service Awards were inaugurated. In 1938 Cornelius R. Peterson became the general secretary and served until 1942 under such outstanding alumni presidents as J. Clifton Moffitt, Junius M. Jackson, Bryant S. Hinckley, and George Albert Smith, later President of the LDS Church. When Peterson entered the military in 1942, Ralph Britsch agreed to serve without pay as alumni secretary in addition to his responsibilities as full-time instructor in the English Department. The war made it difficult for the Alumni Association to function extensively.

In March 1945 Frank Haymore became the alumni secretary in addition to his duties as manager of the BYU Press. He and alumni president L. Weston Oaks established a new alumni publication called the *Brigham Young Alumnus*.²

On 7 November 1946 Harold Glen Clark became executive secretary while also serving as head of the BYU Extension Division. During most of Clark's time in office, the president of the association was Clyde D. Sandgren, who served an unprecedented four years. The circulation

2. The magazine was edited by Josephine Seaton, a BYU graduate and a reporter for the *Salt Lake Tribune*. She served without compensation.

of the *Brigham Young Alumnus* rose to 13,000, and \$100,000 was contributed to a student union building fund.

Alumni Activities During the Wilkinson Administration

Harold Glen Clark was succeeded in 1951 by W. Cleon Skousen — who while not an alumnus of BYU had an unsurpassed enthusiasm for the school. Skousen set about to increase alumni membership, and in addition to contacting former students he promoted BYU among Church members who had not attended the school. Under his supervision the club programs were eliminated and ward representatives and coordinators were appointed. Fund raising and student recruitment were given top priority. The alumni magazine was sent to association members six times a year and to all alumni twice each year.

The work of the Alumni Association was so closely identified with the interests of the University in student recruiting, fund raising, and public relations that the University agreed to pay the expenses of the Alumni Association in exchange for the Association giving all donations directly to the University. In addition, the Alumni Association discontinued its membership dues program and encouraged all alumni to support BYU financially.

With the emphasis on student recruitment and only 22,000 alumni addresses on file, better records were needed. Skousen's staff grew to six full-time employees, including Skousen as executive director, Raymond E. Beckham as assistant director, Kenneth J. Pace as publication editor, and three full-time secretaries. In addition to alumni responsibilities, Skousen and his staff were responsible for BYU public service programs.

By 1954 the operation of the Alumni Association had reached a level of performance which warranted the appointment of a separate executive secretary. Skousen recommended that Raymond E. Beckham be appointed to fill the position. Beckham was executive secretary for ten years and promoted the Alumni Association through a period of unprecedented growth. He helped pioneer the long-range University fund-raising program and saw the completion of the Alumni House at a cost of \$220,000, half of which was contributed by alumni. Beckham's persistence also resulted in the development of the Aspen Grove Family Camp in Provo Canyon for alumni recreational use.

Raymond Beckham gained a national reputation for his leadership in pioneering an alumni record-keeping procedure based on an IBM card system. Most major colleges and universities adopted his system during the next decade. Through strenuous effort he found the addresses of about 90 percent of the living alumni. This was especially helpful in fund-raising activities.³

3. During this period Beckham served successively as chairman of the Rocky Mountain District of the American Alumni Council, as a member

When Beckham was called to become the acting director of University Development in 1964, Ronald G. Hyde, who had served successfully as fund director of the Alumni Association since 1958, became executive director. The BYU Cougar Club was organized to help recruit outstanding athletes, and Karl G. Maeser Associates was created to raise funds for the academic programs of the University. And in 1968 the *BYU Alumnus Magazine* was replaced by a tabloid newspaper called *BYU Today*, with Harold O. Williams as managing editor.

Under Hyde's administration the Alumni Association gained such a national reputation that in 1969 BYU was chosen as one of two universities to receive the American Alumni Council Administration award for overall excellence of its alumni programs. The only event to mar the tremendous success of this period was a tragic accident on 27 November 1965, when a charter plane carrying eight BYU Cougar Club members crashed in inclement weather between Salt Lake City and Provo. The club members were on their way to join President Wilkinson and 60 other enthusiastic alumni in Provo en route to Albuquerque, New Mexico, to attend the WAC championship football game between BYU and the University of New Mexico, which BYU won. Killed in the accident were the Cougar Club's first president, Roger West Parkinson, M.D.; J. Bernard Critchfield, M.D.; Antoine A. Dalton, M.D.; Theodore R. Gledhill; Gordon K. Lewis, D.D.S.; James L. Peterson; Marion L. Probert, M.D.; and Richard R. Wilkins, all of whom were just beginning successful careers. While each of the widows received substantial settlements from the federal government due to its failure to provide adequate weather information to the aircraft, this did not compensate for the loss of the fathers of eight faithful families.

During the 11 years Ronald Hyde has directed the BYU Alumni program the staff has grown to 11 professional members, 7 full-time stenographic and clerical employees, and 24 part-time student employees, plus an additional 34 employees who operate the Aspen Grove Family Camp from June through September. Alumni gifts grew from \$190,000 in 1963-64 to over \$2,000,000 in 1974-75. Alumni Association rolls now include 161,921 BYU alumni, 10,592 Hawaii campus alumni, 46,957 parents, 16,678 friends of the University, and approximately 25,000 current students. During his term as director of the Alumni Association, Hyde has served as bishop of two different

of the National Board of Directors, chairman of the 1959 National Conference, and chairman of the Alumni Administrative Section of the Council. During his term as executive secretary of the Alumni Association, Beckham also served as bishop of one of the original campus wards and later served as president of the BYU First Stake. As of 1975 he is serving as president of the Canada Calgary Mission.

wards and as counselor in the Sharon Stake Presidency, and he is now president of the BYU Fourth Stake.

Numerous awards and special recognition have come to the administration of the Alumni Association in recent years. BYU's 600 alumni admissions advisers were cited as the outstanding alumni volunteer effort in behalf of an institution of higher learning, and the Alumni Association was presented the Ernest T. Stewart Alumni Service Award. Ron Hyde was made a member of the national board of directors of the American Alumni Council and served on the five-man executive committee. In 1973-74 he was elected chairman of the board of the American Alumni Council, the highest elective position in that organization.

The Alumni newspaper, *BYU Today*, which is distributed free to all alumni, has also made great progress. By 1971 increased advertising revenue allowed the newspaper to be doubled in size and published nine times per year. In 1973 Alan Palmer became editor and under his leadership the newspaper qualified for awards of excellence several times. In 1974 the newspaper was cited for its excellence by Inter-mountain Business Communicators. In 1975 it received a citation of merit and was listed among the nation's top ten alumni newspapers by the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education. In 1974 the American Alumni Council selected the BYU Alumni Association's brochure and direct mail program as the best in the nation, awarding the Time-Life Award and 22 citations of merit for individual pieces.

Profile of BYU Alumni

The master records of the Alumni Association indicate that 52 percent of BYU alumni are men and 48 percent are women.⁴ The average age is 36.1 years, compared with the national average of 45.5. Over one-third of the BYU alumni are under 30 years of age, and 84 percent became alumni after 1950.⁵

In 1967 the average annual income of BYU alumni was \$10,800. By 1973 the average had jumped to \$15,150.⁶ In 1973 more than 70 percent of all alumni were receiving salaries ranging between \$10,000 and \$20,000.⁷ This is significant in view of the fact that the 1967 survey indicated that nearly one-third of the alumni were earning their living

4. In recent years two alumni surveys have been completed which display other interesting characteristics of BYU alumni as a group: H. Bruce Higley, "Alumni of Brigham Young University: A Descriptive Study," Office of Institutional Research, Brigham Young University, April 1971; and M. Dallas Burnett, Evan T. Peterson, N. Dale Wright, and Robert J. Parsons, "A Survey of Attitudes of Brigham Young University Alumni," Survey Research Center, Brigham Young University, June 1974.

5. Burnett, et al. "A Survey of Alumni," p. 188.

6. Higley, "Alumni: Descriptive Study," p. 7.

7. Burnett, et al., "A Survey of Alumni," p. 185.

in education and only 21 percent were involved in business.⁸ Approximately 94 percent of the alumni are LDS, and they come from every state in the union as well as many foreign countries.⁹ Alumni Association records show that 3,080 alumni reside in 70 foreign countries.

Since the founding of Brigham Young Academy in 1875 BYU has had some very distinguished graduates. Reed Smoot was called to the Council of the Twelve at the age of 38 and gained a national reputation as dean of the United States Senate and the “watchdog of the Treasury.”¹⁰ George Sutherland, one of Maeser’s early students, is the only man from Utah to have been both the president of the American Bar Association and an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. Other national leaders from BYU include Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, U.S. Senators William H. King and Arthur V. Watkins, Governor Henry H. Blood, and Congressmen Don B. Colton and Henry Aldous Dixon.

BYU has produced 64 chancellors or presidents of colleges and universities, including the University of California at Los Angeles, San Jose State College, the University of Oregon, the University of Minnesota, and all major universities in Utah — three at Utah State University, four at the University of Utah, and five at BYU. A complete list of these chancellors or presidents and the schools over which they presided is contained in the appendices to Volume 4 of *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*. Since 1937 the Alumni Association has honored 157 alumni who have given exceptional service to their profession, community, state, or nation, or to the University.

Outstanding Foreign Alumni

A number of foreign-born alumni are filling positions of major responsibility. Guatemalan Rafael E. Castillo, a 1957 BYU graduate, has served his country as its delegate to the United Nations. Indonesian Saing Silalahi, who received a master’s degree from BYU in 1961, has served as mayor of Central Jakarta and presently is mayor of West Jakarta, with jurisdiction over 1,500,000 residents. In Bangkok, Thailand, Tim Chan Wanglee (class of 1959) is an international businessman with substantial banking interests throughout the Far East. Juan Jose Rodas (1960), previously a judge and then administrator of courts in Guatemala, now serves as legal counselor at the permanent mission of Guatemala to the United Nations. Dr. Oscar J. Udo (1967) and R. Michael B. Upkong (1967) are professors at the University of Nigeria. Nasser Ghoush-Beigui is an aide to the Iranian Ambassador in Washington, D. C., and Canadian Kenneth L. Kyle (1968) has served

8. Higley, “Alumni: Descriptive Study,” p. 10.

9. Burnett, et al., “A Survey of Alumni,” p. 186.

10. T. Earl Pardoe, *The Sons of Brigham* (Brigham Young University Alumni Association, 1969), p. 181.

with the Office of the Privy Council in Ottawa and presently is director of social and cultural affairs for the province of Alberta. Dr. Friederich Hanns Lorenz (1958) from Heidelberg introduced the study of public administration in Germany and is presently a professor at the University of Constance in Switzerland. Ann Stark Robinson is secretary to the crown prince of Korea. And in New York, Iranian Mehdi Fakharzadeh (1950) was recently featured in a *Fortune* magazine article as the top producer for Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in 1974. While most of these foreign alumni are not members of the Church, they and many others like them developed at BYU a friendship for the Church which has already been helpful in opening doors for expanding missionary work throughout the world.

The Emeritus Club

The Emeritus Club includes those who attended Brigham Young Academy during Karl G. Maeser's presidency, or who graduated 50 years before the Club was organized, or who are 70 years of age or older and have served BYU on the Board of Trustees or the faculty. Fifty-six former students received Emeritus Club Charter membership certificates when the club was established in 1941. A list of all presidents of the BYU Emeritus Club by years is given in the appendices to Volume 4 of *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*.

The 300,000-strong Division of Continuing Education

The Division of Continuing Education, which today serves more than 300,000 students, owes its existence to President Franklin S. Harris, who in 1921 organized the Extension Division, out of which the Division of Continuing Education has grown. In 1946, a quarter of a century later, President Howard S. McDonald appointed Harold Glen Clark to replace Lowry Nelson as director of the Extension Division. Clark immediately saw the great potential of his new assignment and the Extension Division began to make great progress. The unusual growth of continuing education during Clark's tenure was due to several factors. There was a remarkable growth in the Church itself. The teachings of the Church create within the members a desire to continue their learning and to broaden their experience. After World War II the educational systems of the country allowed more flexibility in the extension of services to a wide audience. The cultural, economic, and social conditions of the world encouraged new forms of educational service. And, finally, the dedicated faculty was willing to serve broad educational interests.

A number of years ago a California educator from a prestigious institution, who had been invited to attend one of BYU's Education Week programs, commented, "This is all very fine, and we could do the same thing except for two reasons: First, our faculty wouldn't teach, and, second, the students wouldn't come." The 300,000-member stu-

dent body of Continuing Education resulted from taking willing teachers to eager students wherever they might be.

When he left the University in 1971 to become president of the new Provo Temple, Harold Glen Clark turned over to new director Stanley A. Peterson a well-structured organization for disseminating educational materials and programs. Adult education had been explored, developed, and promoted on three broad fronts: evening classes, education weeks, and off-campus centers. Other projects included special workshops and seminars. Building on that foundation, Peterson has led Continuing Education through five years of spectacular growth, and the net income has at least doubled.

Evening Classes

In the days of Karl G. Maeser an attempt was made to expand the influence of the school by holding classes at night for both youth and adults. However, these sporadic efforts were not as successful as the leaders of the school had hoped. There was no formal, organized curriculum of night classes until 1953, when 15 evening classes were offered by BYU, three for academic credit and the others for self-development, entertainment, and hobby development. In 1956 the Evening School was organized as an independent department. So many students found night classes to be more convenient because of employment, farm work, or conflicting class schedules that pressures mounted to have the night classes made a part of the regular teaching schedule. This was done for the first time in 1957, and the next year 37 departments of the University were represented in the evening class offerings.¹¹

So many daytime students found the night classes attractive that they soon outnumbered part-time students from the community adult education program. Some University administrators feared that BYU might develop into a night school, and therefore a fee of \$2.00 per quarter hour was charged to discourage large numbers of students from taking classes in the evening. The extra fee was eliminated at the beginning of the 1973-74 school year.

The policy of the school was to respond to the educational market and provide academic offerings at whatever times seemed most convenient to degree-seeking students. The success of this policy is demonstrated by the fact that during the 1974-75 school year there were 30,225 enrollments, and 60 academic departments offered approximately 470 different courses. It is now possible to complete an associate degree in a number of academic areas including law enforcement and child development without ever enrolling in daytime classes. But the number achieving this goal has been small.

11. Brigham Young University, *Catalog of Courses, 1958-59* (Provo: Brigham Young University Alumni Association, 1969), p. 181.

Campus Education Week

Another innovation during the Harris administration was an experimental program launched in 1922 called Leadership Week. The first Leadership Week program was held in the winter so that farmers could take classes to “inspire and prepare members of the Church for higher qualities of leadership.” Attendance at the first Leadership Week was well over 2,000, which insured the program becoming a permanent institution at BYU.

In 1950 the program was changed to the summer in order to avoid conflicts with the regular school day. Until 1955, patrons were allowed to attend the program without charge; in that year a registration fee of one dollar was authorized.¹² The fee gradually increased through the years in order to help meet expenses. In 1963 the name was changed to Education Week. The popularity of these programs increased year to year. During August 1975 a total of 10,181 individuals from throughout the nation registered for Education Week programs on the BYU campus.

Workshops, Seminars, and Special Courses

In addition to the evening credit class programs and the Campus Education Week offering, the campus has been a natural base for numerous special credit and noncredit programs. There have been many genealogy research seminars, Boy Scout merit badge programs, family life conferences, journalism workshops, theatre workshops, youth conferences, engineering symposia, audio-recording seminars, college health seminars, college honors programs, and numerous in-service training classes for teachers and educational administrators. From 1956 to 1975 the number of participants in such special courses and conferences increased from 1,250 to 36,189.¹³

BYU Off-campus Centers

The concept of expanding the resources and services of Brigham Young University to members of the Church throughout the world was one of the major contributions of the Wilkinson administration. The first off-campus service center was organized in conjunction with Ricks College at Rexburg, Idaho. When Ricks College was changed from a four-year to a two-year institution in 1956 it left an educational void in southeastern Idaho, particularly in the area of certification and recer-

12. BYU Extension Division, Extension Council Meeting Minutes, 10 January 1955, Vol. 12, BYU Archives.

13. In the continuing education field, as is standard with all universities, each class taken is counted as a separate enrollment. There are no separate figures as to “head count,” although the BYU Continuing Education Division estimates the head count would be 10 to 15 percent less than the enrollments given.

tification for teachers who needed upper division and graduate courses. A BYU-Ricks Center was therefore established with J. Kenneth Thatcher, former superintendent of schools at Sugar City, Idaho, as the first chairman. Later, a branch office was established in Idaho Falls. Thatcher was succeeded in turn by Thomas D. Kershaw and R. Brent Kinghorn. By 1974-75, the enrollment in credit and noncredit programs administered by the BYU-Ricks Center had grown to 39,926.¹⁴

In 1957, one year after the BYU-Ricks Center was established, a similar project was instituted in Ogden, Utah, to provide adult education classes but not to duplicate the work of or substantially compete with Weber College, also in Ogden. Mark A. Benson was appointed first director of the Ogden Center, which opened on 10 August 1957. He was succeeded by George S. Haslam and more recently by Orson B. Roper. Class enrollment during the first year totaled about 700, but by 1974-75 enrollments had reached 13,647. The BYU-Ogden Center is conveniently located in a building formerly used as an LDS Institute that was vacated when the Weber College campus was moved to its present location.

A BYU Adult Education Center in Salt Lake City was established in 1959 in the McCune Mansion overlooking the downtown area. This mansion was presented to the LDS Church in 1919 by Alfred McCune, one of Salt Lake City's early millionaires, with the hope that it would become the residence of the President of the Church. However, Heber J. Grant preferred a more modest residence and therefore the Church converted the McCune Mansion into a school for the development of music and the arts. The Trustees authorized the reopening of this beautiful structure as the BYU-Salt Lake Center. Lynn M. Hilton, former assistant to Dean Harold Glen Clark on the Provo campus, was appointed first chairman. He was succeeded in turn by Keith L. Smith, Bruce M. Lake, and R. Jan Thurston. Later, the mansion proved inadequate for the increased enrollment and classes had to be held in some 50 other locations spread across the city. In June 1972 the BYU-Salt Lake Center was moved to the former Veterans Hospital facility at 401 Twelfth Avenue. By 1974-75 the total enrollment in the Salt Lake Center was 15,775, equivalent to 879 full-time students.¹⁵

In 1959 BYU was authorized to establish a center in Southern California. The first BYU-California center was located in Los Angeles. It was subsequently moved to Inglewood, then Covina, and finally Garden Grove. By the 1974-75 academic year total enrollment had increased to 71,661.¹⁶

Until 1969 the California program centered in the noncredit area,

14. The Church Educational System and Brigham Young University, *Continuing Education Annual Report, 1974-75*, p. 7.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

but in that year Brigham Young University started a graduate program leading to the doctor's degree in education (Ed.D.). Candidates could earn most of the needed credit in local classes but were required to do residence work on the BYU campus by attending summer sessions.

The men who have served as chairmen of the BYU-California Center are David N. Chalk, R. Wayne Shute, V. Dallas Merrell, Stanley A. Peterson, R. Jan Thurston, and Kenneth W. Anderson.

BYU Centers in Foreign Lands

The study of languages provided the first impetus for starting BYU Centers in foreign countries. Several preliminary experiments demonstrated the practical value of taking students abroad to learn the language and culture. In 1958 a number of students were sent to Mexico to study Spanish. A similar group studied French in Quebec during the summer of 1959, and students studying German went to Austria in 1963. In 1965 a BYU Center was established in Salzburg, Austria. The first class consisted of 143 students under the direction of Arthur R. Watkins. He was assisted by faculty members John R. Halliday, Eugene Campbell, Ray C. Hillam, and Briant S. Jacobs. The trip was marred by the tragic death of two women students who were accidentally asphyxiated while visiting in the apartment of friends in Vienna. Except for this tragedy, the first Semester Abroad was a great success. Students participating in this program stayed at the Hotel Steinlichner in Salzburg, while some of the advanced students stayed in private homes. Several years later the program was moved to the Gasthof Zieglau in Elsbethan on the outskirts of Salzburg.

The Salzburg experiment was such a success that in 1966 a BYU Center was established in Grenoble, France, under the direction of Harold W. Lee, who was assisted by Wilford E. Smith, Preston R. Gledhill, and James B. Allen. The students were housed in residence halls at the University of Grenoble. Seventy participated in this first Semester Abroad to France. In 1973 the program was transferred to Paris. It was intended to organize a similar program in Jerusalem, but arrangements had to be postponed until the political situation stabilized somewhat following the Six-day War in June 1967. President McKay expressed a desire to have the BYU program in Jerusalem serve both Arabs and Jews as a means of bringing the Gospel message to each of these important segments of Abraham's descendants. Each of the classes has therefore made a deliberate attempt to deal extensively with both peoples. The program began in Jerusalem in January 1968 under the direction of Dean Daniel H. Ludlow of the College of Religious Instruction. Twenty students participated and were housed with the Ludlows at the Ritz Hotel, where classes were conducted. The hotel was owned and operated by Arabs, but Dean Ludlow had frequent contact with the Israelis, who occupied the area after the war. The following year a group of 33 students led by LaMar C. Berrett

entered Israel by way of Jordan. This group made history as the first individuals to cross from Jordan into Israel via the Allenby Bridge since the 1967 war.

In 1968 the Board of Trustees approved a BYU Semester Abroad in Spain. Terrance L. Hansen was appointed first director for the program, which began in February 1969 with 43 students. Several residences were obtained in downtown Madrid to accommodate the students. Marion G. Romney was greeted by the group when he visited Spain to dedicate it for the preaching of the gospel. The study abroad group was able to participate. A mission was opened, and the Study Abroad people have been an active part of this mission since that time.

President Wilkinson proposed a Study Abroad program in London, but since emphasis for these early programs was on language training, it was not then approved. In 1974, however, President Oaks was authorized to establish a center in London.

All of the Semester Abroad programs have been successful. As stated by a student after a semester in Jerusalem, "It was the most fantastic four months of my life. . . . It is a great learning and growing experience. I recommend it to anyone who wishes to have a spurt of spiritual, academic and cultural growth."

Home Study

One of the first accomplishments of the Extension Division after its organization in 1921 was the establishment of correspondence courses. Prior to that time only sporadic offerings by individual faculty members had been available. After the home study program began, course offerings remained small and enrollment rarely exceeded 200 in any one year. During World War II it was hoped that several thousand servicemen would enroll in home study courses, but by September 1955 it was found that of the 14,000 LDS servicemen fewer than 400 had enrolled. Correspondence courses were also offered to inmates of the Utah State Prison, but response to this program was very limited.

In 1971 approval was given for the Home Study Department to offer courses leading to an Associate of Science Degree in law enforcement, and in 1973 an Associate of Science Degree in family living. By 1975 Home Study enrollment had grown to over 10,000 enrollments, equivalent to 708 full-time students, compared to 837 enrollments in 1951, the first year of the Wilkinson administration. In spite of its slow start the BYU Home Study program has now become one of the national leaders in correspondence education on the university level, ranking third nationally in registrations. Approximately 1,000 of the enrollees live in other countries.

The latest innovation in the correspondence field is a program enabling students to obtain a Bachelor of Independent Studies Degree. Applicants for this degree are assigned a faculty adviser and are required to attend periodic campus seminars. The first six graduates

received their degree in August 1974 under the supervision of an advisory committee headed by Richard H. Henstrom. Program administrators have included Robert C. Seamons and Wayne J. Lott. By 1975 there were approximately 150 students in the program, ranging in age from 21 to 75.

Off-campus Education Weeks

The success of BYU Education Weeks stimulated attempts to try similar programs off campus. In June 1951 the first official off-campus Education Week was held at Cardston, Alberta, Canada. Harold B. Lee and Ernest L. Wilkinson both participated. The program was repeated in 1952 and 1953 and then was temporarily discontinued. But by 1958 stake presidents in Southern California had succeeded in getting approval for an Educational Week, and a few months later similar programs were approved for Phoenix, Arizona, and Ogden, Utah. The following year Education Weeks were approved for Oakland, California, and Salt Lake City, and by 1974-75 there were 83 separate off-campus Education Week programs with a total enrollment of 62,412. To handle this tremendous enrollment the Education Week Department was organized within the Division of Continuing Education.

Special Religious Programs

A shorter version of BYU Education Weeks is found in Education Days, which were designed to reach communities with smaller LDS populations. Lecture tours were organized into the midwestern, southeastern, and northeastern United States, and in 1975 these tours reached 8,304 people in 38 locations.

A similar lecture series designed to teach the gospel is called the Know Your Religion series. These lectures bring to members of the Church and their friends some of the foremost Mormon scholars on gospel and Church topics. Originally these lectures, sponsored by the Mutual Improvement Association, were presented in Barrett Hall in Salt Lake City, but the First Presidency decided in 1952 to transfer the responsibility for the Know Your Religion series to BYU. This has become one of the most popular of all the extension programs; in 1974-75 there were 81,849 individual registrations for Know Your Religion lectures in 70 locations.

In addition to the above programs there have been a number of lecture series organized to fulfill specific needs. One series, called Women's Enrichment seminars, brings together Relief Society teachers and provides them with lesson-enrichment material for their classes. During 1974-75, 16 of these programs provided special training for 7,155 officers and teachers of the Relief Society. This program was coordinated with the Relief Society presidency and the Church Correlation Committee.

BYU Travel Studies

BYU Travel Study tours were launched in 1951 when Harold Glen Clark was director of the Extension Division and Raymond E. Beckham was his assistant. These tours were for persons who, for the most part, were not full-time students. They attracted alumni and Church members and their friends. Alma Burton was selected as the director for the first Church history tour, and a group of 31 people participated.¹⁷ Another Travel Study group left for Mexico on 6 June 1951 under the direction of Ernest J. Wilkins and Aaron F. Brown. The 17 members of the group traveled in six private automobiles.

In 1953 a separate Travel Studies Bureau was authorized with R. Max Rogers as director. The growth and early success of this program was indicated by William I. Holbrook, vice-president of American Youth Abroad, who in a letter to Jay B. Hunt in 1957 referred to BYU Travel Study as "the finest and most highly developed educational travel program of any college or university in the country." The chief administrators for this program after R. Max Rogers have been Jay B. Hunt, 1957 to 1959, and Robert C. Taylor, director since 1959. Robert C. Taylor has been responsible for developing BYU Travel Studies into a worldwide educational touring agency. During 1973-74, 22 different tours took 1,439 patrons to almost every continent. The great strength of these offerings has been the ability to combine educational content and faculty experience with travel. During recent years cooperative programs with the Alumni Association have proved to be successful. Chartered planes have been used, where there is neither smoking nor drinking, and the faculty directors give informative educational talks over the loudspeaker system.

Institute of American Indian Services and Research

The Division of Continuing Education has tried to supplement BYU on-campus programs for Indian students (discussed later in this chapter), with off-campus programs aimed at assisting Indians of all ages living on reservations throughout the West. Church leaders have encouraged this idea since 1958 when a special study was conducted by A. Theodore Tuttle and Boyd K. Packer. Their report concurred with a similar study prepared by Lyman Tyler of BYU which recommended a long-range Indian education program for the Church. As a result of these studies, the Church and Brigham Young University authorized the establishment of an Institute of American Indian Studies and Research. The Institute was assigned to identify and locate all LDS Indian students, improve the Church's working relationship with federal programs on Indian education, coordinate and improve seminary

17. Alma P. Burton to Harold Glen Clark, 10 October 1951, Vol. 6, BYU Extension Division Publications, BYU Archives.

courses for Indian students, launch a program of original research on Indian mores and culture, and choose a coordinator to centralize the Church's Indian education program. Spencer W. Kimball served as honorary chairman of the institute. The rest of the staff were Lyman S. Tyler, director; Bob Gwilliam, secretary; John T. Bernhard and Ward Despain, members; and Ernest L. Wilkinson, ex officio member.

Considerable experimenting was necessary after the original launching of the institute in 1960 to devise a vigorous program which would accomplish the program's goals.

Extending Aid to Indian Reservations

By 1966 it was decided to have the Institute of Indian Services focus the resources of BYU on the Indian population off campus. Indians on campus were to be supervised by the Department of Indian Education in the General College under the direction of Royce Flandro. In 1970 Arturo De Hoyos began advising Indian students interested in graduate work.

Meanwhile, the Institute of Indian Services, which was originally under the direction of Dale Tingey, launched its off-campus program with the assistance of James Clark and Floyd Larsen. The new program was highly innovative in taking BYU services to Indian population centers. Utilizing the services of Raymond Farnsworth, the Institute undertook more than 80 agricultural projects involving 43 Indian tribes in Arizona, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Nebraska, Canada, and Mexico. Institute leaders also helped the Indians organize cooperatives which have provided outlets for arts and crafts of various tribes. Beginning in 1970, Indian leaders were brought to BYU for an annual Agriculture and Home Management Conference, and regional conferences were also held in 1973 in the northern United States and southwest Canada. A full-time project in Puebla, Mexico, was undertaken in 1973 by Kirt Olsen. Olsen and his staff are working to develop better agricultural practices among the rural Indians. The University's student travel and study program "Project Mexico" assists in this area, as does the BYU-sponsored literacy program.

By 1972 the Institute had become a recognized success and was transferred from the General College to the Division of Continuing Education. Since 1969 the BYU Indian program has received generous grants from such foundations as the Merrill Foundation, U. S. Steel, the Donner Foundation, the Sara Melon-Scaife Foundation, and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation. In 1975 Gary King of the Kellogg Foundation visited BYU and said, "We're pleased with your program. We recognize it . . . as one of the best projects that the Foundation is funding at the present time. In addition to agriculture and home

management, you are people builders. This is what we are concerned with, the building of people.”¹⁸

Other Off-campus Continuing Education Programs

The Division of Continuing Education has materially assisted in the Doctoral Internship Program of the College of Education. Faculty members fly to California to train school administrators. In addition, many teachers have worked on their master’s degree while employed off campus. Hundreds of students, primarily in Utah and Idaho, have used this combination of programs to complete their master’s degrees while employed. More recently, a master’s degree program in library science has been initiated in Salt Lake City, providing for all degree coursework away from Provo. A master’s degree in public administration is also available at Dugway Proving Grounds in Utah by special arrangement. The University has also initiated a master’s degree program in education in Samoa. BYU has been a leader in the national movement to help graduate students combine their educational and professional endeavors.

Continuing Education in Retrospect

The Extension Division, renamed the Division of Continuing Education, fulfills one of the main educational functions of Brigham Young University and has contributed tremendously to making the world our campus. During the first year of its operation in 1921-22, the Extension Division had 159 registrations in credit and noncredit classes, 151 correspondence or home study students, and 2,046 registrants in the first Education Week. Total enrollment was 2,356. During the 1974-75 academic year there were 301,179 registrations, 61,420 for credit classes and 239,759 for noncredit and other church continuing education classes. This number is equivalent to 13,946 full-time students, more than one-half of the regular day school enrollment.¹⁹

In addition to its present activities the Division of Continuing Education initiated and developed many programs and services that have since been shifted to other administrative areas, such as the News Bureau, University Relations, the Program Bureau, the Alumni Association, Educational Media, Instructional Media Services, Central Mailing, Publications, University Lyceums, the Speakers Bureau, Graphics, and Campus Films. In addition, many individual courses and programs have been pioneered by Continuing Education before they became part of the general curriculum. The magnitude of Con-

18. From a talk by Raymond B. Farnsworth, 3 April 1975, when given a Creative Achievement Award by Brigham Young University.

19. One full-time equivalent student takes 30 semester hours of University courses or participates in 480 hours of classwork during the academic year.

tinuing Education's efforts is demonstrated by the fact that its program has ranked among the top ten in the United States since 1965-66. This position has steadily improved since that time so that BYU now ranks in many statistics above other educational institutions which have been considered the leaders, such as the University of California, Pennsylvania State University, the University of Maryland, the University of Wisconsin, Purdue University, and the University of Minnesota. Its position, according to the statistical criteria of the National University Extension Association and the Association for Continuing Higher Education for 1973-74 (1974-75 figures are not available), was as follows: first in total registrations (247,523); first in total noncredit class registration (90,620); first in total class registrations (136,755); first in total conference registrations (103,432); second in total number of classes (3,130); third in total home study registration (7,336); and eighth in total degree credit college registrations (46,135).

All of this has been accomplished at very little expense to the Church or the University. In spite of the rapid growth of Extension Division services during the early years of the Wilkinson administration, by 1960-61 the income from fees was 78.3 percent of total operating expenditures. By 1973-74 fees paid for 97.5 percent of expenses, and by 1975 the division was self-supporting.

The history of Continuing Education at BYU indicates the delicate line between the roles of ecclesiastical and educational programs. The Presiding Bishopric, for instance, first requested the Bishops' Workshop, but later it was thought by the First Presidency and the Board of Trustees that the teachers of this workshop were trespassing on the programs of the Presiding Bishopric. There was also a brief period when the Mutual Improvement Association felt some of the programs of BYU were competitive and invading their areas of responsibility. As a result the Bishops' Workshop was discontinued and acceptable compromises and guidelines were achieved in working with other organizations of the Church.

In 1968, by assignment of the First Presidency, Marion G. Romney made a study of the Continuing Education program in all its dimensions to determine whether there were any conflicts with orthodox Church programs, and, if so, to clarify the field of activity with these Church organizations. His report clarified a number of conflicting viewpoints. It gave solid support to the Continuing Education program and a sense of direction for long-term goals.

The University Speakers Bureau

In addition to the massive program of the Division of Continuing Education, BYU maintains the University Speakers Bureau, which supplies faculty lecturers to outside organizations. This allows specialists on the BYU faculty to share their knowledge with interested

groups, and helps improve the image of the school and provide a better understanding of its purposes and policies. Services of this type originated in the Maeser era, but the first formal Speakers Bureau was set up during the Harris administration. When W. Cleon Skousen was appointed full-time executive secretary of the Alumni Association at the beginning of the Wilkinson administration, he was also assigned a broad spectrum of University public relations responsibilities which later became a separate division in the school. At first he largely took this responsibility on himself. Skousen's task was to get the BYU message to the people. In 1952 he gave 420 speeches to audiences totaling approximately 121,650 persons. This does not include radio audiences, although among the 420 appearances there were 47 radio broadcasts and two television appearances. Skousen handled the Sunday Night Tabernacle Broadcast for 27 weeks during 1952. He also spoke before 72 high school groups, 158 church groups, 53 police training classes, and 39 business clubs.²⁰ During these years the Speakers Bureau aided as a recruiting arm for the school.²¹

With Skousen's appointment as director of public relations in 1955, Ray Beckham assumed administrative control of the Alumni Association and Jed Richardson operated the Speakers Bureau. Through the next few years the Speakers Bureau acted as an alumni and public relations operation. It was later taken over by the Office of University Relations. After Richardson the Speakers Bureau was operated by C. LaVar Rockwood, Lorin J. Jex, LaVar Bateman, Robert R. Boren, and David R. Lyon.

The Speakers Bureau publishes the *Speakers Bureau Guide* on an annual basis, listing faculty members who are prominent in their field, possess speaking ability, and are willing to lecture. In addition the booklet has a separate subject list indicating speakers by topics about which they are competent to speak.²² The *Speakers' Bureau Guide* is thus a directory to the availability of BYU talent for off-campus forums. Today, more than 100 faculty members respond to requests on a great variety of subjects.

The Indian Student Program

One of the most dramatic ways in which BYU has extended its influence is the programs it has initiated with regard to research, education, and spiritual upliftment of North American Indians. As was

20. Harold W. Pearse, "The History of the Alumni Association and Its Influence on the Development of Brigham Young University," doctoral dissertation (Brigham Young University, 1973), p. 250.
21. Skousen's unusual speaking load is not typical of the Speakers Bureau of today. Skousen performed this service as a part of the concerted drive by BYU to increase enrollment. Today more than 100 faculty members respond to requests on a great variety of subjects.
22. *Speakers' Bureau Guide*, 1968-69, BYU Archives, pp. 28-36.

mentioned previously in this chapter, off-campus programs have been administered by the Division of Continuing Education. On-campus Indian programs have been organized and guided by many devoted and tireless men.

Probably no more challenging task was ever undertaken by BYU than encouraging North American Indians to become part of the University's academic program. Cultural resistance to non-Indian ways extends back over four centuries of perpetual struggle. By 1900 disease, conquest, mass eviction from tribal lands, discrimination, oppression, and breakdown of cultural patterns had reduced the number of Indians from approximately 600,000 when the first white settlers arrived to about 250,000. Formal treaties protecting the rights of the Indians had been infamously ignored.

Ernest L. Wilkinson's and others' successful efforts to extract reparations for the Indians from the U. S. government were looked upon with approval by the leaders of the LDS Church. Latter-day Saints have felt a special responsibility to work with Indians since the beginning of the Church. The Book of Mormon, published in 1829, holds that some of the ancestors of the American Indian once constituted a great Christian civilization, and predicts that in modern times the Book of Mormon will speak to them as a "voice from the dust" to remind them of their identity and help them rise to greatness once again. As the Church matured and prospered, it began formulating specific programs to assist these neglected people.

Since 1940 the number of Indian members of the Church has grown rapidly. In parts of Central and South America and areas of the Pacific the Church has developed its own school systems, which currently enroll nearly 20,000 students. This includes the BYU-Hawaii campus with its predominantly Polynesian student body.²³

In 1954 the Church adopted the Indian Placement Program, in which thousands of Indian boys and girls enter the homes of non-Indian LDS Church members for nine months each year without any charge to enjoy the advantages of public schools, full church activity, and special cultural exchanges. The Indian students return to their homes during the summer months in order to retain their close family ties and integrate the learning they have received. This program allows young people to obtain a good education up to the high school level, and the Church encourages as many as possible to go on to institutions of higher learning.

Early in 1951, Spencer W. Kimball, then chairman of the Indian Committee of the Church, anticipated this need and approached President Wilkinson on the subject.²⁴ President Wilkinson was en-

23. According to Church belief, the native peoples of Central and South America and Polynesia are descendants of the same Lamanite and Nephite forebears as North American Indians.

24. Being called on a mission to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma), Andrew

thusiastically receptive to Elder Kimball's suggestion for an Indian education program at BYU, and a modest scholarship program was approved by the Church as the first step.²⁵ Progress was agonizingly slow. Even when Indian students were given full scholarships they often failed to stay for the entire year. Homesickness and lack of a familiar social environment overcame their educational aspirations and one by one they returned to the reservation.

Church and University leaders persisted, however, and they found ways to overcome these problems. They were encouraged by the fact that more Indians were becoming members of the Church, and others were becoming more friendly. Between 1947 and 1954 the number of LDS Indians in the Southwest Indian Mission (Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado) grew from 600 to almost 3,500,²⁶ and all of these were encouraged to give their children every educational advantage. At last a few Indian students enrolled at BYU with a determination to stay and succeed. Between 1951 and 1955 enrollment grew from 5 to 35 Indian students. Some even suggested that Indian enrollment would increase more rapidly if an Indian school were constructed, but Church leaders decided against this proposal.²⁷ The goal at BYU and other Church educational institutions was to help Indian students retain the richness

Kimball, father of President Spencer W. Kimball, left home on 28 January 1885, leaving a young wife and their three-month-old baby. He labored among the Cherokee Indians and white people living in the Indian Territory. In September 1885 his companion, James G. West, returned home, leaving Elder Kimball as the only missionary among the Indians. On 21 January 1886 Kimball was joined by two new elders, Ammon Green, Jr., and Ammon Allen; and on 3 May 1886 David Shand joined the group. Not only did these men work among the Cherokee nation, but they also taught the gospel to the Creek and Choctaw nations. Their success was very limited. Elder Kimball baptized three people and blessed several children. But they were successful in putting down prejudice and laying a foundation for good work in the future. In the spring of 1887 Andrew received his release but was still kept in charge of the Indian Territory mission until 1897. Under his leadership for 12 years the mission grew from one to sixty-one elders. The work expanded from labor among one tribe in the Indian Territory to work with Indians in five states and territories; Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 Vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901-36), 1:365-66. During all of this missionary period Elder Kimball's family remained in Salt Lake City except on one occasion when he took them with him to dedicate a meetinghouse in Missouri; conference of Ernest L. Wilkinson with Edward L. Kimball, 28 February 1976.

25. Spencer W. Kimball, Matthew Cowley, and Delbert L. Stapley to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 20 September 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, BYU Archives.
26. Memorandum from W. Cleon Skousen, et al., to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 27 August 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, BYU Archives.
27. Joseph Fielding Smith to the Executive Committee of Brigham Young University, 17 November 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, BYU Archives.

of their culture while learning to be a part of and make a contribution to modern society.

In 1950, Golden R. Buchanan, then president of the Southwest Indian Mission, suggested creating a campus organization for Indian students. A group of returned missionaries combined with Indian students to found an organization known as the Tribe of Many Feathers, designed to serve the social and recreational needs of Indian students and help them feel more at home at BYU.

Lyman Tyler was made chairman of the Indian Education Program and worked closely with the Tribe of Many Feathers. Dr. Tyler helped matriculate Indian students and carefully screened them for counseling and special courses which would fit their individual needs. A comprehensive tutoring program was designed wherein graduate students helped Indians overcome any deficiency in their previous training. Under Tyler's direction a newly structured program began in the 1955-56 school year with 34 carefully selected Indian students representing 17 tribes from 10 states. Twenty-seven students had tuition waived and all of them received books on credit.²⁸ Homes were provided without any charge for many of these students and the majority of them became actively involved in campus wards.²⁹ Janie Thompson of the Student Program Bureau made a special effort to encourage Indian students to participate in Program Bureau productions. Most of the Indian students stayed for the full year, and apparently BYU had finally discovered a balanced social and academic program for them.

Meanwhile, enrollment of Indian students remained at a low level. In 1963 there were only 43 students enrolled. To provide better guidance, the University established an Office of Indian Affairs in February 1964, and assistant professor of religion Paul E. Felt was appointed director.³⁰ Felt inherited a program with a mandate for growth, as expressed by Spencer W. Kimball in 1963:

I feel that much of the government money is almost a total waste when I spend time in the various agency offices. But an over-all view of the thing is encouraging. I see the Indians becoming

28. BYU Board of Trustees Minutes, 25 March 1955, BYU Archives.

29. This type of arrangement was very similar to the Indian Placement Program emphasized so strongly by Spencer W. Kimball in his October 1956 conference message; see Spencer W. Kimball, "The Expanded Indian Program," *The Improvement Era*, December 1956, pp. 937-40. It was Elder Kimball's feeling that "we shall never educate nor convert the Lamanites segregated on reservations. I feel certain that education is the answer — education in secular matters as well as spiritual. I believe that integration into our economy and community life is essential"; Spencer W. Kimball to Fred N. Spackman, 21 May 1957, Harold B. Lee Papers, LDS Church Historical Department.

30. "Professor Felt Appointed Chief of Y Indian Affairs," *Daily Universe*, 21 February 1964.

educated through government programs, other church programs and our own program. I might be over-optimistic but I see a rapid increase in the growth of the program and the acceptance of it by the Indians.³¹

Elder Kimball's expectation proved correct. Between 1963 and 1973 there was a 1,200 percent increase in enrollment of Indian students at BYU.³²

<i>School Year</i>	<i>American Indians Enrolled at BYU</i>
1963-64	43
1964-65	119
1965-66	140
1966-67	122
1967-68	135
1968-69	248
1969-70	332
1970-71	521
1971-72	535
1972-73	494

By 1974-75, more than 600 North American Indians from 23 states and Canada, representing 74 tribes and tribal blends, were attending BYU. There were even more if the count included all students of Lamanite descent from Latin America and the Pacific— 1,250 in 1974-75.

One of the most successful methods of recruiting Indian students has been the presentation of talent programs by the Student Program Bureau's "Lamanite Generation" at Indian population centers. These performances help elevate the aspirations of the Indian youngsters, showing them Indians who have excelled. This not only brings more students to BYU, but also benefits the young Indians in their future activities wherever they are. As Boyd K. Packer stated, "There is no question but that presentations of this kind and caliber will win many friends from among the Indian people for the Church as well as for BYU."³³

While the increased number of Indian students and their adaptation to student life has been very significant, the most encouraging aspect of Indian education has been the students' intellectual achievement. A University publication in 1975 reported,

Twenty percent of the Indian students who enter BYU as freshmen persist to graduation. By contrast, the national graduation average for Indians is less than four percent. The growth rate of

31. Spencer W. Kimball to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 8 October 1963, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, BYU Archives.

32. "History of the General College, 1965-1972," unpublished typescript in BYU Archives, p. 6.

33. Boyd K. Packer to Earl C. Crockett, 19 May 1964, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, BYU Archives.

the Indian senior students indicates that within a year or so the BYU figure will be forty-five percent or more. This approaches the national all-student figure of fifty-three percent. The fact that BYU Indian students perform competitively by the time they become upperclassmen is especially remarkable for two reasons. First, college entrance tests have predicted academic failure for most of these students. Second, the students meet the same academic standards as non-Indians — it is not in a sheltered program but in fifty-four different disciplines that they have earned 260 baccalaureate and advanced degrees in the past decade.³⁴

Archaeological Research in Central America

One of the most significant extensions of Brigham Young University's influence is in the field of archaeological research in Mesoamerica. Since publication of the Book of Mormon in 1829, members of the Church have been interested in the ruins of ancient civilizations in the American continent. However, early Mormon-oriented expeditions such as the Cluff Expedition in 1900 were conducted on an amateur level.

In 1946, John A. Widtsoe induced a trained archaeologist Wells Jakeman to join the faculty at BYU and teach courses in archaeology. A 1948 field trip was made to western Campeche in Mexico by Jakeman, Thomas Stuart Ferguson, and W. Glenn Harmon. Sufficient interest was aroused by this expedition and others like it that the New World Archaeological Foundation was organized in 1952. Officers were Thomas Stuart Ferguson, president; Alfred V. Kidder of the Carnegie Institution, vice-president; Milton R. Hunter of the First Council of Seventy, vice-president; and Scott H. Dunham, secretary-treasurer. Board members were Ferguson, Kidder, Hunter, Dunham, LeGrand Richards, John A. Widtsoe, Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., and Ernest A. Strong. These last two were probably the principal financial supporters of the Foundation.

By 1955 the foundation had sufficient financial support from private donors and the LDS Church to begin work in central Chiapas, Mexico, which eventually proved quite productive. The work was done under the direction of Heinrich Berlin, who served as field director until he resigned in 1956. Berlin was succeeded by Gareth W. Lowe in April of the same year.³⁵ Lowe and others undertook survey trips to locate additional sites for future diggings.

From the beginning, NWAf held to a policy of objectivity. While Mormons hoped that the excavations would scientifically confirm or at least corroborate the Book of Mormon, the operational rule was im-

34. University publication entitled "Indian Education — Brigham Young University," published in 1975 and authored by C. Terry Warner.

35. Gareth W. Lowe is still field director.

peccably scientific archaeology. Consequently, a large majority of the staff were well-trained non-Mormon archaeologists. A sensational find of the period was two bones carved in the intricate Izapan art style; they were acclaimed as among the masterpieces of Mesoamerican art. Radiocarbon dates showed the site was important by 1000 B.C. and was occupied for upwards of 2,000 years. Key finds in the summer and fall of 1957 were in Mound Five, consisting of hundreds of nearly whole vessels, constituting the greatest corpus of whole vessels found by any scientific excavation in Mesoamerica.

The initial grant for the foundation from the Church was due to expire in 1959 and therefore Mark E. Petersen and William F. Edwards were appointed to consider whether or not the Church should continue supporting this effort. It was determined that the foundation had been very successful in its excavations, but that adequate attention had not been given to reporting and analyzing the findings. It was nevertheless recommended that further Church support be deferred until the professional quality of the foundation reports could be evaluated.

From the standpoint of this archaeological work a significant development occurred in June of 1960. At that time Mark E. Petersen, Marion G. Romney, and Ernest L. Wilkinson, by assignment of the First Presidency, traveled to Mexico on what was to constitute a series of trips to survey the work of the foundation in the field. This committee was not only impressed with what they saw, but found that the Mexican government was strongly supportive of what the Foundation was doing. In accordance with the recommendations of this committee, the work of the foundation was merged into the BYU program and renamed the BYU-New World Archaeological Foundation. The Church has provided a substantial budget each year for this project, which is administered by BYU. This merging has allowed NWAFF employees to receive the normal BYU benefits not previously available to them.

An advisory board was set up with Howard W. Hunter as chairman and board members consisting of Mark E. Petersen, Marion G. Romney, Ernest L. Wilkinson, Earl C. Crockett, M. Wells Jakeman, with Thomas Stuart Ferguson as secretary and Joseph T. Bentley as treasurer. Although Wells Jakeman and others on the BYU faculty have made archaeological strides since that time, the principal constant work in Mesoamerica has been done by personnel of the foundation. The permanent staff is under the direction of Gareth W. Lowe, who in 1972 was given an honorary doctorate degree at BYU in recognition of the quality of his work. There are three full-time archaeologists employed on a year-round basis in Mexico as a part of this program. Archaeology students at BYU are also used on a part-time basis. In addition, the foundation employs from 10 to 125 Mexicans, depending on the need and the season, to assist in the operations.

During the years 1961 to 1975 reports printed through BYU Press contained thousands of pages of valuable archaeological data. Some of the data have been published in national and international journals.

In recent years the BYU-New World Archaeological Foundation has been recognized both in Mexico and Central America as the most active and respected non-Mexican institution doing archaeological work in Mesoamerica. As the Mexican government became increasingly tough with foreign organizations, the foundation enjoyed an enviable position because it was considered thoroughly responsible and reliable. When the Mexican government constructed large dams near Chialus, the BYU-New World Archaeological Foundation was asked to collaborate with the Mexican government in salvaging priceless artifacts which would otherwise have been covered by the reservoirs.

In 1971 Ray T. Matheny, associate professor of anthropology and archaeology at BYU, discovered that a major canal system had been constructed in and around the site at Edzna, Campeche. Each year from 1971 to 1974 further work was done in that area, supported mainly by BYU-NWAF with help from the National Geographic Society. Evidence points to a remarkably dense population when the canal system was constructed before the Christian era. The board of BYU-NWAF in 1975 included Howard W. Hunter, Robert K. Thomas, Ray T. Matheny, and Thomas S. Ferguson.

Summary

When Brigham Young University originally began to use the slogan "The World Is Our Campus," it was more romantic and hopeful than realistic. Nevertheless, this dream became a reality during the Wilkinson and Oaks administrations. Emissaries of BYU have carried its spirit and influence throughout the world. The rapid expansion of the Church into many foreign countries provided opportunities to multiply the effectiveness of all of these far-reaching programs.

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From Obscurity to Renown: The Making of a University

(Editor's Note: This chapter was written
by W. Cleon Skousen and Roy K. Bird.)

Wilkinson's Unannounced Resignation

The public did not learn of it until many months later, but on 19 June 1970, after almost 20 years of service as President of BYU, Ernest L. Wilkinson submitted his handwritten confidential letter of resignation to the First Presidency.

There were several factors leading to this decision. Wilkinson was 71 years of age, and the Board of Trustees had adopted a policy of retirement for everyone except the General Authorities at the age of 65. Moreover, Wilkinson's health was declining, as shown by his open heart surgery two months after he left office.

During the 20 years of his two administrations at BYU, 13 years of which he was also chancellor of the Church school system, he took only a couple of two-week vacations. During his 45-year professional career, his work, combined with his Church positions, was an undertaking equivalent to working twelve hours a day, seven days a week. The fact that his wife, Alice, and other members of his family, including his doctor son, had been urging him for two years to step down weighed heavily on his mind.

Finally, he sensed that the time was right for him to resign. The total Church membership had nearly tripled from 1950 when Wilkinson was appointed to 1970 when he submitted his resignation, and it was contemplated that there would be a new Church commissioner of education to supervise the entire Church educational system. After serving 13 years as president of BYU and 10 years as chancellor of Church schools, Wilkinson had advised the Executive Committee in 1964 that holding both positions simultaneously was too large an undertaking for one man. The appointment of a commissioner had been considered before President McKay's death on 18 January 1970, but President McKay also was committed to the idea of retaining Ernest

Wilkinson as President of BYU. With President McKay's death, Wilkinson believed that the new Church administration might have a different perspective on the place and role of BYU in Church education, and consequently would want to appoint a corps of new leaders, a policy which fitted into Wilkinson's own concept of Church government.

Appointment of Neal A. Maxwell as LDS Commissioner of Education

After the receipt of Wilkinson's resignation, the General Authorities appointed Neal A. Maxwell commissioner of Church schools effective 1 August 1970. Maxwell, the son of Clarence H. Maxwell and Emma Ash, was born on 6 July 1926 in Salt Lake City. He was raised in Salt Lake City and graduated from Granite High School in 1944. From 1944 to 1946 he served in the infantry in the Pacific. Maxwell majored in political science and graduated from the University of Utah with honors in 1952. While still in school he married Colleen Hinckley. They are the parents of four children. From 1954 to 1956 Maxwell was legislative assistant to Senator Wallace F. Bennett of Utah. He later returned to Utah and obtained his master's degree in political science from the University of Utah in 1961. He was awarded an honorary doctor of laws degree by the University of Utah in 1969 and an honorary doctor of letters degree by Westminster College of Salt Lake City in 1972.

Maxwell became assistant director of public relations at the University of Utah in 1956, and in October 1958 he became an assistant to the president and secretary of regents. Later he was named vice-president in charge of planning and public affairs, and in 1967 he became executive vice-president.

Maxwell has also served the Church continuously. He filled a mission to Canada where he was recognized as one of the leaders and later, while employed at the University of Utah, he served as bishop of the University of Utah Sixth Ward. He later served on the General Board of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association and functioned as a member of the Adult Correlation Committee of the Church. In 1967 he was called to be one of the original Regional Representatives of the Council of the Twelve. On 6 April 1974, three years after becoming commissioner of Church education, he was sustained as an Assistant to the Twelve.

In civic affairs, Maxwell had been chairman of the Constitutional Revision Commission for the State of Utah, and served as a member of the Chamber of Commerce board of governors for Salt Lake City. He had also been the chairman of the United Fund, regional editor for National Educational TV, and vice-president of the Utah Symphony Board, and for ten years he moderated the weekly television program "Tell Me" on the University of Utah educational station, KUED.

Public Announcement of Wilkinson's Resignation

On 9 March 1971 Harold B. Lee, first counselor to President Smith, and commissioner Neal A. Maxwell met with the student body at BYU to inform them of the nine-month-old resignation of President Wilkinson. President Lee also read to the student body a resolution unanimously approved by the Board of Trustees expressing appreciation for President Wilkinson's "deep and lasting contribution to Brigham Young University and to education in the Church educational system with acknowledgment of the thousands of lives affected by his leadership and with special appreciation for his unusual devotion and his vigor in pursuing quality as well as growth."¹

President Lee spoke of the support Wilkinson had received from his wife:

You can hardly think of him without his beloved, queenly Alice by his side. He may be of tempestuous nature, he may be strong willed and powerful in speech, but while he presides, she has been the leveling influence with her sweet devotion and serenity. She exemplifies the finest qualities of womankind. In our meeting this morning I recalled what someone has said, "Behind every great man there is an amazed woman." I think that Alice has been amazed at his attainments.²

President Lee stated that Wilkinson would be the commencement speaker. He also announced that the Board of Trustees had agreed to establish as a part of BYU the J. Reuben Clark College of Law, and that "because of President Wilkinson's great stature in the field of law" he had been asked "to play a major role in the planning" of this new college.³

The Interim Period

After announcement of Wilkinson's resignation, the Board of Trustees began searching for a new President. Marion G. Romney was appointed chairman of the selection committee, which nominated Dallin H. Oaks to be the eighth president of Brigham Young University. Dr. Oaks was promptly approved by the Trustees, and his appointment was to take effect 1 August 1971, exactly one year to the day after Neal Maxwell began his services as commissioner of Church schools. Wilkinson stepped down from office on 31 July 1971, and Oaks had a month to become acquainted with the institution before the opening of the new fiscal year on September 1.

In spite of his desire to start vigorously on his assignment to help find a dean and faculty members for the new law school, Wilkinson's health

1. Board of Trustees Minutes, 9 March 1971, BYU Archives.
2. Harold B. Lee, "Decades of Distinction: 1951-1971," *Speeches of the Year*, 9 March 1971, p. 3.
3. Ibid.

became progressively worse until he was forced to have open-heart surgery. Before going to the hospital, Wilkinson had been checking the qualifications of certain lawyers for appointment as dean of the Law School. He met with the committee designated to make recommendations and was frequently consulted by Marion G. Romney, chairman of the search committee. He concurred in the selection of the new dean.

Characteristically, Wilkinson postponed his open-heart surgery as long as possible. One day his son Ernest, a leading cardiologist in Salt Lake City, phoned him, "Dad, you have already postponed this too long. Unless you submit to this operation immediately, you may not be here to submit to it." Responding to his son's advice, Wilkinson entered the hospital the next day.

When they prepared to operate the doctors found that Wilkinson was already suffering from acute heart failure, and it was only because of Wilkinson's otherwise excellent physical condition that it was deemed safe to operate. The operation on 8 October 1971 was performed by Russell M. Nelson, who repaired an aneurysm in the left ventricle and installed two bypasses to replace blocked arteries. Wilkinson remained in critical condition for five days of intensive care. Then he took a turn for the better and after several weeks in the hospital was allowed to return to Provo where he began to work for a short period each day. When the doctors heard of this they ordered him to go to California to recuperate, figuring that the only way to get Wilkinson to rest was to keep him a few hundred miles away from the nearest work.

After Rex Lee was chosen dean of the Law School, Wilkinson was not called upon to perform any other assignments in the creation or operation of the Law School. However, there was to be no retirement for him. In December 1971 President Oaks asked him to be the editor of the Centennial History of BYU. He accepted the challenge in the early part of 1972 and pursued this undertaking to its completion — both the four-volume documentary history and this one-volume abridgment.

Accomplishments of the Wilkinson Administration

During Wilkinson's administration he coped with or brought about many major changes at BYU. One of his first accomplishments was a substantial increase in faculty salaries, which had been near the poverty level when he arrived. Every President of BYU had deplored the lack of funds to pay for the services of top-notch faculty, and professors had sacrificed to work for BYU because they believed in the school. In the prosperity of the early 1950s the LDS Church could finally afford to pay salaries that came closer to the real value of the faculty's work, and from 1951 to 1960 President Wilkinson obtained overall salary increases of 62.4 percent compared to a cost-of-living increase of only 16.5 percent.

Increase in Enrollment

From Wilkinson's arrival on campus in February 1951 to September 1971, a month after he resigned, the student body grew from 4,004 full-time students to 25,116.⁴ They came from every state in the Union and, during his administration, from 106 foreign countries. As early as 1953 BYU became the largest institution of higher learning in the state. By 1955 it was the largest church-related university and by 1965 the largest private university in the nation. The student body was more mature than most student bodies, for by the end of the Wilkinson administration (1970-71 academic year), it contained 8,923 returned missionaries.⁵ With this student maturity and religious background, BYU gained a national reputation for being an "island of tranquility in a sea of violent turbulence."⁶

The enrollment growth of over 500 percent during the Wilkinson years was most unusual because other private universities in America experienced a cumulative enrollment increase of only around 75 percent during the same period. Also, the average private university or college by 1972 had only 1,107 students.⁷ While most private institutions experienced a very gradual growth in enrollment, BYU grew more dramatically than at any other time in its history. BYU also grew faster than the two major state-supported schools in Utah.

In 1951 BYU had 923 graduates, 830 with bachelor's degrees and 90 with master's degrees. In 1971 the University conferred 5,235 degrees, including 221 associate degrees, 4,190 bachelor's degrees, 722 master's degrees, and 102 doctoral degrees. Of these graduates, more than 31 percent had transferred from other institutions of higher learning. In 1951 the Division of Continuing Education had 4,478 enrollments, but by 1971 it had 150,015 enrollments, with resident branches in Salt Lake City, Ogden, Rexburg, Idaho Falls, Los Angeles, Salzburg, Grenoble, Jerusalem, and Mexico City. The BYU Home Study Department had become the largest in the nation.

Physical Growth of Campus

The physical development of the campus during the Wilkinson administration paralleled both in size and quality the growth of the student body. In 1951 on-campus housing accommodated no more

4. The cumulative enrollment for 1950-51 was 5,429. For 1970-71 it was 28,270 (including summer). Since many of these were carrying heavy loads, they represented 26,601 full-time equivalent students (including summer); *Enrollment Resume, 1972-1973*, pp. 2, 52.

5. Garland G. Parker, "Statistics of Attendance in American Universities and Colleges, 1965-66," *School and Society* 94(8 January 1966): 2270:9-10; *Enrollment Resume, 1970-71*, p. 22.

6. See Chapter 26.

7. George H. Wade, *Fall Enrollment in Higher Education, 1972* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 735.

than 1,300 students, but by 1971 on-campus housing was available for almost 6,000 students. In addition, the University had encouraged private industry to construct apartments in Provo or Orem which provided accommodations for more than 12,000 students.⁸

In February 1951 the school's physical plant consisted primarily of the lower campus facilities and five or six academic structures on upper campus. Total permanent academic floor space amounted to less than 800,000 square feet, including the Eyring Science Center, the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse, and some temporary war surplus structures.⁹ Twenty years later the campus included 254 permanent and 85 temporary academic buildings with about 5,000,000 square feet of floor space, finished or under construction. Even with this massive physical plant, facilities were used to the fullest practicable extent.¹⁰ The University scheduled daytime classes from seven in the morning until six in the evening. As one student remarked, "From morning till night, the seats never get cold."

Growth in Auxiliary and Maintenance Services

The tremendous growth in the size of the student body and the physical plant was accompanied by a corresponding growth in auxiliary and maintenance services. By the time Wilkinson resigned the school was operating three large cafeterias, a well-inventoried bookstore, a university press, modern vegetable, fruit, cattle, and poultry farms, a laundry, a dairy, a meat processing plant, a motion picture theater, and a host of other modern facilities creating an almost self-sufficient community. The gross income of these operations had increased more than 25 times since 1951. Other supportive services, such as the telephone service, the *Daily Universe*, media services, the photo studio, radio and television services, computer services, and institutional research, contributed to the part-time employment of over 9,700 students on campus. The economic contribution of the University to the surrounding area amounted to over \$100,000,000 a year by 1971.

Increase in Colleges, Faculty, and Student Scholarship

In 1951 the University had 5 undergraduate colleges with 37 departments. By 1971 it had 13 undergraduate colleges with 71 departments. The University was able by 1971 to offer the associate degree in 20 areas, the bachelor's degree in 70, the master's degree in 85 areas of 49 departments, and the doctor's degree in 40 areas of 20 departments.

From 1951 to 1971 the full-time faculty grew from 244 to 932, while

8. Telephone conference between Lamont Oviatt and Ernest L. Wilkinson, 23 July 1975.

9. Memorandum of telephone conference between Albert E. Haines, William E. Stacy, and Ernest L. Wilkinson, 20 August 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

10. Ibid.

the part-time faculty increased in a similar proportion. In 1951 there were 50 faculty members with doctorates; by 1971 there were more than 500. The increase in academic and professional standing of the faculty was also revealed by the fact that the number of scholarly articles published annually by the faculty increased from 72 in 1956-57 to 292 in 1970-71.

Appraising the growth in student scholarship during the Wilkinson years, academic vice-president Robert K. Thomas noted,

Until 1960 almost every student who applied for admission to BYU was admitted. From 1960 to 1964 a student was expected to have a C average in high school to be accepted. Beginning in 1965, however, the Admissions Office added scores on the American College Testing Service battery (usually called the ACT) to place students at appropriate levels, and since 1967 both high school grade point averages and ACT scores have been utilized to determine admissibility of the student.

A freshman class profile has been kept since 1965, and it shows a remarkable rise in high school grade point averages for those accepted at BYU. For instance, the combined high school grade point average for men and women went from 2.88 in 1965-66 to 3.34 in 1974-75. . . .

In general, it may safely be said that academic preparation and performance at BYU during the years of the Wilkinson administration kept pace with the physical development of the campus. When buildings were provided to make possible the latest and most discriminating types of instruction, students and faculty rose to the challenge — and compliment — of superb facilities by demonstrating solid academic achievement.¹¹

Another index to increased scholarship during the Wilkinson period was the extent to which both students and faculty used the library. The 1956 accreditation report criticized the school for its inadequate library (both in holdings and accommodations) which was then housed in the Heber J. Grant Building. In 1961 the J. Reuben Clark Library was completed, greatly multiplying library floor space and holdings. In the words of the 1966 accreditation team, it was “undoubtedly one of the most beautiful and best planned libraries in the United States.”¹² Total long-term use (materials checked out) increased over ten times between 1950-51 and 1970-71. The new library increased the number of books available from 170,000 in 1950-51 to nearly 1,000,000 in 1970-71. While the rising enrollment accounted for a large part of this increase in book usage, the usage of materials increased at a much

11. Robert K. Thomas, “Improvement in Scholarship at BYU,” report for President Ernest L. Wilkinson, 30 July 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

12. “Report of the Visitation Committee to the Commission on Higher Education of the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools on Brigham Young University,” 26-29 April 1966, p. 132, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

greater rate than enrollment, demonstrating that the improved library was succeeding in its primary goal of fostering a better academic atmosphere on campus.

Establishment of Stakes and Wards

Finally, the contribution Wilkinson prizes above all others was the establishment of campus stakes and wards at BYU. In announcing President Wilkinson's resignation, Harold B. Lee said of this program:

This is one of the contributions that President Wilkinson made when he foresaw the influx of students and the town wards' inability to house them in the surrounding ward buildings for sacrament meetings or Sunday Schools. He knew that there would be a need for on-campus organization. So, it was by his recommendation that members of the Twelve were assigned to study the matter. As a result, the ten student stakes, with ninety-eight wards, have now been organized.¹³ This has provided for the spirit of self-government through self-control. Students have been taught correct principles, as the Prophet Joseph Smith enjoined, and they have learned to govern themselves in the Lord's own way.¹⁴

This elaborate Church organization made it possible to preserve in large part the friendly atmosphere that existed when the school was smaller, and greatly increased the religious activity of students. It also made possible the inspirational firesides that are held once a month on campus with a present average attendance in the Marriott Center of almost 18,000 students. They were begun in his administration and held in the Smith Fieldhouse, which accommodated only 10,000.

Wilkinson's Civic Activities

A further monument to Wilkinson's energy was his involvement in a large number of civic activities. Some positions he accepted to give increased prestige to BYU; others were occasioned by his position or because of his recognized competence. He represented Utah at the White House Conference on Education and was on the United States Chamber of Commerce committees on Government Expenditures and National Defense. He was a member of the boards of directors of Deseret News Publishing Company, Beneficial Life Insurance Company, KSL Incorporated, Ellison Ranching Company, and Rolling Hills Orchards. He was a trustee for the Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., of Irvington on the Hudson, and a member of the Visitors Committee for the Freedoms Foundation. He was also a member of the National Committee to Evaluate the United Service

13. By 1975 there were 12 stakes and 120 branches. Wards were changed to branches to allow greater participation of elders in high ecclesiastical offices that in wards are reserved for high priests. It is rare for a student-age Mormon to be a high priest.

14. Harold B. Lee, "Decades of Distinction: 1951-1971," p. 2.

Organization, a fellow of the American Bar Foundation, and a member of the International Council for the Hall of Free Enterprise for the New York World's Fair. He served as president of the American Association of Presidents of Independent Colleges and Universities. He was a member of the National Accreditation Commission for Business Schools, a member of the National Speakers Bureau for the American Medical Association, and chairman for one year of United Way Fund for Utah County. He was a member of the International Platform Association from 1970 to 1972. He served on the platform committee of the Republican National Committee on three occasions. In his words, he was "in the minority many times."

He was also awarded several distinctive honors. In 1961 and again in 1971 he was awarded the George Washington Medal by the Freedoms Foundation — the first for an address which he gave to the National Chamber of Commerce and the second for an address he gave to the Los Angeles Rotary Club. The American Coalition of Patriotic Societies gave him its highest award in 1963. In 1969 he was named a member of the Weber County Hall of Fame. President Wilkinson has also received three honorary degrees: doctor of laws from BYU in 1957; doctor of public service from Fort Lauderdale University in 1970; and doctor of laws from Grove City College in Pennsylvania in 1971. In 1964 he was the Republican candidate for the United States Senate from Utah. And during both of his two terms as President of BYU he remained the senior partner of Wilkinson, Cragun and Barker, a law firm he organized in Washington, D.C., prior to becoming BYU President. In 1975 the firm had 40 attorneys on its staff.

Tribute to Trustees, Associates, and Faculty

Wilkinson gave credit for the success of his administration to the Board of Trustees and his fellow workers:

The accomplishments credited to me should be attributed to the Board of Trustees for I have only been their agent. Admittedly I made many recommendations to the Board, many of which, but not all, were adopted. Many of those which were accepted came from deans, faculty, and friends of the Institution, but the final decisions were made by the First Presidency and Board of Trustees. During the second century of this institution's history, hundreds of thousands of parents and students will be grateful for what the Board did during the time I was privileged to be its President.

While I thought it would have been better from the standpoint of the Church to have leveled off enrollment at BYU between 12,000 and 15,000 students, and have organized a number of branch junior colleges each with an enrollment not to exceed 5,000 students, the Trustees thought the Church could not afford the junior colleges and as a result have now given us the largest private university on any single campus in the country, of which all

members of the Church should be proud. As it turned out, this decision resulted in the BYU providing a greater potential for accomplishment by the Provo Campus than it could have done with an enrollment of only 12,000 to 15,000, suggesting again the soundness of the philosophy that the Board should determine the policy and the President execute that policy. This I have sincerely attempted to do.

When Brother Maeser laid down the reigns of his administration, he gave vent to his innermost emotions by saying: "I leave the chair to which the Prophet Brigham [Young] had called me, and in which the Prophets John [Taylor] and Wilford [Woodruff] have sustained me, and resign it to my successor, and maybe others after him, all of whom will be likely more efficient than I was, but forgive me this one pride of my heart that I may flatter myself in saying: 'None can ever be more faithful.' God bless the Brigham Young University."¹⁵

When John A. Widtsoe, just prior to his death, was given a testimonial by the Sons of Utah Pioneers, he responded by saying that providence had been very kind to him but he hoped he could be forgiven for taking credit for one virtue — he had worked hard.

I have never pretended to have the spiritual magnetism of Karl G. Maeser or the prophetic vision of John A. Widtsoe, but I hope I may be permitted to say, like Brother Maeser, that I tried to be faithful to my trust by following the provisions of the Deed of Trust of Brigham Young, even to the establishment of a technical and industrial college where students could acquire a trade, and that like Brother Widtsoe, I worked hard — that I gave my full strength and energy to the position I was privileged to hold under Presidents George Albert Smith, David O. McKay, and Joseph Fielding Smith. I never asked anyone to do more than I was willing to do myself. I never observed union hours and often worked a full seven days a week.

I hope the good Lord or his priesthood bearers who judge me will take into consideration that while I often violated the latter part of the fourth commandment to "rest on the Sabbath," I did attend my meetings and the work I did the remainder of the day was never in pursuit of pleasure but to build and strengthen His University. I at least can say I fully kept the first part of the same commandment, which is equally important and which clearly states "six days shalt thou labor," a positive injunction which the world has largely forgotten.¹⁶

Disappointments, Criticisms and Mistakes

The achievements of Wilkinson's administration were accompanied by his disappointment in certain actions of the Board of Trustees, some criticism of his administration, and what he called his own mistakes. His

15. Karl G. Maeser, "Final Address," *The Normal* 1(15 January 1892):83.

16. Memorandum from Ernest L. Wilkinson to W. Cleon Skousen, 20 June 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

major disappointment was the failure to build the several junior colleges on the seven sites purchased for that purpose. He had given more time to this program than any other. Wilkinson was also disappointed at about the same time by losing his bid to become a senator from his native state, though in later years he said this was a blessing because his accomplishments at BYU were probably greater and more enduring than any contributions he could have made in the Senate.

Under pressure President Wilkinson was prone to be abrupt and therefore his relationship with the faculty was not always the best. Many of his faculty were critical and resentful of the fact that he did not share large administrative decisions with them, but he always felt that because he was operating under instructions of the Board of Trustees he alone was responsible for administration of the University.

Another of Wilkinson's qualities which irked the faculty was his inflexibility when he was preoccupied with some project — which was practically all the time. When he asked for information, he could not tolerate a digressive conversation on other problems. Because of this single-mindedness he sometimes seemed gruff, inconsiderate, and even coldly uninterested. Subordinates learned not to interject irrelevant subjects even though the matter might be extremely important in its proper place and time. Because Wilkinson was project centered and goal minded, subordinates with sensitive feelings or temperamental personalities sometimes found it frustrating to endure the pressure of working with him. However, he usually had little difficulty working harmoniously with those involved with him in a particular project; in fact, he felt a deep sense of his dependency on their contribution. But his zeal to finish a project would brook no hindrance or diversion from the task at hand. He might have to endure these frustrations temporarily, but his drive carried him and his advisers past red tape, delays, and other administrative log jams.

People often misunderstood President Wilkinson when they came to him with complaints. He welcomed complaints when he was certain of their validity, but he abhorred rumors. Consequently, both faculty and students found it dangerous to raise an issue which they were not prepared to prove since the President was likely to subject the talebearer to such vigorous cross-examination that the informant felt that he himself was the offender. In a number of ways this reaction by the President was unfortunate since it gave the informant the impression that he should go out and gather "evidence" when it was not within his province to do so. This led to what came to be known as the "spy scandal of 1967-68." When a number of students complained about certain members of the faculty teaching principles antagonistic to the precepts of the Church or statements of its leaders, Wilkinson took his usual stance that unless there was evidence to support their allegations he could take no action. The students concluded that they should immediately make secret tape recordings in their classes to "get the

proof,” but when the faculty found out about this practice, they accused the administration of spying. Some expressed the feeling that their intellectual freedom had been put in jeopardy, and morale dropped.

Because of the way the “spy scandal” was handled, the students involved were probably justified in thinking they had encouragement from the President and some of his associates to do what they did. The President, on the other hand, merely reflected the discipline of his legal training by rejecting student allegations unless they could be proved.

When Wilkinson made mistakes he usually admitted it frankly. At one time he gave a speech to the faculty in which he compared the motivation and incentive for being a top lawyer with what he considered the limited motivation and incentive for being a superior academician. He thought the legal profession had greater motivation because unless a lawyer made a good record and continued to improve his competence he would fail and have to quit his profession, whereas tradition and tenure in academics would often preserve positions for those of limited competence. He later admitted that this statement was a serious diplomatic mistake.

He also admitted being in too great haste to build the Herald R. Clark and Harvey Fletcher buildings before a master development plan was devised. As a result, they were too small and not placed in the best locations.

Some complaints came from citizens in the community who felt they were compelled to sell their land to BYU because of Wilkinson’s large expansion program. They were particularly critical when Wilkinson persuaded the state legislature to give BYU the power of eminent domain in case the school felt that individuals wanted an exorbitant price for their land. As it turned out, however, the power of eminent domain was never invoked. The law was later repealed without objection by the University.

From time to time during the Wilkinson administration, criticism arose because of the fact that BYU refused to accept federal funds. It was argued that if BYU did not take the funds they would probably be distributed to other institutions in the state. However, the Board of Trustees held to its view that the acceptance of federal funds would ultimately result in a loss of independence for the school. The view of the Board turned out to be correct, for institutions which did accept federal funds soon found their independence considerably impaired by government regulations, the Supreme Court having held that where the government supplies money it is entitled to regulate that which it subsidizes.¹⁷ During the Oaks administration, when the University had to contest proposed extensions of federal control, President

17. *Ivanhoe Irrigation District vs. McCracken*, 357 U.S. 275, p. 296 (1958), citing *Wickard v. Filburn*, 317 U.S. 111, 131 (1942).

Oaks frequently praised the wisdom of President Wilkinson and the Trustees in their decision to avoid any direct federal subsidization, since this permitted the University to take an independent stance during his own administration.

Criticisms of President Wilkinson upset some Provo citizens who felt that the critics did not realize what a difficult job the President had. On 10 January 1964 the Provo *Daily Herald* editorialized,

All has not been peaches and cream for the BYU president. The strain of his long hours and awesome worries once put him in the hospital with a heart attack from which he bounced back with typical Wilkinson tenacity.

He has made enemies, as anyone would do who must forge ahead with an expansion that uprooted people from their homes and stepped on toes of persons less aggressive.

But whether you agreed with him or not you always had to admire his courage. And you had to be convinced that he never let selfish interests get in the way of the overall good of the university.

The University's commitment to foster academic awareness within a religious context led to some misunderstandings. Some members of the 1966 Accreditation Committee felt that BYU needed to hire non-LDS faculty members and possibly even an atheist or two to provide "intellectual ferment." This was peremptorily rejected by the Trustees. Wrote academic vice-president Robert K. Thomas, "Our only problem is that we are different — and in that difference we are a threat to everyone else. . . . Sadly, accreditation teams seem to be placing increasing emphasis upon the similarity of one institution to another. We are never going to be just like anyone else, and are proud of it. We welcome *any* investigation into the quality of our program."¹⁸ Wilkinson's preference for a teaching-oriented faculty also alienated some who thought their talents were better used in a laboratory setting than in a classroom.

Tributes to President Wilkinson

Experience demonstrates that contemporary criticisms tend to fade with the passing years and the solid contributions of each administration become more clear. For 20 years Ernest L. Wilkinson enjoyed unusual support from the Board of Trustees. Stephen L Richards, speaking of a matter the First Presidency was discussing with Wilkinson, interrupted to say, "I think there is no use for us to argue with President Wilkinson on this point. We will give it to him in the long run anyway."¹⁹ After President Wilkinson returned to his duties from his heart attack in 1956 and it was feared he might not be able to carry a full

18. Robert K. Thomas to Clark T. Thorstenson, 8 November 1968, Robert K. Thomas Papers, BYU Archives.

19. "Tributes: Church, Political, National Leaders Make Comments," *Daily Universe*, 23 April 1971.

load, President Clark exclaimed, "I would rather have half the time of President Wilkinson than the full time of anyone else I know."²⁰ Isaac Stewart once asked President Clark why it was President Wilkinson got nearly everything he asked for from the Board of Trustees. President Clark replied, "When he comes into our meetings, he is so well prepared that he presents matters as though he were presenting them to the Supreme Court, and we don't have any answer for his arguments."²¹

Presidents of the Church who succeeded President McKay also paid tribute to Wilkinson's leadership. Joseph Fielding Smith, who succeeded David O. McKay as President of the Church, expressed his faith in him by making the motion to have him given an honorary doctorate degree. At the time of the dedication of the Marriott Center, Harold B. Lee, who succeeded Joseph Fielding Smith as President of the Church, spoke of the value of Wilkinson's leadership in building a great university. J. Willard Marriott had just referred to what he called a sermon given by President Wilkinson the night before, stating, "President Wilkinson gave the greatest sermon I ever heard him give. It was about five minutes [long]. It was terrific." Jokingly stating that he had never heard Wilkinson give a short talk, President Lee soberly added, "Lest you misunderstand my facetious remarks, I don't know anyone in my acquaintance who can deliver a more powerful speech, no matter how long it is. . . . I think that one of the greatest compliments that can be made to a speaker is that when he speaks, even his enemies want to come out to hear him, and that's true of Ernest L. Wilkinson."²²

When Wilkinson became chancellor of Church schools in 1953, Spencer W. Kimball, who later succeeded Harold B. Lee as President of the Church, wrote President Wilkinson, "My admiration for you knows no bounds, and I believe you fully capable of handling this entire program, even monumental as it is."²³

Adam S. Bennion, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve and former commissioner of LDS Church schools, once commented, "It is rare that we ever find a person with the combined competency of President Wilkinson. He has the educational vision and dedication of Karl G. Maeser and the administrative ability of Abraham O. Smoot."²⁴ Boyd K. Packer summarized his feelings in these words: "The job of the Search Committee in finding a new president for BYU is to find another Ernest Wilkinson."²⁵

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Untranscribed tape recording of the dedication of the Marriott Center, 4 February 1973, BYU Sound Services.

23. Spencer W. Kimball to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 20 July 1953, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers, BYU Archives.

24. "Tributes," *Daily Universe*, 23 April 1971.

25. Ibid.

Wilkinson's close associates were able to view Wilkinson's compassion for others. Robert K. Thomas recalled,

Some years ago a faculty member left us under particularly trying circumstances — circumstances which were an embarrassment to the school, to the Church. If there was ever a man who might have felt resentment about this particular faculty member, it could have been the President. Yet, when the last repugnant details were being wrapped up, he turned and said, "What's going to happen to this man now? Could he afford some treatment? Do I need to pay for it?" He said, "How large a family does he have? What's going to happen to them?" It isn't known, but that family was taken care of while the husband and father did get the treatment that he needed.²⁶

Referring to differences between Wilkinson and members of the faculty, executive vice-president Ben E. Lewis said,

I remember one of our faculty members who left the University. He had some differences of opinion. He was a little upset about some of the things that were going on. But I saw him a couple of years later, and he said, "You know, I have changed my mind. I have gone to a place now where we have got a man who is a little more easy to get along with, but he won't make any decisions. I would rather have the man who is willing to make the decisions."²⁷

During the first part of his administration as presidential assistant, Harvey L. Taylor, one of Wilkinson's close associates, recalled,

There is another side of this man that is not commonly known. He never wanted it known how many students he had helped financially. And to my knowledge, during the twelve years I worked with him closely, he literally helped hundreds of students. . . . And he doesn't confine it to students, but also to widows, the people who are sick. He is always helping them, and he doesn't want anybody to know about it.²⁸

Sam Brewster, who served many years as head of the BYU Department of Physical Plant, made the following observations:

Of course he is a tremendous driver and a tremendous worker, and he expects the best of everyone. I have had the advantage of traveling with this man around the country. I know of no one that I would rather travel with. He is so human. He loves a joke. Not only on you but on himself. He is a great storyteller. He is warm.²⁹

Faculty members and fellow educators recognized Wilkinson's ac-

26. "Inside the Wilkinson Era," 25 May 1971, box 581, folder 1, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, BYU Archives, p. 8.

27. Ibid., p. 16.

28. Ibid., pp. 16-17.

29. Ibid., p. 11.

accomplishments. Asahel D. Woodruff, former dean at BYU who had at times been critical of his administration, wrote Wilkinson upon his retirement, "As you leave the University I want you to know that I assess your influence on the institution as of greater magnitude than any other person in its history. From many conversations I know that my assessment is almost universally shared. I think I have never heard a contrary opinion."³⁰

The two leading newspapers in the state, on hearing of his resignation, used their editorial columns to bestow their accolades on the departing BYU President. The *Salt Lake Tribune* wrote,

Such expansion is not a simple evolutionary matter. It derives from exacting decisions on an infinite array of ingredients ranging from faculty additions to building construction, to course material. At BYU, a church-guided institution, it meant maintaining the importance of a religious influence as well.

That BYU has so far successfully met such challenges reflects the considerable energy, talent, foresight, and personal leadership devoted to the task by Dr. Wilkinson. His tenure may be something of a record for positions in similar circumstances, which further attests to his unswerving fortitude.³¹

Addressing itself more directly to the personality of the retiring President, the *Deseret News* editorialized,

Hard work and big challenge for more than half a century have characterized the life style of this remarkable man. As he closes out the second of two illustrious careers, it is inconceivable that there would be no new challenge ahead.

There will be building from the ground up an entire new college of law (including building, faculty, and library). This will take imagination, courage, drive, and hard work. If any Utahn epitomizes those qualities, it is Ernest Wilkinson.³²

At the Newcomen Society dinner held in honor of President Wilkinson on 2 April 1971 he was introduced by a prominent non-Mormon, Dudley Swim, chairman of the board of directors of National Airlines and a trustee of the State College System of California. Swim reflected on the tremendous respect which President Wilkinson had attained among men of national prominence, saying,

Within my experience, our honored guest easily is the ablest, most decisive, most courageous college or university president in America today. In all that is wrong in higher education, there is nothing that his qualities embodied in more university presidents would not correct. BYU in its greatness today is a living tribute to

30. Asahel D. Woodruff to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 7 April 1971, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

31. "Tributes," *Daily Universe*, 23 April 1971.

32. Ibid.

him, to his BYU team, to their predecessors, and to the Mormon Church.³³

Many other non-Mormons expressed their admiration for Wilkinson. News commentator Paul Harvey said, “At BYU we do not learn by trial and error; we are taught by precept and example. We have a president I like to characterize as an academic George E. Patton, unafraid to tell it like it is.”³⁴

When prominent religious leader and author Norman Vincent Peale heard that Wilkinson had stepped down as President of BYU, he wrote, “I read of your retirement. Listen, my friend, you can no more retire than a fire engine can turn into a hearse. If you give up the Presidency of Brigham Young, you will soon be hard at something else. You are one of the great natural born leaders of our time.”³⁵

Farewell to the Faculty

On 27 July 1971, four days before his resignation took effect, Wilkinson wrote an open letter to the faculty:

As my last official communication as President of Brigham Young University to members of the faculty, may I thank you for the services you have already and will in the future render to this University. . . .

I leave as your President, knowing that there are many things yet to be accomplished — indeed, many things which I had hoped to accomplish but never had the time or energy to do. The only virtue that I claim is that I have worked hard to make the BYU a “university of destiny.”

Concluding his letter, he quoted again the words of Charles H. Malik, which served as the vision Wilkinson continuously held for BYU.

I believe a great university will arise somewhere — I hope in America — to which Christ will return in His full glory and power, a university which will, in the promotion of scientific, intellectual and artistic excellence, surpass by far even the best secular universities of the present, but which will at the same time enable Christ to bless it and act and feel perfectly at home in it.³⁶

Evaluation of the Wilkinson Administration

A few scholars have already commented on the progress made during the Wilkinson administration. Nels Anderson, author of *Desert*

33. Ernest L. Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University: A University of Destiny* (New York: The Newcomen Society in North America, 1971), p. 6.

34. “Tributes,” *Daily Universe*, 23 April 1971.

35. Norman Vincent Peale to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 31 March 1971, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, BYU Archives.

36. Ernest L. Wilkinson to all members of the faculty, 27 July 1971, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, BYU Archives.

Saints and a foremost international sociologist, wrote Wilkinson about his years as President of BYU:

Seeing it all in long-term perspective, I think I can understand what the angels had in mind. They were thinking of the future of the BYU, and of course, the future of Mormondom. They would put you through a vigorous training and apprenticeship among the Gentiles, . . . after that bring you to the BYU, the Mormon university already in the doldrums, being tolerated more than promoted. That was the needed job, as you must now be aware, and as the record shows, you did it well. Perhaps you made enemies in the process, but the University stands there with a momentum to grow it did not have before.³⁷

At the time of the announcement of Wilkinson's resignation, Commissioner Maxwell said of the retiring president,

This is the man who too often is remembered for the brick-and-mortar growth of this institution when in fact its major thrust has been in the direction of quality and excellence. For this he deserves, I think, much of the credit for what has happened here in *the making of a university*. He is one of those rare presidents who are willing to challenge the too easily accepted shibboleths of higher education and to examine the underlying assumptions for accuracy. This has characterized his administration here.

Dallin H. Oaks, Wilkinson's successor, expressed the view of the overwhelming majority of BYU students, faculty, and alumni, when he said that BYU "would probably still be struggling around the fringes of community college status had it not been for the remarkable and relentless leadership of the Wilkinson Era."³⁸

This small institution, which in 1951 Wilkinson's friends in Washington thought was obscure and unworthy of his giving up his flourishing law practice, was now nationally recognized as a university of renown.

37. Nels Anderson to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 24 April 1971, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, BYU Archives. Nels Anderson was one of four brothers from a family of twelve children. He ran away from home in Michigan because of an unstable family situation. Traveling as a tramp, he was put off a train in Utah's Dixie, where Patriarch Thomas S. Terry took him in. He joined the Church and earned an A.B. from BYU, an M.A. from the University of Chicago, and a Ph.D. from New York University. He wrote 18 books; the first of them, *The Hobo*, is still selling after 50 years. He served in education and government, and until his retirement in 1975 he was professor of sociology at the University of New Brunswick, where the 85-year-old teacher was given the first honorary doctorate that school ever gave to a faculty member.

38. From a speech by Leonard J. Arrington, "Seven Steps to Greatness," in which he indirectly quotes from the Commencement Address to the Graduates of Brigham Young University of President Oaks, 18 April 1975, BYU Archives.

36

A President for the Seventies

In his 1936 history of Harvard University, Samuel Elliot Morison apologized to his readers when he began writing about events that took place in the twentieth century. He quoted Josiah Quincy, Harvard's historian of 1836, who when his history approached the year 1780 wrote, "The history of Harvard University has now been brought down to our times; to a period too near to be viewed in just historical perspective."¹ Undeterred, however, Morison offered this much encouragement for the historian who writes of current times at a university: "As this story approaches our own times, the difficulty of threading one's way among the mass of material increases. It will be best to consider the rest of this book as a personal impression, subject to correction in fact, and to revision as perspective lengthens."²

Morison's caution to his readers is even more applicable to the history of the Oaks administration at Brigham Young University, for the events of these years began only five years before this history's publication date. Since nearly every issue and every person who have played some role in the events of the Oaks years are still alive, everything said in the following pages must be regarded as tentative.

Another effect of the writing of current history is the difficulty of providing comprehensive footnote coverage of detailed source materials. Much that is written in the chapters dealing with the Oaks administration is within the personal knowledge of the writers, though the first draft of those portions of the four-volume history which form the basis for much of the next several chapters was written by Bruce C. Hafen, an assistant to President Oaks. Much else is based on current conversations with persons involved, and so it is subjective in nature. Nevertheless, the decision of the editors of the Centennial History, concurred in by the Oaks administration, is that in spite of the limitations inherent in writing of times so current, some story about these

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1. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 439.
 2. Ibid.

times should be told — “subject to correction in fact, and to revision as perspective lengthens.” Because of the proximity of time, none of Oaks’s correspondence was read by the over-all editors, although much of it was carefully scrutinized by Bruce Hafen and his assistants, Bruce T. Reese, and George Ryskamp.

After 20 dynamic years of growth on all fronts it was a challenging task to select a new President for Brigham Young University. In a number of ways, 1971 was the end of an era. The death of President David O. McKay and the resignation of President Wilkinson ended a team relationship which for two decades had worked for the phenomenal growth of the school. There were several other factors that suggested the inevitability of a change in the University’s leadership. The 25,000-student enrollment ceiling signaled a slowing down of physical expansion, and the appointment of Neal A. Maxwell as commissioner of Church education suggested new priorities and policies. Moreover, total Church membership had nearly tripled between 1950 and 1970, with large segments of that growth coming from other nations. Under Maxwell BYU was to remain the only university in the Church Educational System, but, even with its inevitable position of leadership within the system, BYU was to be more of a team member than player-coach.

Choosing the New President

The committee organized to search for a new President for Brigham Young University included Marion G. Romney, chairman, who was soon to become a member of the First Presidency; Boyd K. Packer of the Council of the Twelve; Marion D. Hanks, an Assistant to the Twelve; and Neal A. Maxwell, commissioner of Church education. The committee began soliciting suggestions and interviewing prospective candidates as soon as the resignation of President Wilkinson was formally announced. The committee felt the new President should have strong religious faith, proven scholarship, and personal leadership skills; but at the outset there were no favorite candidates.

When the work of the search committee began, Dallin Oaks’s name was not at the top of any list. However, his name had been suggested for consideration by several creditable sources representing widely divergent points of view. For example, Ernest L. Wilkinson suggested he be interviewed, and he was recommended by Jerry R. Andersen, an able, tough-minded, and politically liberal law professor serving as the academic vice-president of the University of Utah.

Commissioner Maxwell, who had never met Dallin Oaks, requested that Oaks come to Salt Lake for an interview. However, Oaks was unable to meet with the commissioner until after Maxwell had departed for Europe to complete a previously arranged teaching assignment. The search committee interviewed Dallin Oaks in Maxwell’s absence, and when the list of candidates was reduced to three, the

name of Dallin Oaks was among them. The committee finally voted unanimously to name Dallin Oaks as their first choice.

After the First Presidency had received and concurred in the committee's recommendation, Harold B. Lee, Counselor in the First Presidency, called Dallin Oaks on 27 March 1971 and invited him to become the new President of Brigham Young University. Lee told him that this appointment was not a calling in the Mormon ecclesiastical sense; rather, it was to be viewed as a professional opportunity. Oaks agreed to accept and his name was presented to the Board of Trustees on 4 May 1971, where the Board gave unanimous approval to the decision of the First Presidency. Later that day, the appointment was announced at a BYU studentbody assembly. President Oaks publicly accepted this appointment as both a tremendous challenge and a personal compliment. On 1 August 1971, 12 days before he turned 39, the new President assumed his duties.

Early Years in Provo

Even though he had been away from Provo for nearly 20 years, Dallin Harris Oaks was no stranger to BYU. He was born in Provo on 12 August 1932. His mother, Stella Harris, was herself a graduate of BYU, as had been her father, Silas Albert Harris, a student of Karl G. Maeser. Oaks's father, Lloyd E. Oaks, a native of Vernal, Utah, came to Provo in the year of Dallin's birth to begin his practice as an ophthalmologist. He had obtained his medical training in Pennsylvania after completing premedical studies at BYU.

Lloyd E. Oaks practiced three years in Provo in partnership with his brother, Lewis Weston Oaks (later a part-time BYU faculty member), and then moved his family to Twin Falls, Idaho, where he continued his practice for five years until he was stricken with tuberculosis. This affliction took his life at the age of 37 after a struggle of six months. Dallin was not yet eight; he had a younger brother, Merrill, and a younger sister, Evelyn. Long before his death, Dr. Oaks and his wife had a common dream for the education of their youngsters. The plan included a year or two for Dallin at Oxford. The tragic death of Lloyd Oaks shattered those hopes and the young doctor's widow faced the future with the burden of large debts incurred by her husband in medical school and the purchase of equipment for his practice.

As part of a family history written while he was teaching in Chicago, Dallin recalled that he never remembered having felt bitter about the early death of his father. He attributed his optimistic outlook to the faith and assurance provided by his mother and grandparents, whose attitudes reinforced his good memories; and the continuing influence of his father's philosophy of devotion to the Church, to aesthetic values, and to education. Buoyancy and cheerfulness are family traits that Dallin Oaks has carried with him all his life.

Reassured by local Church leaders in whose blessing and counsel she firmly trusted, Stella resolved that her children would not be deprived of the finest educational opportunities. She returned to Payson, the home of her parents, where her children remained while she interspersed several years of school teaching with two extended trips to New York City to complete a master's degree at Columbia University in 1946. She then moved her family to Vernal, Utah, where they lived for seven years while she taught high school. Dallin was a junior in high school when the family moved back to Provo, where Stella had accepted a position as supervisor of adult education in the Provo City schools. Stella Oaks became a vigorous and influential personality in education throughout Utah County. She is also one of the few women ever to have served on the Provo City Council, having been elected to two terms in that office beginning in 1955, and she served as acting mayor of Provo for a short time.

Oaks Graduates from BYU and Enters Law School

The fulfillment of what was for Stella Oaks a divine promise concerning the education of her children gradually began to materialize. After graduating from Brigham Young High School and then BYU, Dallin was awarded the first National Honor Scholarship granted a BYU student by the University of Chicago Law School.³ Meanwhile, Dallin met June Dixon, the daughter of Utah County banker Charles H. Dixon. She became Mrs. Dallin Oaks in 1952. When their first child was born, Dallin was a college junior and June was a sophomore. She continued to work for a college education a piece at a time. After the passing of several years her degree became a major all-family project. In early 1965 her eight-year-old son gave June a shirt with a missing button and meekly asked, "Mother, when you graduate will you please sew on this button?" She received her degree from BYU in June 1965.

Dallin and June first met after a high school basketball game. June was a high school senior and Dallin, having just entered college, was present as the sportscaster for a Utah County radio station. He had earned his radio engineer's license at age 16 and by age 17 was described by the Provo *Daily Herald* as the "youngest combination man [engineer-announcer] in radio." By the time he was 19 the *Herald* wrote in a feature article that his "life's work was tied up in radio." Learning to ad lib before a public microphone provided an early and helpful foundation for Dallin's self-assurance and poise. June had become

3. A few years later, Merrill Oaks was awarded Utah's first National Health Foundation medical school scholarship. He attended the University of Rochester and has since established himself in Provo as a specialist in his father's field. Meanwhile, Evelyn Oaks was granted an Elks Club scholarship for her college tuition, and went on to receive a grant for attendance at Detroit's Merrill Palmer Institute in family life studies.

something of a local celebrity herself because of the song-and-dance routines she and her twin sister Jean performed throughout the county.

Dallin was unable to serve as a Mormon missionary because of stringent missionary quotas and his membership in the Utah National Guard at the time of the Korean War. When his unit had not yet been called to active duty after a tense year of waiting, he began making payments to a Provo jewelry store to build up enough credit to buy a diamond engagement ring. The day he made the final payment, he proposed and June accepted. They were married in June 1952 and Dallin began to detect a noticeable improvement in his scholastic performance from then on.

By the time of his college graduation in 1954, Dallin had accumulated a string of A grades sufficient to place him in the top three percent of the first BYU class to graduate after four academic years under the presidency of Ernest Wilkinson. He had majored in accounting, but had also shown an early talent for writing and an interest in literature. His plans for a law career materialized later. His father-in-law was a major source of encouragement toward the law as a field in which he could develop his natural abilities and satisfy his major interests.

Once the decision was made to attend law school, Dallin sought out President Wilkinson for advice concerning the school to attend for training in corporate law. This early conversation was the beginning of a relationship that continued over the years as President Wilkinson followed Dallin's career with great interest.

The University of Chicago scholarship and Chicago's renown as one of the country's best law schools made it easy for the young Oaks family (now with two daughters, Sharmon and Cheri) to decide to move to Illinois. From the day their stuffed car and trailer headed east, Dallin and June assumed that some day they would return and make their home in Utah. As time went on, this belief receded somewhat, but never really left them.

Dallin Oaks's natural optimism was strongly tested as he began law school, and he confided to his journal that he knew he would have to "work like crazy" to get *Bs* and *Cs*. Characteristically making up his mind to be happy with whatever came of his best efforts, he established at the outset not only a regular study pattern, but also a habit of not studying on Sundays. He also resolved to stay close to his family and serve wherever the Church might call him.

No one was more astonished than Oaks when Edward H. Levi, dean of the law school, invited him to lunch soon after the end of his first year to advise him that his first-year record was not only the best in his class, but one of the best the school had seen in several years. This comparative level of performance on law school examinations indi-

cated Oaks's ability to subject himself to the rigorous discipline of the law. The grading standards placed a premium on instinct and judgment regarding the identification and analysis of pivotal questions in large complex factual contexts. The analysis portion also required innate capacity for written expression. Oaks seemed to have combined talent and self-discipline in just the right proportions. From that time on he began to drink deeply of all that could be learned by closely associating with Dean Levi, one of the country's most highly regarded educational leaders. Levi later became president of the University of Chicago, and in 1975 was appointed attorney general of the United States. Oaks also became familiar with the world of serious scholarship as a member of the school's *Law Review* and through discussions with numerous faculty members and fellow students who were then or were to become major figures in the legal profession.

Working with the Supreme Court

By his senior year Dallin had established himself at the law school as a student with a fine mind. This and his writing and administrative abilities earned him the appointment as editor-in-chief of the *University of Chicago Law Review*. He received considerable encouragement to apply for a position as a clerk to a Supreme Court Justice. When his prospects seemed to be dimming for a position with Justice John Harlan, Oaks asked Dean Levi if anyone at the law school knew Chief Justice Earl Warren well enough to recommend Oaks for a clerkship. No one did. He then found that Ernest L. Wilkinson was willing to encourage one of his Washington law partners, Carl Hawkins, another Provo boy, a BYU graduate and a former clerk to Chief Justice Fred Vinson, to give Oaks the needed endorsement. In early 1957 Oaks was informed of his one-year appointment as one of three law clerks to Earl Warren. The honor of a second BYU alumnus receiving such an appointment did not pass unnoticed in Provo.

The journal Oaks maintained during his year with the Supreme Court indicates that, in one of many personal conversations with the Chief Justice, Oaks stated that his plans were to practice law in Chicago for a few years and then "return to Provo and public life." Not long afterward he declined an invitation to join the faculty of the prestigious University of Pennsylvania Law School. In a letter expressing disappointment at that decision, a law teacher from that school closed with this admonition: "Please do not consider this impertinent. Don't go and bury yourself in Provo, Utah."

Practicing Law in Chicago

When Oaks left the court in 1958 he began his career as a practicing lawyer with the large Chicago firm of Kirkland, Ellis, Hodson, Chafetz, and Masters. This firm offered him a full diet of large corporate

litigation matters and he was soon immersed in the complexities of a big city law practice.

In 1961, after he had been practicing almost three years at an extremely demanding level of commitment, he was approached by another Chicago lawyer, John K. Edmunds, his stake president, who called Dallin to serve as a stake missionary. As a highly accomplished leader of the Mormon community in Chicago, President Edmunds had been a model for Oaks and many other young students and professionals. The example of Edmunds's own professional stature and his deep commitment to the Church helped Oaks decide to accept the call, even though it meant cutting back significantly in the time he had been allocating to his law practice. The stake mission experience became a turning point in his life, not only because of the spiritual rewards he received, but also because this call to church service gave him a fresh perspective on his law practice, causing a reevaluation of the personal satisfaction he was finding there.

About this time Oaks was assigned by the Illinois Supreme Court to represent an indigent Polish youth in a criminal appeal. Although he lost the appeal "on the merits," he found the experience of representing this young client more satisfying than many of his experiences representing large corporate clients. This event also caused some reflection about the direction his career should take. In addition, he wanted to do some writing about matters in which he had taken an interest while at the Supreme Court. That urge to write was coupled with a desire to provide intellectual support for some social and political causes that he felt were not being adequately or accurately articulated.

An illustration of the kind of writing and thinking that interested him is his 1970 article in the *University of Chicago Law Review* entitled "Studying the Exclusionary Rule in Search and Seizure." The exclusionary rule makes evidence inadmissible in criminal court cases where law enforcement officers obtained evidence by illegal means. Oaks argued that this rule does not effectively deter illegal searches and seizures by the police and often proves detrimental to the administration of justice. His article contended that there were other, more effective remedies that would not require the exclusion of illegally obtained evidence. He argued against automatically acquitting persons known to be guilty because some of the evidence against them had been illegally obtained. Challenges to the soundness of the exclusionary rule have been presented in recent cases before the Supreme Court.

Another illustration of Oaks's legal thinking is his lecture "The Popular Myth of the Victimless Crime," given as part of the Commissioner's Lecture Series in 1974 at BYU and other Church educational system locations. In this scholarly presentation Oaks analyzed the movement favoring the legalizing of certain offenses

involving sex, drugs, and similar subjects. He concludes that the proposed legalizing of these acts must be studied crime by crime, since the principal decriminalization arguments apply to some offenses but not to others. He also gives a carefully constructed argument for his general view that the law should teach and enforce observance of those standards of right and wrong that are sufficiently accepted by the public to qualify as a collective sense of morality. Once again, his views placed him among a minority of philosophers and legal scholars in the indulgent climate of the 1970s; nonetheless, his scholarship offers more sophisticated support for these views than they ordinarily receive.

Returning to Law School

By 1961 Oaks was restless enough to think seriously about returning to Utah where he could teach and perhaps practice law. He had been approached intermittently about teaching at the University of Utah Law School and had received an offer from a Salt Lake City firm in 1960. In a letter to his mother he explained his decision to reject the financially attractive offer from the Salt Lake law firm with the offhand comment, "When and if I return, it won't be just for money."

During this time he was approached by Dean Levi and offered a teaching position at the University of Chicago Law School. He had turned down a similar offer a year before, but this time he was ready to accept. Dallin Oaks began his teaching career in the fall of 1961 when he was 29 years of age.

After Oaks taught for about a year, the law school appointed him as associate dean and acting dean during the period after Edward Levi had been made provost of the university and before a permanent new dean was named. Although his role during this eight-month period was essentially that of a caretaker, the experience added a new dimension to Oaks's understanding of university life. However, he did not find it as stimulating as full-time teaching and research. Perhaps because he was well received in his role as acting dean he began to receive feelers regularly from other law schools in search of a new dean, but he consistently declined.

Through several years of teaching law Oaks acquired a reputation for competence in the classroom. His teaching and administrative contributions were good enough to earn him the rank of full professor in 1964, after three years as an associate professor. By then he had selected trusts, estate and gift taxation, and oil and gas law as teaching fields, but he was still teaching a variety of other courses including litigation, legal research and writing, criminal procedure, and seminars on trial practice. He published two articles in legal periodicals, edited a book on church and state, and began working with professor emeritus George Bogert on a new edition of Bogert's well-known casebook on trusts. He also began his experience with criminal law

during the summer of 1964 when he functioned for a short time as a prosecuting attorney for the purpose, among others, of helping the law school establish a suitable criminal law clinical program for its students. This interest in criminal law continued to grow, resulting in his later co-authorship of a study of the problems of indigent criminals in the Chicago area and his preparation of a 700-page report to the Judicial Conference of the United States on the Criminal Justice Act in the Federal District Courts.

One of his early publications as a law teacher is illustrative of Dallin Oaks's trait of carefully doing what he feels is right and letting the consequences follow. In 1962 and 1963 the Supreme Court handed down its famous decisions on the unconstitutionality of government-sponsored prayer and Bible reading in the public schools. Dallin found in a trip to Utah that summer that the decisions were misunderstood by many Mormons, who viewed them as prohibiting prayer and Bible reading of any kind and for whatever reason. Some believed that *dicta* in the cases gave encouragement to this view. Believing the decisions themselves potentially consistent with Mormon doctrine in limiting government interference with religious freedom while encouraging free personal religious expression, he wrote a brief explanation of the meaning and implications of the decisions. As a result of a spontaneous discussion with Henry D. Moyle, an attorney who was then Counselor to David O. McKay in the First Presidency, Oaks gave Moyle a copy of his comments. Moyle passed it on to President McKay with his endorsement. President McKay recommended publication of the article in the Church's *Improvement Era* magazine, where it appeared in late 1963.

Probably from the same instinct, Oaks accepted an invitation in 1966 to join the first editorial board of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, because he thought he might be able to render some service in expressing his judgment about what might be appropriate and constructive for publication in that independent but Church-oriented forum. A 1968 issue of *Dialogue* carried an article he authored on the subject of law and order, which set forth his basic view that deliberate defiance of the authority of the law — both by citizens and by government leaders — involves unacceptable risks to the well-being of a democratic society. This article documented several examples of both kinds of deliberate defiance, and was later to have a positive influence on the BYU presidential search committee.

Dealing with Campus Riots

Professor Oaks was given an opportunity to test his views on law and order in 1969, when President Levi appointed him chairman of the University of Chicago student disciplinary committee. The main task of the Oaks committee was to conduct hearings for 160 students (105 of whom were ultimately suspended or expelled) who had occupied the

university's administration building in a 17-day sit-in during a major campus disturbance. Although he kept a cool head during the several hectic days despite threats of violence and physical attack on two occasions, Oaks was finally given a bodyguard. He maintained his teaching schedule while carrying on the required hearings in a brisk but orderly manner. Soon thereafter he shared his views on campus unrest in a letter to a friend, stating that universities should be fair first and firm second. Judging from the results, his committee was apparently successful in accomplishing both.

Gaining More Professional Experience

By late 1969 Oaks desired a leave from his teaching duties and began casting about for some temporary government assignment that would enlarge his experience in certain fields of special interest. During the first part of 1970 this searching led to his appointment as legal counsel to the Bill of Rights Committee of the Illinois Constitutional Convention, which was preparing the draft of a new state constitution. His work in that capacity evoked an unusually detailed statement of praise from the chairman of the committee, Chicago lawyer Elmer Gertz, in a publication describing the committee's work:

He . . . was a far more conservative person than myself, but he won my instant and continuous admiration and affection. . . . He would tell me whether he agreed or disagreed with me and why. He had a kind of objectivity that one seldom found. . . . He was the very best committee counsel at the convention. Although his time was limited and he hoarded it, he seemed to accomplish more in less time than anyone with whom I was acquainted. . . . He had a scrupulous regard for what was right. At the same time, he had an awareness of the psychological aspects of every situation. He seemed to understand the chairman of the committee and every member. Almost without exception, he was able to deal with the diverse personalities without false steps. There was no political maneuvering on his part, no flattery, . . . simply diplomatic skill and a desire to establish sufficient territory for successful performance of his duties.⁴

After the completion of his work with the Bill of Rights Committee, Professor Oaks was appointed executive director of the American Bar Foundation (ABF), where he served for a year before his appointment to BYU. During that time he retained his faculty position at the University of Chicago Law School which is adjacent to the ABF offices. At the Foundation Oaks headed the legal research organization of the American Bar Association with an annual budget of about \$2,000,000 and 15 to 20 lawyers and social scientists. He undertook the task of rebuilding the ABF's somewhat tattered relations with its principal funding

4. Elmer Gertz, *For the First Hours of Tomorrow: The New Illinois Bill of Rights* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 35-36.

source, the American Bar Endowment. In supervising a professional research staff, dealing with a formal board of trustees, evaluating research projects, and maintaining communications between those involved at various levels, Oaks added another dimension to his combination of legal, scholarly, teaching, and administrative experience.

Family Life and Church Activity

During their years in Chicago, Dallin and June became the parents of two sons, Lloyd and Dallin D., in 1957 and 1960. Their third daughter, TruAnn, was born in 1962, and a fourth, Jenny June, in 1975. At the time of the BYU presidency announcement in the spring of 1971, Sharmon had already been accepted as an Honors Program freshman at BYU, and Cheri was planning to enroll there the next year.

After his stake mission Oaks became president of the Chicago stake mission, and in 1963 was made a counselor in a new stake presidency when the stake was divided. He served in this capacity until his appointment at BYU. In Oaks's personal correspondence and journal entries one senses an unusual degree of confidence in a divine Providence not limited to exclusively religious matters. His confidence in the nearness of God is tempered by a high sense of personal responsibility. What he told a studentbody audience in 1974 is an apt description of his own way of thinking: "You belong to a community of workers and doers, not to a community of dreamers or ascetics, piously and passively waiting for the millennium. We are working to bring it to pass. The Lord's blessings — including inspiration for direction and guidance — come to his children who are on the move." With that philosophy, however, Dallin has never doubted that his life and the lives of others are being continually influenced by divine forces. He was not self-conscious or ambitious about what might be in store for him, but when the time came, he was not surprised.

Wilkinson's University

In his recent history of Yale University, Brooks Kelley observes that "all presidencies are, to a greater or lesser degree, personal ones. Even in a university as large as Yale had become, the president was able to set the tone of the entire place. Especially was this so when the president was one of whom it could be said, . . . 'when he made a decision it was thoughtful, clear, backed with lawyerlike reasoning, and defended unswervingly.'"⁵ That university presidencies all tend to be more or less personal is also reflected in the title of a volume on the early history of the University of Chicago — *Harper's University*,⁶ referring to Wil-

5. Brooks M. Kelley, *Yale, A History* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 429.

6. Richard J. Storr, *Harper's University, The Beginnings* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966).

liam Rainey Harper, the founding president of the University of Chicago.

Brigham Young University was no exception, with lawyer-president Wilkinson the dominant personality on campus. Thus, when Dallin Oaks assumed his responsibilities on 1 August 1971, he was, in a sense, becoming President of a university thoroughly shaped by Ernest Wilkinson.

It was a source of both strength and weakness that the Wilkinson presidency had been such an intensely personal one. As indicated in previous chapters, the strengths spoke for themselves: the tremendous increase in size of the student body, the improvement in intellectual and spiritual growth, and the organization that practically ran itself. Even though Wilkinson had unusual support and praise from the Board of Trustees for what had been accomplished under his administration, there were faculty members who resented his aggressive personal style. Nevertheless, it is a well-established American tradition that no university president has a life tenure in his position — “A university is no man’s possession. Physically a school may be the investment of a proprietor, and it may sometimes be identified with its master because it expresses his thought and will; but a university is something more.”⁷ This was especially true for what many regarded as a school of destiny, whose future was somehow wrapped up with the future of a Church of destiny.

Getting Acquainted with the New Job

In President Oaks’s first few days on campus he realized that he had assumed the leadership of a huge organization. He was given a whirlwind tour of the campus that left him literally breathless. And when Oaks became enmeshed in the administrative problems of the BYU community of 30,000 people, he discovered the administrative work load was staggering. For example, he learned there are 170,000 individual class registrations in an average semester, with 80,000 changes to be processed after registration. In addition to the regular campus registration there are 250,000 students participating each year in continuing education programs in 183 different locations. At the library an average of 1,100 books are checked out each working day of the school year, while at the main campus switchboard 400,000 telephone calls are handled per month. The campus mail system circulates over 1,000,000 pieces of mail per month and the school utilizes 74 tons of paper, or an average of 64 pounds per year for each member of the university community.

There are 9,000 persons on the school payroll, including 5,800 students working part time and using their earnings to put themselves through school. The campus contains over 10 miles of paved streets and 22 miles of sidewalks, with 200 acres of lawn and 130 acres of floor

7. Ibid., p. vii.

space in its buildings. During the evening the campus is alive with activity and there are more than 1,000,000 admissions to campus athletic events, concerts, theatrical productions, and other events each year. The total amount received in tuition and fees is \$13.5 million, 47 percent of which is paid out to student employees in accordance with the school's philosophy of assisting young men and women in their efforts to work their way through college.⁸ Thus from the beginning President Oaks knew that managing a campus community of this complexity would draw heavily on his past experience and personal ingenuity.

A New Administration

Oaks was careful not to tinker prematurely with the huge well-oiled machine that had kept the campus in smooth operation. He retained Wilkinson's senior administrative officials in their positions and except for natural attrition they have continued to the present.

Although in retrospect it is clear that Oaks and Wilkinson have different styles of administering the affairs of the University, it is remarkable that the transition from the Wilkinson administration to the Oaks administration occurred so smoothly. Both men hold deep professional and personal respect for each other and President Wilkinson did everything possible to help his successor become oriented in his new position. Sam F. Brewster, who provided much of the innovative genius behind the building of the BYU campus under President Wilkinson, and who had himself served on an interim presidency committee at Alabama Polytechnic Institute (now Auburn University) observed, "I think it's been one of the most enlightening transitions from one administration to another that I have ever seen."⁹

However, changes were made. On his second day in office President Oaks advised the ten-member Administrative Council, which had acted previously as the major policy advisory body of the University, that it was dissolved, and its function would be provided in another manner. The same statement was given to the Vice-presidents Council which operated within the Administrative Council.

The new President's approach to dealing with his organizational heads drew a distinction between staff and line functions. He established the practice of a weekly meeting with his two primary line officers — executive vice-president Ben E. Lewis, with responsibility for business, physical plant, auxiliary services, athletic affairs, and most financial functions, and academic vice-president Robert K. Thomas, with responsibility for academic and faculty matters. Dean A. Peterson

8. Dallin H. Oaks, "Annual Report to the Faculty," *A Wise Steward* (BYU Fall Faculty Workshop Speeches, 1974), BYU Archives, pp. 8-9.

9. Transcribed interview of Sam F. Brewster by Bruce T. Reese, May 1974, in the possession of Bruce T. Reese.

remained as an administrative assistant to the President, and acted as executive secretary for the three-man policy-making group.

In addition to Lewis and Thomas, the President announced that the only other line officers who would report to him directly would be Heber G. Wolsey, his assistant for communications — internal and external public relations — and dean of student life J. Elliot Cameron. The staff personnel who would report directly to the President were vice-president and general counsel Clyde D. Sandgren, administrative assistant Dean A. Peterson, and assistant to the president for special projects Bruce C. Hafen. All of these had held their positions for some time, except Hafen, who had first been contacted by Wilkinson, before being hired by Oaks to succeed Jay W. Butler, Wilkinson's assistant.

The other members of the former Administrative Council — Robert J. Smith, associate academic vice-president; Fred A. Schwendiman, assistant vice-president for business; William R. Siddoway, assistant academic vice-president; and Sam F. Brewster, director of Physical Plant — continued to report through either Lewis or Thomas, depending on their function. Oaks soon found that Wilkinson had the same expectations and requirements for a high level of performance among his top officers as he did, and that they were all highly competent. They were therefore all retained in their respective offices, where they continue to operate today.

Of course some natural attrition has taken place during the years. William R. Siddoway was called on a three-year assignment as president of the New York Rochester (Cumorah) Mission in 1972, and his functions were taken over by other administrators. Heber G. Wolsey was reassigned to a top management position with the Department of External Communications at LDS Church headquarters in Salt Lake City, and was replaced in 1973 by Bruce L. Olsen. Olsen had been assistant dean of Admissions and Records for the University. Sam F. Brewster retired in 1974 as director of Physical Plant, having served intimately with President Wilkinson since 1957 in the planning and construction of a sizeable portion of the new campus. Brewster was succeeded by Fred A. Schwendiman, who now functions as director of the Physical Plant under the title of assistant vice-president — Physical Plant.

In September 1975 Clyde D. Sandgren retired as vice-president and general counsel. Some time before his own resignation Wilkinson had engaged as legal adviser to the University Development Office H. Hal Visick, a graduate of BYU, who was summa cum laude at George Washington University Law School. Oaks was so pleased with his performance that upon Sandgren's retirement, Visick was appointed to succeed Sandgren as general counsel to the University and to Church Educational Development, as well as assistant to the president.

At the time of Visick's appointment, President Oaks assigned him the title of Assistant to the President — General Counsel. Oaks took this

occasion to add “Assistant to the President” to the titles of dean of student life J. Elliot Cameron and director of university relations Bruce L. Olsen. With these adjustments, the personnel reporting directly to Oaks were all either vice-presidents or assistants to the president. In addition to those already mentioned, Oaks appointed two more assistants to the president during the 1971-75 period — former dean of the College of Fine Arts Lorin F. Wheelwright, whose responsibility was to direct the Centennial celebration, and English professor Marilyn Arnold, whose responsibility has centered primarily around the needs of women in the University community.

Although during his administration Wilkinson had authority to retire faculty members and others at the end of the school year in which they became 65 years of age, he rarely did so unless and until their physical or mental health made it necessary.¹⁰ However, with the restatement of this policy by the Board of Trustees during the first part of the Oaks administration, and its application to all Church employees except the General Authorities, President Oaks complied explicitly, and retired employees from full activity at the age of 65. The result was that early in his administration an unusual number of deans were retired or released:

College or Area	Former Dean	New Dean
Religious Instruction	Roy W. Doxey	Jeffrey R. Holland
Law School	(new school)	Rex E. Lee (on leave) Carl S. Hawkins (acting)
Graduate School of Management	(new school)	Merrill Bateman
College of Business	Weldon J. Taylor	Bryce B. Orton (acting)
	Bryce B. Orton	Merrill Bateman
College of Education	Stephen L. Alley	Curtis N. Van Alfen
College of Fine Arts	Lorin F. Wheelwright	Lael J. Woodbury
College of General Studies	Lester B. Whetten	C. Terry Warner (on leave) Marion J. Bentley (acting)

10. Minutes of a joint meeting of the Church Board of Education and the BYU Board of Trustees, 26 February 1954, BYU Archives.

College of Physical and Mathematical Sciences	(new college)	Jae R. Ballif
College of Physical Education	Milton F. Hartvigsen	Clayne R. Jensen
Admissions and Records	Frank McKean	Robert W. Spencer
Continuing Education	Harold Glen Clark	Stanley A. Peterson

Oaks appointed new coaches in both football and basketball — Lavell Edwards in football and Glenn Potter and Frank Arnold in basketball. So far he has also enlarged his administrative staff by the appointment of four additional assistant academic vice-presidents and three vice-presidential administrative assistants.¹¹ Many new department chairmen have been appointed during the Oaks years to replace the older chairmen, along with new heads of other old and new administrative or academic units.

Decentralization

Until Oaks's presidency, presidential administrations at BYU were always authoritarian in nature. Maeser and his assistants exercised strict control over the students every hour of the day. Half a century later, Harris still retained absolute control of all major administrative decisions. Wilkinson was given instructions that he alone was to be responsible for selecting faculty members (subject to approval of the Trustees) and determining their salaries. While he met and consulted each week with the faculty advisory council, consulted with many faculty members both on and off the council, and often followed their recommendations, he made the final determination in all administrative matters. However, with the remarkable growth of the Church and the increase of members competent to fill top Church positions, the General Authorities at the time of Oaks's appointment were increasingly delegating authority, as in the case of Assistants to the Council of the Twelve and Regional Representatives of the Twelve. The Board had also become more amenable to the sharing and decentralization of authority at BYU.

From the beginning, Oaks felt that it would be impossible for one

11. The assistant vice-presidents appointed were Darrell J. Monson, Leo P. Vernon, Chauncey Riddle, and Bruce L. Olsen. The vice-presidential administrative assistants appointed were Don W. Abel, Carl J. Bailey, and L. Robert Webb.

man to effectively administer the affairs of a university which had grown so large. As President Wilkinson had done when he took charge, Oaks asked faculty members as well as deans for their frank evaluation of the University. The reactions from department chairmen were both candid and practical. They said they were concerned with many University policies and felt they had only limited responsibility and essentially no authority for dealing with many matters. When these suggestions were brought to the attention of the Board of Trustees the Board allowed President Oaks to share a number of administrative matters with the deans, department chairmen, and the faculty. Among these were the following departures from past policies:

1. A new faculty advisory council of 40 members was organized, with all 40 members nominated by popular election in the various colleges and then appointed by the President. The new council provided a new perspective.
2. A parallel organization representing nonfaculty employees, the administrative advisory council, has been organized. This council has had a similar function with respect to matters pertaining to administrative employees of the University.
3. It has not been uncommon for the administration to assign the evaluation of an important problem to an existing university committee — or a new committee if necessary — and accept and implement many of a committee's recommendations. While Oaks retains the right to make the final decision, he has frequently participated by interacting with committees and councils, such that their final recommendations have often represented a joint work product between faculty representatives and the administration.
4. Greater delegation of responsibilities has been given to deans and department chairmen with respect to financial matters, including initial recommendations as to budgets, the selection of faculty members and their salaries, the making of periodic evaluations of each faculty member to determine advancements in rank, research leaves, and course and committee assignments, the administration of their budgets including research and sabbatical leave funds, the shifting of funds from one department to another within a single college, allowances for computer services, and the carryover of funds from one semester to another.

The policy of confidentiality remains in effect even though the circle of those who are privy to the confidential information has been necessarily broadened by the rotation of department chairmen.

After the decentralized budgeting and review process had been in effect for about two years, the administration was so impressed with the quality of management in one of the academic colleges that President Oaks stated, "We've been inclined to give them program improvements that we would never have given them if they hadn't made such a

demonstration of the care with which they've allocated their funds and evaluated the way they [have used them]."¹² Oaks and Thomas have further pointed out that there has been "a spectacular increase in research time allocations" because departments have been told that if they could teach the same number of students effectively with fewer faculty, they could allocate the freed faculty resources in some other way that benefited their program.¹³

The implications of these role changes for deans and department chairmen are just being realized. One dean has observed that both he and his faculty perceive their roles to be more ambiguous than they were in the past.¹⁴ Deans and department chairmen are now seen in part as agents of the University administration rather than only as advocates for their respective colleges. The roles of deans and department chairmen seem to have become dual, with responsibility for the administration of significant financial and personnel matters that were previously reserved for the central administration, along with responsibility for administering those affairs in a way that maximizes and rewards the professional development of each faculty member.

It should be observed that department faculties at BYU still do not have the degree of autonomy and authority that is typical of other universities. For example, the revised goal definition for department chairmen adopted in 1972 provides that faculty with professorial rank will be involved in the process of selecting new faculty on a consultative basis and will have their recommendations given careful consideration. This selection process is characterized by consensus building rather than by formal voting procedures or by an imposition of the will of the department chairman.¹⁵

BYU is likely to retain some authoritarian characteristics because of its unique relationship to a Church in which hierarchical authority patterns are well-established and honored traditions. At the same time, however, the experience of the faculty, deans, and department chairmen during the Oaks administration so far indicates that while the University administration may retain ultimate authority, it will use that authority sparingly, and seems determined to make the governance of the University as much a participative process as possible.

12. Bruce C. Hafen, transcribed interview with Dallin H. Oaks, Robert K. Thomas, and Ben E. Lewis, 2 December 1974, in the possession of Bruce C. Hafen.

13. Ibid.

14. Bruce C. Hafen, interview with Lael Woodbury, February 1974.

15. Dallin H. Oaks, "Annual Report to the Faculty," *Together for Greatness* (BYU Fall Faculty Workshop Speeches, 1972), BYU Archives, p. 27.

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Academic Productivity under Oaks

From the moment President Dallin H. Oaks arrived on campus he stressed the role of the faculty. As he later said, "The most important thing that happens on this campus is what goes on between the beginning and the ending of each classroom period."¹ In 1973 Oaks reiterated:

I cannot acknowledge the importance of this group more authentically than to concede my awareness that the *teacher* is the only worker who is absolutely essential to a teaching institution. . . . All the rest are in support of the teaching function. I hope that concession makes none of you disdainful of the rest of us. . . . The administration of a university is responsible to give leadership by identifying objectives, by structuring incentives, and by exerting encouragement and persuasion. But . . . the critical creative work of the institution is in the hands of the faculty.²

The BYU Faculty: Its Unique Role

What a faculty actually does to develop a truly great university is hard to capture on paper. The thousands of meaningful interactions, private learning experiences, or changes in students' and teachers' lives over the hundred years of BYU history may be impossible to record, but intimate individual stimulation of mind and spirit has always been at the heart of Brigham Young University. In fact, whatever else may have changed since President Oaks's arrival, this prized characteristic of life at BYU goes on unchanged.

From the faculty member's point of view some qualities of academic life at BYU have a different focus from that found elsewhere. One very perceptive description of that difference was given by Martin B. Hickman, a former teacher at the University of Southern California who

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1. Bruce C. Hafen, transcribed interview of Dallin H. Oaks, 17 June 1974, in the possession of Bruce C. Hafen.
 2. Dallin H. Oaks, "Annual Report to the Faculty," *Excellence in Learning* (BYU Fall Faculty Workshop, 1973), BYU Archives, pp. 23-24.

became dean of social sciences at BYU in 1970. In 1971 he told a faculty group,

Now the Church has never hidden . . . what it considers the mission of BYU to be. One would have to be illiterate or obtuse not to know that BYU exists under a different mandate than most private and all public universities. Hence, I assume that any teacher who gives consideration to teaching at BYU must also weigh the implications of that mandate. The decision to come to BYU . . . reflects ultimately an acceptance of the values on which this university rests and a desire to participate in its mission.

If these are the motives which bring the teacher to BYU, then academic freedom is completely compatible with the open commitment of the university to an explicit value system. Indeed, teaching at BYU may be a means of restoring the wholeness to one's life. Those of us who have taught elsewhere are very much aware that our employment was conditional upon how successfully we camouflaged the sources of our value system — the gospel. Whatever academic freedom we had, it did not include the right to place our classwork explicitly within the overarching concepts of the gospel. Our values had to be smuggled in or deliberately excluded; we lived a dual life as scholar and Mormon, unable in the classroom to unite the two into an integral whole. That division of professional and religious life is overcome at BYU and the opportunity is thus created to restore to our lives an abiding unity. Unless this right to unite our scholarly and religious lives has a significant meaning for us, unless teaching at BYU is a flight to freedom, unless we welcome the values of the gospel with the joy of the returning pilgrim, the decision to come to BYU loses the heart of its meaning.³

Goals of the Oaks Administration

In his inaugural address President Oaks stated that he had two primary goals: to reinforce the University's drive for excellence as an academic institution and to preserve the distinctive spiritual character and standards of the University. This statement of goals was an appropriate response to the challenge given to Oaks by Harold B. Lee of the First Presidency:

This then, President Oaks, is your law of instruction and a guide to keep before your faculty and your students — to prepare yourself and them for the work of the ministry as they go out to take their places in worldly affairs.

We pass on to you, also, the divine admonition to have those under your tutelage "study and learn, and become acquainted with all good books, and with languages, tongues and people"

3. Martin B. Hickman, "Academic Freedom at Brigham Young University," address to the Association of American University Professors, BYU Chapter, Spring 1971, in the possession of Martin B. Hickman.

(D & C 90:15). Brigham Young University, indeed the whole educational system of this Church, has been established to the end that all pure knowledge must be gained by our people, handed down to our posterity, and given to all men.

We charge you to give constant stimulation to these budding scientists and scholars in all fields and to the urge to push back further and further into the realms of the unknown.⁴

To follow this mandate, as Presidents before had done,⁵ the Oaks administration concentrated on faculty development.

Faculty Profile — 1975

An interesting study has been compiled of the typical BYU faculty member in 1975 compared with his counterpart from earlier years. BYU's "typical teacher" in 1975 is male, was born in Utah, attended BYU as a college student, and obtained a doctorate at a university outside Utah. After brief experience elsewhere between the completion of his graduate work and his return to Provo, he has been a BYU faculty member for nine years, is the father of four children, and looks forward to another 21 years of service at the University, because he is now only 44. He is one of 1,182 full-time faculty members, a group six times the size of the full-time faculty in 1951. In 1951, 85 percent of the faculty had undergraduate degrees from BYU, but 94 percent of the faculty with doctorates had obtained them outside Utah.

The percentage of faculty members who hold doctorate degrees has increased from 26 percent of the full-time faculty in 1951 to 60 percent in 1975.⁶ The typical faculty member in 1975 could hold faculty rank at either the assistant professor, associate professor, or full professor levels, since the 1975 faculty is almost equally divided among these three levels, except for the 15 percent of the full-time faculty who are ranked as instructors. By contrast, 40 percent of the full-time faculty held the rank of instructor in 1951, and another 30 percent held the rank of assistant professor. The remaining 30 percent of the faculty in 1951 were divided between professors (20 percent) and associate professors (10 percent). In some ways the University's typical teacher has not changed much since 1951. The average age is 44 in 1975, while in 1951 it was just under 42. The number of faculty who are married has also remained constant at a level just under 90 percent. Among those

4. Harold B. Lee, "Installation of and Charge to the President," *Inaugural Addresses* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1971), pp. 13-14.

5. "Report of Proceedings of the Inauguration of Ernest Leroy Wilkinson," *The Messenger*, November 1951, p. 16.

6. Information concerning 1962 and prior years is taken from *A Unique Faculty* (Brigham Young University, May 1962), cpm 30b, box 2, BYU Archives. Statistics for 1975 are based on a computer analysis of university personnel records, 27 February 1975.

who are married, the average number of children is 3.8 in 1975, a slight increase over 1951, when the average number of children was 3.19. Just under 40 percent of the 1975 faculty have been at the University less than five years. Some 535 of the 1,182 full-time faculty members are Utah-born. The remainder were born in 38 other states and 12 foreign countries. The overwhelming majority of faculty members in 1975 hold some kind of position in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Some 6.5 percent of the faculty serve in general Church positions, either on committee assignments, as regional representatives, or on general boards in auxiliary organizations. The remainder hold positions in local stakes and wards or in campus stakes and branches.

Improving the Role of Each Faculty Member

The Oaks administration has been concerned lest rapid increase in numbers has diminished the role of the individual teacher or neglected to recognize individual contributions. "Stewardship interviews" are therefore conducted with each faculty member at least once a year. This permits the department chairman or dean to familiarize himself on a one-to-one basis with the quality of life and the professional self-realization of each faculty member. These interviews permit the faculty member to share special problems or specific professional aspirations with his supervisor, report on Church or civic responsibilities he has undertaken, and, most important of all, disclose his preferences in the use of his talents for teaching, research, or administrative work.

These interviews have resulted in a much more flexible approach to faculty assignments, with some teachers being assigned exclusively to classroom instruction, others to a combination of teaching and administration, and still others to some teaching but with a major emphasis on research. Though some universities stress research to the point where the faculty feel they must "publish or perish," this has never been the case at BYU, although there is a campuswide awareness that the faculty should make a contribution where they have expertise. BYU policy is that the faculty member must still be a good classroom teacher no matter how important a research project may be. The stewardship interviews have made possible a much more satisfactory allocation of time and effort, from the standpoint of both the school and the individual faculty member.

The Professional Development Program

A faculty committee was appointed in 1973, under the chairmanship of Marion Bennion of the College of Family Living, to evaluate the effectiveness of the University's sabbatical leave program. In the past, many members of the faculty assumed they had a right to take a leave

of absence every seventh year — either for a year at half salary or for a half-year at full salary.

The Professional Development Program committee, however, reported that the money expended for sabbatical leaves could be much more profitably used in a broader spectrum of opportunities for faculty members, including compensated leave, research funds for special projects, and adjustments in teaching loads during the regular school year. It was proposed that in place of the old sabbatical leave program each faculty member should design his own plan for personal professional improvement, including the kind of teaching he prefers, special research projects he would like to initiate, the need for off-campus leave to achieve these purposes, and whatever else the teacher feels would best fulfill his professional objectives.

Some feared the faculty would object to the abandonment of the traditional sabbatical leave, but when the new proposals were presented at a general faculty meeting in April 1974 they were approved unanimously.⁷ This new approach was initiated to help department chairmen discover ways to broaden opportunity by providing alternative methods for self-improvement by faculty members, and there has been an encouragingly imaginative response on the part of those teachers who have participated in the program so far. Approximately eight percent of the total budget for faculty salaries is allocated to this program at the outset.

Salary Increases and Promotions

Motivation for faculty members to improve their professional status has increased since deans and department chairmen began to participate in setting salary increases and promotions. However, standards needed to be refined, and in 1974 assistant academic vice-president Leo P. Vernon headed a task force to develop a comprehensive reporting and evaluation system. This on-going study is expected to produce a much more satisfactory pattern of guidelines by which administrators may measure and reward the productivity of the faculty assigned to their departments.

Retirement Policies

At the time of Oaks's appointment the President already had the discretionary authority to retire faculty members at the age of 65, but Oaks's predecessor had not exercised that authority unless he felt the teacher in question was no longer able intellectually, spiritually, or physically to perform. When the Board of Trustees announced a fixed retirement policy which would require all Church employees to retire from full-time activity at the end of the year in which they turned 65, there was some concern expressed by both staff and faculty, but this

7. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 11 April 1974.

policy has been followed by the Oaks administration. Because of this, during the first four years of his presidency President Oaks appointed no less than five new deans.

At almost the same time the retirement policy went into effect, the University's retirement plan came under the supervision of Deseret Mutual Benefit Association (DMBA), a Church-owned organization for the benefit of all employees of the LDS Church. Previously, the university employees' retirement benefits had been administered by a large private retirement plan organization, and though the change offered greatly improved employee benefits, there was some dissatisfaction with the originally proposed 15-year vesting requirement of the DMBA plan. In early 1975 DMBA announced a reduction in the vesting period to 10 years of continuous service, which gave significantly improved benefits to retiring University employees.

The Question of Faculty Tenure

One of the continuing problems of any university administration is the task of providing job security while protecting the university from an accumulation of teachers who fail to grow or are not meeting the needs of their students. The concept of tenure was designed to protect innovative faculty members from being fired for the unpopularity of precedent-setting ideas. However, as often as not, tenure has the opposite effect: it protects the uncreative teacher and allows many in a university to stagnate in the name of job security.

BYU attempted to avoid these consequences by refusing to establish a formal tenure program. Instead, BYU faculty contracts were renewed on a year-to-year basis. This policy had the advantage of making current competency a clear consideration in determining whether or not contracts would be renewed. On the other hand, year-to-year renewal of contracts had the disadvantage of occasionally creating a sense of insecurity among those who felt that they might be replaced for personal reasons rather than lack of competence. In recognition of this problem, the Wilkinson administration evolved an informal procedure in which a faculty member received a new contract annually for the first 3 years and after that merely a notification of his new salary. This was an indication that the faculty member was doing satisfactory work, but the policy against legal tenure continued. President Oaks, however, felt that the terms of faculty status at BYU should be formalized, and therefore announced this policy to the faculty in 1972,

Members of the faculty are appointed by the Board of Trustees upon the recommendation of the President of the University. Unless otherwise provided hereafter, all faculty appointments are for a period of one year, renewable in successive years with the approval of the President. The initial three years of service of any person when first appointed to professorial rank (Assistant Professor, Associate Professor or Professor) shall be a probationary

period during which the faculty member's performance will be reviewed annually and discussed in an interview with the department chairman, dean or academic vice-president. At the conclusion of the three-year probationary period, the faculty member will either be advised that his or her appointment will not be renewed, that it will be extended for a period of not more than three years, or that he or she will be given appointment forms that signify the attainment of continuing faculty status. Continuing faculty status signifies that a faculty member has successfully completed the probationary period and that he or she is recognized as a continuing member of the faculty.⁸

The Board also adopted the policy, at Oaks's suggestion, that faculty members who have attained continuing faculty status may be terminated before the age of 65 only by the Board of Trustees and under a procedure specified by the Board. Other faculty members may be terminated at any time by the President, although great care is taken to be sure that fair procedures are used and proper notification is given.

The new policy has not completely balanced tenure and competency: some administrators think it has shifted the employment policies so far in favor of security that it is difficult to dismiss a continuing faculty member for reasons of incompetence or poor performance. The Oaks administration has hoped that continuing faculty status would not be granted as a matter of course, but would be granted only when the dean and department chairman had rigorously judged the faculty member's performance against high standards. At present the standards vary somewhat among the different colleges, but a thoroughgoing effort is being made at the level of the academic vice-president's office to help deans and department chairmen establish expectations which are similar for each college yet still allow for appropriate emphasis.

Conflict of Interest

The Oaks administration has pushed hard for the adoption of equitable policies relating to overlapping faculty and university concerns in such areas as copyrights, patents, and conflict of interest. Agreement upon basic patent policy, whereby employees can participate in benefits from a patentable work, was relatively easy to establish because of past informal practice and comparable policies elsewhere. The copyright policy was more difficult because few major universities had been able to develop workable arrangements to handle this area. In the fall of 1971 a Creative Works Committee was appointed, chaired by director of research, Leo P. Vernon, to consider copyrights and related matters. After working through more than 20 drafts of a policy, the committee decided against a precise formula, although some clear

8. Dallin H. Oaks, "Annual Report to the Faculty," *Together For Greatness* (Brigham Young University, 1972), pp. 30-31.

guidelines were developed to direct negotiations between the University employee and his supervisor. The principles involved in the new copyright policy were formally approved by the faculty and adopted by the Board in 1973.⁹

In the summer of 1973, an ad hoc University committee chaired by Bruce C. Hafen was appointed to develop a University policy on conflict of interest. That committee was not surprised to find widely differing attitudes among University employees in this area. Some felt that the University should not concern itself with attempts by employees to supplement University income on their own time, even though the genesis of their work originated in their University employment. On the other hand, some believed that the practice of allowing BYU employees to earn supplemental income by work outside their University employment seriously undermined the school's academic mission. Again the committee did not specify a definite formula but suggested guidelines for individual negotiation between University employees and their immediate supervisors. The committee, however, stressed the necessity for a full disclosure on the part of employees to their supervisors so that a fair agreement between the University and the individual could be reached. Awareness of possible conflict of interest problems has been heightened by the work of this committee, although its specific policies are still in the process of being refined by various colleges and administrative areas.

The Graduate School and Advanced Research Projects

Although BYU has gradually increased the extent of its research and graduate work, no fixed policy had been developed prior to the Oaks administration concerning the amount of money to be spent or the ratio of students and faculty to be involved in these activities. After consulting with academic officers, however, President Oaks decided that since the size of the total student body had been fixed at 25,000, the number of graduate students should not exceed 2,000. Excluding law students, who might be regarded as professional school students rather than graduate students in the traditional sense, the projected ceiling on graduate student enrollment would be roughly 1,500.

The current administration hopes that a reduction in the number of graduate students will allow an emphasis on quality. One attempt to achieve this was the organization in May 1975 of the Graduate School of Management under dean Merrill J. Bateman, who had also recently been appointed dean of the College of Business. The new school will become the third graduate organization at BYU, along with the Graduate School and the Law School. Included in its curriculum are three master's degree programs formerly in the Graduate School — Master of Business Administration, Master of Public Administration,

9. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 12 April 1973.

and Master of Accountancy. Other professional programs that emphasize management skills may be included as the program of the new school develops. The University's Graduate School is left with responsibility for the selective administration of programs that are more in the nature of traditional academic programs.¹⁰

President Oaks has also emphasized vigorous research and other creative work among both faculty and students in the undergraduate colleges. It was to implement just such a policy that responsibility for the administration of research funds was transferred to the deans and department chairmen. To supervise the deployment of resources under this new arrangement, Leo P. Vernon, former director of the centralized Research Division, was named assistant academic vice-president for research and planning. It was decided that allocation of available funds should be made on the basis of the quality and quantity of research productivity in each of the colleges during the previous year. Although this plan is barely underway, it has already resulted in a sharp increase in the number of research projects. In 1973, for instance, there were 157 proposals for external research funds; by the following year the number had jumped to 247. The amount of non-federal external research funds awarded to BYU increased threefold between 1970 and 1974.¹¹

Departments occasionally combine their efforts to achieve a broad spectrum of research goals. For example, the Physics and Mathematics departments have conducted an intensive study of nuclear fusion as a potential energy source. At the same time, the departments of Civil Engineering, Botany, Zoology, Microbiology, Sociology, Animal Science, and Geography have combined their expertise in studying problems such as parasite control, pesticide pollution, missionary health, and environmental impact of existing and proposed power plants in Utah. The Charles Redd Center for Western Studies has involved faculty members from the History Department and the Department of Religious Instruction in investigating historical problems related to the LDS Church and the development of the West. In addition, working with the benefit of the largest research grant ever awarded to BYU, the Institute for Computer Uses in Education (the TICCIT Project) has attracted national attention for its work in the development of individualized, self-taught courses in English and mathematics involving sophisticated computer programming.

The Language Research Center has made BYU a national leader in language research. The center is pioneering the development of various methods for computer-assisted foreign language translation, which has tremendous implications for the elimination of language

10. "Formation Announced of New Graduate School," *Daily Universe*, 20 May 1975.

11. Martha Cummings, "BYU Research Projects Flourish," *Monday Magazine*, 2 December 1974, p. 12.

barriers. This will also help in the rapidly expanding LDS missionary work throughout the world.

The Center for Business and Economic Research in the College of Business has been concentrating on problems connected with local and regional planning. Finally, the Family Research Center has initiated several scholarly projects, including a review of moral development and ethical reasoning in children.

One other indicator of increased research and writing efforts by University faculty has been the striking increase in activity at the BYU Press. The Press published only five books in 1971, but in 1974 the Press published 33 books, many of them written by University faculty members in their specialties.

Federal Funding's Threat to Independence

In recent years BYU's heightened interest in research has come into conflict with its long-standing policy of remaining independent from federal funds. As President Oaks pointed out to the faculty in April 1973, the sharp increase in the total grants and contracts awarded to the University faculty is a tribute to its increasing competence, but it also stands to threaten the independence of the institution. He also pointed out that the temptation to accept government funds is particularly strong at a time when the faculty is being stimulated to involve itself in greater research efforts. Nevertheless, President Oaks announced that he was determined to cut back BYU's reliance on federally funded projects.¹²

In recent years BYU has greatly increased its efforts to obtain private research funds, and has obtained a significant increase in its research budget from the Board of Trustees. At the same time, there are important research projects funded by the federal government which certain faculty members are especially equipped to handle. To make this talent available, the Oaks administration has adopted the policy of releasing certain faculty members on a full-time or part-time basis to conduct research through independent research organizations such as the Eyring Research Institute or the Billings Energy Research Corporation. These groups were formed to handle government research projects independent of state or private universities. This procedure has allowed BYU to make its faculty talent available for important government projects or to other organizations. This does not compromise the University's independence.

Teaching and Curriculum Revision

One of President Oaks's earliest innovations was a special study of the entire academic offering, including an evaluation of curriculum, majors, general education requirements, and degrees being awarded.

12. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 12 April 1973.

For the purpose of reviewing BYU course offerings, the University's Curriculum Council was reorganized into a smaller body under the chairmanship of John H. Gardner, and given greater policy-making powers than in the past. The new organization consisted of seven representatives from the academic colleges. The administration directed each academic department to examine its curriculum with a view to decreasing course offerings by 25 percent. It was left to the deans and department chairmen working with the Curriculum Council to determine which classes should be cut and where the resulting savings could be most profitably used.

A review of majors being offered was guided by the policy that there should be a clear relationship between majors and employment opportunities. The major in genealogy, for instance, was terminated because of insufficient employment demand in this area. For similar reasons a quota was placed on the number of persons who could become degree-seeking candidates in the undergraduate College of Education, due to an unusual oversupply of elementary and secondary teachers.

A further reshuffling of curricula and majors occurred upon the retirement of dean Ernest C. Jeppsen of the College of Industrial and Technical Education in the fall of 1972. The Technical Institute was discontinued and its various two-year programs were transferred to the most closely related colleges. At the same time, the College of Physical Sciences and Engineering was divided. Dean Armin J. Hill of that college continued as dean of the new College of Engineering Sciences and Technology, while physics professor Jae R. Ballif was appointed dean of the new College of Physical and Mathematical Sciences. This placed the technical programs related to engineering in the same college as the more theoretical engineering programs and left the highly theoretical physical sciences and mathematics departments in a separate college. As previously noted, the four-year technology degree in the College of Physical and Engineering Sciences had been accredited in 1967, the first such program approved by the Engineers Council for Professional Development. The growth of similar degree programs in other schools since that time has reflected the increasing overlap between what had traditionally been thought of as *technology*, as distinguished from engineering.

Reorganization also made possible an improvement in the training of nurses so that two-year training with a terminal degree could be chosen or the candidate could elect to continue toward a four-year degree without transferring to another college. This was the same dual program originally adopted during the Wilkinson administration, but the two programs were separated because the League of Nursing had objected to the two programs being operated in the same college. The League finally relented in its opposition, and the two programs were brought together in the College of Nursing. The administration en-

couraged other programs of a similar nature in areas which allowed a student to terminate at the close of two years of college training with an associate degree. Associate degree programs were a practical way of dealing with BYU's traditionally high undergraduate drop-out rate.¹³ By the summer of 1974, the total number of associate degrees awarded by the colleges had almost doubled, from 229 in 1971 to 455 in 1974.¹⁴

Reorganizing the General College

The identification of the curriculum with vocation-oriented class offering resulted in some concern that the liberal arts area of education might be neglected. To assure continuing high quality in general education, the General College was reorganized in June 1972 and renamed the College of General Studies. Retiring dean Lester Whetton was replaced by C. Terry Warner, a Yale graduate in philosophy who had been the director of BYU's Honors Program. In addition to retaining its departments of American Indian education, Career Education, and General Education, the reorganized college was given responsibility for administering the Honors Program (formerly a separate entity), the Philosophy Department (formerly assigned to the College of Religious Instruction), and the two ROTC units. In addition, all of the University's diverse services in vocational and career counseling were brought together in a unified program supervised by the College of General Studies.

A Department of University Studies was also organized within this college in September 1972, with Spencer J. Condie of the sociology faculty as its first chairman. The department made it possible, for the first time, to have a BYU student completely design his own major field. The department also authorized the creation of student-initiated courses in which students and faculty members could initiate courses to fit their mutual needs and interests. By winter semester 1975 there were 250 students seeking a four-year degree with majors in University Studies. This high degree of customized curriculum planning quickly allayed any fear that the liberal arts were being neglected — indeed, the new organization served an enormous variety of student needs.

Improving Basic Educational Skills

For many years a traditional criticism of the structure of curriculum in universities throughout the country has been that the needs and interests of the students often have been sacrificed to the "necessities of

13. Even as recently as 1974 it was reported that more than 1,000 students leave the University after two years and never return to any college or university; Dallin H. Oaks, "Annual Report to the Faculty," *A Wise Steward* (Brigham Young University, 1974), p. 10.

14. Dallin H. Oaks, outline of administrative instructions, BYU Administrators Leadership Seminar, 9 July 1974, Exhibit 15.

organizational life in a university.”¹⁵ One of the more pessimistic comments on the subject of general education came from a member of the Committee for Economic Development in 1973:

University and college departments are organized by subject matter. The generally useful skills and abilities that students need to acquire are not the main interest of these departments. Most college teachers are specialists, and many of them do not have a good general education. As a result, much of what students are required to learn has little relevance or significance to their present or future lives. Only incidentally, if at all, the students acquire facility in the intellectual processes they will need in their careers and other activities. The vested interests, the reward structure, and the traditions of the faculty make it almost impossible to develop appropriate programs of general liberal education. If the public does not rally to the support of general education, university and college faculties might do well to ask whether they deserve such support.¹⁶

To prevent problems of this nature, a BYU General Education Council was appointed to begin working toward a revised general education program. The Council began to organize in-depth studies to make certain that all students acquired a good general education in addition to their field of specialization. The Council changed the emphasis from information-oriented training to the development of specific skills. A series of tests and evaluations were initiated to determine the students' skill level in two categories: first, competence in writing, reading, and mathematical skills, which are basic to a university education and should be acquired during the first year of college; and second, critical thinking and creativity. The Council felt that the general education experience of a student should include 40 semester hours, about 16 of them in intensive study outside of the student's major field. Proposed evaluations, which would be tests of competence not directly tied to any one course, would be reviewed by committees of the General Education Council, who would monitor their suitability.

The quality of the new program at BYU is indicated by the fact that a Carnegie Foundation-funded national committee working on improving the quality of general education selected BYU as one of 20 universities (out of 180 which applied) to receive funds for the purpose of developing a program of general education which could be adopted nationally.

The new approach may concern certain departments which are accustomed to being assured of a “captive student audience,” since students have traditionally been required to take specific courses as

15. Michael D. Cohen and James G. March, *Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President*, p. 107.

16. Theodore O. Yntema, *The Management and Financing of Colleges* (Committee for Economic Development, 1973), p. 86.

part of their general education requirements, but most departments have accepted the challenge of the new approach enthusiastically. Coupled with the new general education program is an expanded credit-by-examination option. Whereas during the Wilkinson administration examinations could be taken to obtain credit in only a few areas, such as English, history, and physics, the Oaks administration broadened this in 1975 to include all general requirement courses. If these innovations are successful, BYU stands to make a contribution not only to its own educational methods, but to the present needs of higher education generally.

Recruiting Senior Faculty Members from Other Institutions

A significant demonstration of the growing prestige of Brigham Young University during the last few years is the increasing number of prominent faculty members from other institutions who have joined the BYU faculty. Two full professors were hired in 1967-68, two in 1968-69, seven in 1969-70, and five in 1970-71, the last year of the Wilkinson administration. These were succeeded by groups of five in the 1972-73 and 1973-74 school years. While introducing a number of notable professional teachers who had transferred to BYU in 1972, President Oaks stated,

I am sure it is true that the prestige of an institution is due in greater measure to the votes of knowledgeable faculty members than to any other factor. Faculty members vote with their feet. When a faculty member leaves one institution and moves to another, that is a judgment about the prestige and potential of the institution. It is, therefore, particularly heartening to see individuals of this stature choosing to join us at Brigham Young University. These examples could be multiplied many times over.¹⁷

Some of the men to whom he was referring, who had recently joined the faculty, included Allen Bergin, professor of psychology at Columbia; Arthur Henry King, professor of English in Iran and Pakistan, and for many years assistant director general of the British Council for Cultural Relations; Gene Dalton, professor of organizational behavior from Harvard; Peter Crawley, professor of mathematics from the California Institute of Technology; Carl S. Hawkins, professor of law from the University of Michigan; and Edward L. Kimball, professor of law from the University of Wisconsin.

The New Addition to the University Library

Another highly visible example of the academic emphasis of the Oaks administration is the Harold B. Lee Library addition begun in

17. Dallin H. Oaks, "Annual Report to the Faculty," *Together For Greatness* (Brigham Young University, 1972), p. 29.

summer 1974, which will more than double the current library facilities. The entire library will contain 225,000 square feet with study stations for 5,000 students and space for 2,000,000 books. The library will also house a highly sophisticated learning laboratory with electronic information retrieval systems. The library will also provide television lecture sets, video cassettes, computer-assisted instruction, and a wide variety of microfilm materials.¹⁸ The need for an addition to the library had become obvious by the fall of 1971, when the library celebrated the addition of its millionth volume.

Division of Instructional Services

During the past 25 years of growth and expansion, a constant problem has been integrating all the services that assist teachers in their classroom presentations. In 1972 the instructional resources scattered across campus were unified in the Division of Instructional Services, which includes all audiovisual material, the library, instructional television, broadcast services, instructional photographics, the motion picture studio, and all other University units involved in the production, distribution, or evaluation of learning resources. This new administrative structure was placed under the direction of Darrell J. Monson, who was named assistant academic vice-president for learning resources.

Enlargement of the Bookstore

In 1974 plans were approved to double the size of the bookstore to accommodate increasing demand for bookstore commodities, which range from texts and popular books to clothing, greeting cards, and office supplies. In July 1974 the Faculty Advisory Council appointed an ad hoc committee to work with the bookstore, not only in planning the space addition, but also in evaluating its academic service functions. As a result of this committee's recommendations, Neal Lambert, a member of the English Department faculty and a former chairman of the Faculty Advisory Council, was appointed to a half-time position as faculty adviser to the bookstore. In that capacity Lambert solicits and conveys faculty recommendations concerning general as well as scholarly reading materials. He has also assisted the bookstore manager, Roger Utley, in designing a faculty reading area in the new addition and in promoting increased awareness of academic quality in the reading and book selection of both students and faculty.

Religious Instruction: An Academic Challenge

It was too much to expect that there would never be intellectual tension between BYU religion instructors and teachers of traditional secular disciplines. Minor disturbances in this area during the Cluff

18. *Request*, a publication of the BYU Student Development Association, 1974.

administration gave way to a thoroughgoing academic crisis in the days of George Brimhall. Under Harris there were also some controversies. During the Wilkinson administration the Board made many administrative changes and established policies designed to eliminate friction in the future.

Nevertheless, shortly after Dallin Oaks came to the campus he sensed that some further changes might be in order. To get at the heart of the problem, he assigned his assistant Bruce Hafen to solicit written responses from over 200 faculty members, and to interview selected persons in depth. He also had a comprehensive study conducted of the history of religious instruction at BYU to develop a set of guidelines in determining policy for the future.

The necessity for spiritual and religious training had been the primary reason for the establishment of Brigham Young Academy in the first place, and when it became a university the same emphasis was reiterated. Although in 1913 the faculty adopted a resolution that "all students be expected to take theology,"¹⁹ during the 1920s and 1930s some Church leaders were persuaded that religious instruction and other subjects were being so neglected at BYU that the school might be sacrificed and become a feeder to the University of Utah and other secular institutions. In 1940 the Board of Trustees adopted a policy requiring each student to take a two-credit hour religion class each semester as a prerequisite to graduation. In that same year the Division of Religion was organized on campus with five professional religion teachers who were also involved in teaching nonreligious subjects.

In the early 1930s a number of professional teachers obtained advanced degrees in theology at non-Mormon theological seminaries, hoping to provide greater academic credibility in religious instruction at Church institutions. Unfortunately, this training emphasized scholarly research in abstract theology and practical religious subjects, which at times suggested conclusions incompatible with the established doctrines of the LDS Church. It was quickly realized that the abstract and secular analysis of theological precepts often proved to have little or no relationship to the spiritual enrichment and improved behavior of the Mormon scholar. Accordingly, the acquisition of advanced degrees in abstract theology in these seminaries was frowned upon and prospective LDS religion teachers were discouraged from pursuing these courses.

President Wilkinson made an attempt, with the consent of the Board of Trustees, to provide for master's and doctor's degrees reflecting the Mormon view of religion as a way of life rather than as a study of abstract precepts. To strengthen this program the Division of Religion

19. Most of the information for this section is taken from a talk given on 10 April 1974 by Boyd K. Packer of the Quorum of the Twelve to the BYU faculty of Religious Instruction; and a memorandum from Bruce C. Hafen to Dallin H. Oaks, 23 February 1972.

in 1959 was named the College of Religious Instruction and the giving of master's and doctor's degrees authorized. Even so, the leaders of the Church, including President McKay, were uneasy about giving graduate degrees in religion. Proponents of the programs explained that individuals receiving these degrees would be better prepared to teach at LDS Institutes than if they relied on purely secular training and their own private study of religion. In practice, however, it was found that some of the most effective teachers in the college of religious instruction were those who had received their advanced degrees in areas other than religion and had applied the same scholarly discipline in their personal study of the gospel.

Changes during the Oaks Administration

With this background, the Oaks administration concluded that some immediate adjustments were essential. One of the first steps was the decision, approved by the Board of Trustees in May 1972, that except for those already enrolled in these programs, no future master's or doctor's degrees would be awarded by the College of Religious Instruction. Students who expect to teach in institutes or seminaries or teach religion at Church schools are encouraged to take heavy course loads in religious subjects but to major in some other field. In this way they benefit from a standardized degree and are also well prepared to teach religious subjects in accordance with LDS Church doctrine.

Another change was the removal of academic credit for attendance at devotional assemblies. At the same time, the number of weekday devotional assemblies was cut in half. The traditional Thursday morning forum assembly²⁰ was discontinued, and forum and devotional assemblies were held on alternate Tuesdays. One of the most significant features of the former devotionals was the policy, adopted during the Wilkinson administration, of having a General Authority speak to a multi-stake fireside once a month. This practice was continued and reemphasized during the Oaks administration and is now attended by students from 12 stakes. Attendance averaged about 18,000 (69 percent of the faculty and student body) during 1975-76, and the crowds can be accommodated only in the Marriott Center. Average attendance at the Tuesday devotional assemblies remain close to the attendance percentage of the previous years when college credit was given — about 33 percent of the faculty and student body as compared to an average attendance at devotionals of 37 percent of the faculty and student body during the entire Wilkinson administration. Under the new arrangement, however, the average attendance at forum assemblies during the 1974-75 school year was less than 14 percent of the faculty and student body — compared to average attendance of 32

20. Academic credit for attendance at forum assemblies was also discontinued.

percent of the faculty and student body during the entire Wilkinson administration.

The Board of Trustees gave President Oaks the right to select teachers for the Book of Mormon classes from any of the colleges of the University; a right that was also given to President Wilkinson but to which deans and department chairmen objected because it permitted the taking of their best professors for this purpose. Nevertheless, Wilkinson had used 30 teachers for that purpose. The new authority given to Oaks, with added emphasis from the Board of Trustees, gave new emphasis to Religious Instruction. Budgets were arranged to compensate academic departments for the time their personnel spent teaching religion courses. Consequently, between 1972 and 1975, 64 teachers representing most departments on campus have taught a Book of Mormon class. Among the benefits of this arrangement is that teachers from other academic departments have acquired fresh perspectives on their regular academic work and have had awakened in them the overreaching purpose of the University.

Institute of Ancient Studies

Within a year of these initial changes the University established the Institute for Ancient Studies, an interdisciplinary organization designed to promote the development and dissemination of information relating to ancient manuscripts of religious significance. The first director of the Institute was Hugh Nibley, and the members of the Institute were appointed from the College of Religious Instruction and the Department of Classical Languages in the College of Humanities. The administration also gave increasing encouragement to the building of alliances between the History Department and the College of Religious Instruction in pursuing research and teaching projects involving academically oriented Church history subjects.

In 1972 distinguished Utah State University historian Leonard J. Arrington was appointed LDS Church historian. He was also appointed to the Lemuel H. Redd Chair of western history at BYU. At the same time a center for the study of western American history was created in the BYU History Department. Arrington's appointment as Church historian was a significant change from the pattern of having a General Authority fill this position. It was a clear signal from Church leaders that they recognized the legitimacy and necessity of serious professional research and writing in LDS Church history.

Designation of the College of Religious Instruction Changed

The next step came in the summer of 1973 when the name of the College of Religious Instruction was changed to simply Religious Instruction. The reasons for this were given in a memorandum of 3 April 1973, which Oaks discussed with the faculty. The listed reasons were

- A. Everywhere else in the University the term “college” identifies a degree-granting entity. Thus, degrees are conferred in the “college” convocations. But the College of Religious Instruction grants no degrees — graduate or undergraduate.
- B. Having a “College of Religious Instruction” listed in our catalog parallel with the Colleges of Physical Education, Social Sciences, Engineering Sciences and Technology, etc., may convey to non-LDS readers the idea that BYU has a “ministerial school.”
- C. Discontinuing the “college” entity for religious instruction would emphasize the idea that *all* University faculty are involved in the teaching of religion, either in formal religion classes or through the permeation of religious values into the teaching of their respective disciplines. There are important legal reasons for emphasizing this point.
- D. Discontinuing the “college” entity for religious instruction would tend to reduce the sensitivity about a “paid ministry,” since the existence of a “college” emphasizes the concentration of specialists in the field of religion.
- E. The number of faculty in the College of Religious Instruction is comparatively small.

In connection with this reorganization, the Philosophy Department was transferred from Religious Instruction to the College of General Studies. Immediately, many faculty members, particularly those in the former College of Religious Instruction, became concerned that this change signalled the beginning of a move toward eliminating full-time religion teachers from the University. However, Boyd K. Packer of the Council of the Twelve, in a meeting with the BYU religion faculty, explained that there was no such intent.

Following this reorganization, the retirement of dean Roy W. Doxey was announced and Jeffrey R. Holland was appointed dean of Religious Instruction. Holland, a BYU graduate who had taught in the seminaries and institutes before receiving a doctorate in American Studies at Yale, was in a sense symbolic of the broadening of perspectives in religious instruction at BYU.

Richard L. Evans Chair

In November 1972, about a year after the death of Richard L. Evans of the Council of the Twelve, BYU announced the creation of the Richard L. Evans Chair of Christian Understanding. Truman G. Madsen of the faculty of Religious Instruction was named its first incumbent. The stimulus for this professorship came from Lowell Berry, a non-Mormon from northern California who had been Richard L. Evans’s longtime friend and fellow Rotarian. Berry’s donation of over \$200,000 was matched by other contributions raised principally through the efforts of volunteer fund-raiser Douglas Driggs of Phoenix. The purpose of the chair, a purpose well served by the

philosophy and activity of Elder Evans during his lifetime, was the “promotion of understanding among people of differing religious faiths through teachings and other activities centered in Jesus Christ and His teachings.”

Truman G. Madsen, an experienced scholar in the field of philosophy as well as a popular author and lecturer on religious subjects, has initiated a series of approaches to communicate the University’s and Church’s world view to the American intellectual community. His traveling and lecturing took him to 60 different college campuses during the first year of the chair’s existence. In addition, he has initiated a “commuting professorship” in Mormon studies at the Graduate Theological Union at the University of California at Berkeley. With this kind of beginning, the Evans Chair promises valuable reciprocal communication at a sophisticated level between Mormons and leaders of religious thought in other Christian communities.

The Provo Temple

The construction of the Provo Temple was an event long desired by the local community. Since pioneer times, the alluvial plateau on which the present campus stands was known as Temple Hill, an expression of their dream that one day they would have a temple of their own. It nevertheless came as a pleasant surprise when the Church announced in 1967 its plans to build a temple northeast of BYU at the mouth of Rock Canyon.

BYU was thoroughly involved in the new temple. Executive vice-president Ben E. Lewis was called as chairman of the site selection and fund-raising committees. Fred A. Schwendiman, then an assistant vice-president at the University and a stake president, acted as chairman of the Temple Advisory Committee, and Harold Glen Clark stepped down as BYU’s dean of Continuing Education to accept a call as president of the new temple. One of President Clark’s counselors, O. Wendle Nielsen, also left a BYU administrative position. The other counselor was Joseph Y. Toronto, former stake president in Spanish Fork. The BYU stakes participated wholeheartedly in the fund raising for their share of the temple’s cost, and the University’s physical plant department was assigned the task of helping to design and maintain the temple grounds.

The dedication of the temple on 9 February 1972 had a significant impact on the University community. Arrangements were made for the proceedings of the dedicatory services to be shown on closed-circuit television in the Marriott Center and in the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse, even though the services took place within the temple itself. Admission to the dedication ceremonies required a worthiness interview similar to that required for a temple recommend, which further added to the sacredness of the occasion. As part of the dedicatory services the congregation in all three buildings participated in

singing a favorite Mormon hymn, "The Spirit of God Like a Fire Is Burning," which was composed for the dedication of the Kirtland Temple in 1836. In addition to talks by several General Authorities during each of two dedication sessions, the sacred dedicatory prayer was read at each session by a member of the First Presidency of the Church. The dedicatory prayer included the following petition on behalf of Brigham Young University, making the occasion of the temple's dedication especially meaningful for the University:

Let that great temple of learning — the Brigham Young University, and all that is associated with it — be prospered to the full. Let thy enlightening power rest upon those who teach and those who are taught, that they may "seek learning, even by study and also by faith. . . ."

May those who teach and study in all academic fields have their souls enlightened with spiritual knowledge so they will turn to thy house for blessings and knowledge and learning that surpass all that may be found elsewhere.²¹

Although not officially a part of the BYU community, the Provo Temple is a symbolic reminder to students and faculty alike that the learning of men must be completed by divine instruction.

The Road Ahead

As past presidents of BYU have recognized, building an institution of higher learning is a prolonged and sometimes painful process. There is still a great difference between the destiny the leaders of BYU have always anticipated and the present condition of the school. If each teacher will inspire his students as Karl G. Maeser did with his 29, the prophetic destiny of the institution will become a reality. As BYU economics professor Clayne Pope has written,

It is fine for us to remind ourselves of the destiny of the University, but we must understand the need for patient progress. We should soberly ask ourselves if we at BYU are committed to the trek or simply enthralled with the idea of a destiny.²²

21. "House of the Lord," *Daily Universe*, 10 February 1972.

22. Clayne Pope, "No Shortcuts to Greatness," *Monday Magazine*, 27 January 1975, p. 2.

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Campus Life in the Seventies

By the time Dallin Oaks arrived at BYU in 1971 the campus was a pleasant, religiously oriented university community. President Oaks felt the BYU faculty and administration were the beneficiaries of remarkable support, not only from the leaders of the Church, but also from parents who had prepared their children for the lifestyle at BYU. When the University of Chicago requested a filmed interview with President Oaks as one of its successful alumni, Oaks commented,

The most important thing about this university is not the standards we have for our students or the money we get; I think that the most important thing about this university is the homes that the students come from. The family — the government of the family and the idea of the family — is central to our religion. The ideals of the families [from which our students come] are the key to what makes this campus different.¹

Enrollment figures during the Oaks administration have remained close to the ceiling of 25,000 established by the Board of Trustees. Although the ratio of male to female students has also remained roughly the same (six males to five females), among single students the ratio is five men to six women. By its Centennial year BYU's basic role clearly emerged as a large undergraduate institution which attracts an overwhelming percentage of its student body from committed members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. But in his opening address President Oaks made it plain that students of other faiths were invited:

This year, as always, our student body includes hundreds of students who are not members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. We welcome you and anticipate that your presence here will enrich our education as well as yours. We invite you to take part in the active religious life of our campus branches and stakes. If you choose not to, we urge you to affiliate with the

1. Calley Curtis, transcribed interview with Dallin Oaks, 15 January 1974, in the possession of Calley Curtis, p. 13.

church of your choice in this community. We urge upon you our conviction that each of us should have an active religious life along with our university studies.

Registration by Computer

An interesting 1970 movie depicting BYU life in the late 1960s is entitled "Ice Cream and Elevators." The film opens with a scene familiar to students of that period: interminable waiting lines during the three-day registration process. Students enrolling after 1974 will probably never appreciate the dramatic change that has gradually removed those long lines. Preregistration had been extensively discussed prior to 1971, but the first sign of an actual change came in the fall of 1972 when the school introduced a new preregistration process which has become increasingly computerized.

A student registering in the winter semester of 1974 received a computer-prepared packet of class cards which he had previously requested, which he then took through a streamlined registration process to make changes. By winter 1975 the student did not have to attend registration at all. Some 18,500 students paid their tuition for the upcoming semester before going home for Christmas, then received computer confirmation of their requested class schedules by mail. Changes were made during the first few days of classes by traditional add and drop procedures. The registration process was conducted entirely by mail in fall semester 1975.²

Changes in registration are just one way in which the administration tried to give better service to the students at BYU. Robert W. Spencer, who was made dean of Admissions and Records in 1971, believed that significant changes in attitude had been established in the University's entire approach to records and financial services.³ As the registration process has become more automated, records and student information systems that monitor a student's progress throughout his University career have been completely computerized. The new system provides administrative personnel with a major-by-major view of enrollment, progress toward graduation, and minimum and maximum estimates of the time needed to complete a major. The system also gives students a periodic evaluation of their progress toward graduation and an indication of the classes they need to take and when they might be taken if they are to graduate on schedule.

Financial Aid and Student Counseling

In the fall of 1971 the offices of Student Loans and Undergraduate Scholarships were combined into the Office of Student Financial Aids. Both student financial needs as well as scholarly attainment are consid-

2. "Winter Enrollment Nears 25,000 Limit," *Daily Universe*, 6 January 1975.

3. Bruce T. Reese, transcribed interview with Robert W. Spencer, May 1974.

ered in the awarding of student scholarships, which has had the effect of spreading available scholarship monies among a larger group of students. Whether succeeding administrators will have the same success with respect to making and collecting loans as Wendle Nielsen had remains to be seen.

Prior to 1969 there were many elaborate but cumbersome advisement programs which imposed heavily on faculty time. Both students and faculty complained about the ineffectiveness of the way student advisement was handled and so during the fall of 1969 a student advisement center was established on a pilot basis in the College of Fine Arts and Communications. Two years later, extensive evaluations indicated the success of the college advisement center concept, and the program was extended to all of the colleges by the fall of 1973.

The new advisement concept involved nonfaculty counselors on a full-time basis in each college and shifted much of the counseling to the reorganized College of General Studies, which gave depth and objectivity to career counseling that had not been possible when mixed with specific curriculum advisement. In addition to these organizational adjustments, the University administration publicly counseled both students and faculty against the premature selection of major fields by new students. Students with an undeclared major were assigned to the College of General Studies, which was developing plans for systematic vocational counseling and exposure of students to various academic fields which would help them make more permanent career decisions. The centers also coordinated graduate clearances with the records office and notified students of deficiencies in their standing. One measure of the college advisement program's success is that in the spring of 1974 only 40 seniors had not been cleared for graduation two weeks prior to their final semester. It had previously been a common frustration of the graduation office to find that as many as 900 students had not been cleared three weeks before the scheduled graduation date.⁴

The centers have also been instrumental in a substantial decrease in the average number of credit hours taken by graduating seniors. In 1972 students had taken an average of 148 hours, requiring 9.5 semesters for graduation; by 1975 those figures had fallen to 139 hours and 8.8 semesters. This resulted not only in financial savings to students but also the elimination of almost 32,000 credit hours, which allows another 1,000 students to attend the University who otherwise would have been barred by the enrollment ceiling.⁵

Another change in student services occurred in 1972 when J. Elliot Cameron, who had served for several years as dean of students at BYU,

4. Erlend D. Peterson, "College Advisement Center Summary Report," 22 May 1973, box cpm 23C, BYU Archives, p. 3.

5. Address by Dallin H. Oaks at Annual University Conference, August 1975.

was given a new title: dean of Student Life. This was to shift the focus of his office away from student discipline and toward student service. At the same time the student counseling center was changed to the Personal Development Center. This change, initiated by the personnel of the center, was part of an attempt to change the image of the University's professional counselors from those who deal with abnormal people to those who help students learn to cope with such typical college problems as loneliness, lack of social adjustment, and parental differences.

The New Semester System

Since 1960 BYU had utilized the traditional two-semester calendar with a ten-week summer session. This had been a major innovation, since the University had previously used the four-quarter calendar with its many disadvantages. However, it was discovered that the two-semester calendar with the short summer session also involved a number of difficulties. For example, the fall semester usually began in late September and ended in the latter part of January. Students found that the Christmas holiday was less than a real vacation since they felt compelled to prepare research papers and catch up on back work during this period. Furthermore, post-Christmas classes were uncomfortable for both students and faculty since there were just a few dangling sessions before final exams began. The two-semester calendar also made less efficient use of the physical plant and personnel resources of the University than might otherwise be possible.

During the latter part of the Wilkinson administration intensive studies were conducted to discover a more efficient calendar for the allocation of student time during the school year. In the spring of 1971 the Board of Trustees approved a calendar change that would end the fall semester before Christmas, provided the University could work out the administrative mechanics for this and the second semester so it would be convenient for both students and faculty.⁶ By the time Dallin H. Oaks became President in August of that year, a number of alternatives had been proposed, all of them involving many vexing problems which seemed to defy solution.

In spite of many other pressures, President Oaks began brainstorming the problem himself and ultimately recommended the adoption of a 4-4-2-2 concept, an idea previously considered but passed over. This meant two regular semesters of four months each with two summer sessions of two months each. This system allows the fall semester to begin late in August or early in September and end before Christmas, but it involves a number of problems. For example, the schedule is much more intensive and requires the faculty and students to compress into eight months what had formerly been performed in nine. Spring

6. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Neal A. Maxwell, 5 May 1971, box 578, folder 3, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, BYU Archives.

sports would also extend beyond the winter semester and force some athletes to be enrolled for the spring term. It was also recognized that some physical education and botany classes would be hindered because of the lack of appropriate weather during the winter semester. The Department of Buildings and Grounds complained that without a break of several weeks during the summer it would be difficult to find time for repair and renovation of buildings. In fact, under the proposed program the resources of the University would be in session 49 weeks of the year, compared to 44 weeks under the former system.

Nevertheless, the more this proposal was studied the more attractive it became. For example, courses designed for the regular fall and winter semester could be taught during one of the short semesters by simply doubling weekly class time without extensive modification of existing course materials. Furthermore, these modified double-time courses could be offered during the regular semesters for the convenience of missionaries, servicemen, and others returning to campus around the midpoint of the regular semester.

Another advantage which sold the new program to both students and faculty was the fact that students seeking employment during the summer months would be released from the winter semester three or four weeks ahead of students at other schools, giving BYU students a definite advantage in the summer job market. The new program also made the various semesters essentially interchangeable, so that students would have the freedom of taking seasonal work during the autumn or winter semesters without disrupting their academic program. Finally, it was possible to take two and one-half semesters per year and still enjoy a two-month summer vacation, permitting students to complete a college program in three calendar years if they want.

When the new program went into effect, the faculty found a number of other advantages. The new schedule greatly facilitates the scheduling of sabbatical leaves, teaching schedules, and research time at periods during the calendar year which are best suited to the needs of the individual faculty member. It also permits the faculty to fill a required two-semester teaching commitment in a shorter time, thereby offering some faculty members the possibility of an 18 percent increase in their salary by teaching a two-month spring or summer term while still enjoying a two-month vacation. This still gives them a longer and more favorable vacation period than enjoyed by most other professions and industries.

The only initial disappointment encountered in the new schedule was the fact that for the first year fewer students signed up for the spring and summer terms than had been anticipated. It was hoped that at least 10,000 students would participate in each of the short semesters, but during 1973 the number of enrolled students for the spring term was only 8,332, falling to 6,726 in the summer term. Robert W. Spencer, dean of Admissions and Records, and Dean A. Peterson, the

former summer school dean, conducted an intensive publicity campaign offering preliminary registration, early tuition deposits, and more easily available scholarships designed to appeal to both prospective and currently enrolled students. By 1974 there was a noticeable increase in enrollment, signifying the emerging success of the new system. The total number of students enrolled during the spring and summer terms of 1974 was over 18,000, amounting to an increase of over 3,000 students in two years.

The Code of Honor

Although student discipline had never been a serious problem at BYU, there was evidence, in view of the nationwide interest in protection of student rights, that some clarification was necessary to insure the protection of a student's basic rights, such as the giving of proper notice, the opportunity for a hearing, and adequate procedures for appeal in cases involving charges of serious misconduct. A movement had already been initiated during the closing months of the Wilkinson administration to review the entire approach to enforcement of the Honor Code and a completion of this task occupied a top priority for the new President. Since Oaks had successfully served as chairman of a disciplinary committee during a period of serious student strife at the University of Chicago, he was familiar with many of the problems raised by students who felt they may not have had proper hearings. Following a considerable period of study, BYU adopted a revised statement of the student Code of Honor which clarified the procedures to be followed as well as the standards of personal behavior which were expected from students. It was emphasized that the focus in student discipline was to be as constructive as possible.

Dress Standards

The enforcement of dress and grooming standards has required more attention under the Honor Code than nearly all other student life matters combined. During the latter part of the Wilkinson administration female students were allowed to wear slacks and pantsuits on campus, although denims and grubbies were still prohibited. When President Oaks took office there was considerable pressure to relax BYU standards on the length of men's hair and the modesty of women's clothing, but President Oaks had barely arrived on campus when he made it unmistakably clear that his administration would uphold the previous dress and grooming standards. He said, "I have received many inquiries during the past few months about whether the standards of Brigham Young University will be maintained. The answer is yes. There are three major areas in which we have high standards for all members of the university community: academic, conduct, and appearance."⁷

7. Dallin H. Oaks, "A New President Speaks to BYU," *Speeches of the Year*

The new President then explained and illustrated the standards he had in mind in each of these three areas. Regarding the standards of conduct that govern performances and programs on campus, Oaks said,

This university is a home for ideas; for growth, for expansion of intellectual horizons; and for challenge to the mind, the body, and the spirit. But we will not welcome onto this campus — any more than thoughtful Latter-day Saint parents will welcome into their home — the blasphemous, the sordid, the crude, or the vulgar. Those characterizations are not self-defining, and there may be differences from time to time in the application of the principle. But the principle itself is clear. We will continue to be selective about what we tolerate on this campus and even more selective about what we sponsor.⁸

He then spoke at some length about the standards of dress and grooming and the reasons for their existence, noting that the standards are specified by the Board of Trustees rather than the President or some other University official.

I regret having to devote so much time to this subject. I do so under the compulsion of necessity. I am conscious that you cannot make a great university by lowering hemlines and shaving chins. I have no desire to make the razor and the tapemeasure symbols of my administration. Along with the overwhelming majority of students and faculty at this institution, I want all of us to be about the business of learning.

Before leaving this subject, however, I need to address myself to any person who cannot accept this reasoning and who cannot observe our standards of dress and grooming. If you intend to ignore or subvert these rules or use them as an occasion for protest, please go somewhere else. This is a university seriously concerned about the pursuit of education. . . . If you choose to ignore the rules you have agreed to observe, demonstrate the sincerity of your protest by leaving. Let us part peacefully and without injury to one another. Sample the environment at some other institution. If you find it to your liking, carry on your studies there. If not, we invite you to return and participate with us here on the same basis as the others.⁹

The enforcement of established standards — particularly those dealing with male hair length — continued to be a vexing problem. The firm position of the University on its standards has received national publicity, much of which was highly favorable, although there has been some ridicule. It has been President Oaks's policy to establish the school's standards but not allow disciplinary action to become vindictive or permit the protest of a few to determine policy for the majority.

(Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1971), p. 8.

8. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

9. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

On the other hand, some faculty members thought President Oaks's position on the hair-length problem brought him closer to breaching his genuine solid rapport with the University community than any other issue during the early years of his administration. Sensing both the risks and the delicacy of the situation, Oaks made only one offhand comment to the faculty in his annual faculty message at the fall 1974 workshop:

I feel obliged to say a word about dress and grooming standards, since this subject is so prominent that if I were to omit any mention some would think I had signalled a weakening of commitment. [Some faculty members] have counseled me against making frequent public mention of the dress and grooming standards, and I have tried to follow that counsel. But the success of that strategy depends on the faculty doing its part. If I am sparing in what I *say*, the faculty must be vigorous in what they *do*.¹⁰

Student Involvement in University Activities

Generally speaking, the rapport between the University's administration and its students has been very cordial under Dallin Oaks. Of substantial importance is the courtesy, warmth, and openness which the students perceive as characterizing the personality and the administrative style of their new President.

One measure of the administration's willingness to listen to student opinion has been the appointment of students to about 50 University committees, ranging from the Student Disciplinary Committee to the Housing Committee and the committee appointed to implement the new semester calendar.¹¹ In 1972 President Oaks publicly acknowledged that it was student initiative which triggered administrative efforts to enlarge the library, and the Student Development Association raised cash and pledges toward the new library addition amounting to over \$200,000 during that year. These student fund raisers adopted the slogan "Building not Burning," in deliberate contrast to the destructive tendencies on many other campuses in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Both President Wilkinson and President Oaks evidenced considerable concern over the fact that students were reluctant to involve themselves in student government. For example, in 1972 a new constitution was written and approved by the student body with only 13 percent of the students voting.¹² However, some improvement was noted in the spring of 1974, when 36 percent of the student body voted in the final elections of ASBYU officers.

10. Dallin H. Oaks, "Annual Report to the Faculty," *A Wise Steward*, BYU Archives, p. 18.

11. Bruce T. Reese, transcribed interview of J. Elliot Cameron, May 1974.

12. "Small Vote Approves ASBYU Constitution," *Daily Universe*, 4 December 1972.

While an attempt has been made by the Oaks administration to limit the proliferation of nonacademic activities, students at BYU have continued to enjoy a rich offering of campus activities appealing to a wide variety of tastes. During the 1973-74 school year, 294 concerts were performed in the de Jong Concert Hall attended by an aggregate audience of more than 250,000. During that same year there were 16 faculty-directed stage productions, two television productions, and over 200 student productions in theatre arts. The BYU Philharmonic Orchestra performed in March 1974 before the Music Educators National Conference in California, and their performance received a standing ovation from that critical audience. The A Cappella Choir toured Scandinavia in the summer of 1974. The Theatre Department represented the state of Utah in 1972 and again in 1974 at the Region IV American College Theatre Festival. BYU performing groups are heard throughout the nation on "Speaking of Music," a weekly 30-minute program produced by the Music Department and broadcast by the ABC radio network over 350 stations to an audience of over 1,000,000 listeners.

A highlight of each of the past several years has been the Mormon Arts Festival, which brings together much of the best in current performing and visual arts from the LDS community. A high point of the 1974 festival was the premiere of *The Restoration*, an oratorio by BYU composer-in-residence Merrill Bradshaw performed by the BYU Philharmonic Orchestra and the Oratorio and A Cappella choirs with the University Chorale. In March 1972 the first Mormon Arts Ball was held in conjunction with the Festival. The Ball is now an annual formal affair held in the Fine Arts Center, entirely planned and carried out by the ASBYU Culture Office. The 2,500 people who attend each year can select from a wide variety of student and professional talent performing simultaneously in the many theatres and rooms of the Harris Fine Arts Center. A BYU orchestra and the Jazz Ensemble play for those who wish to dance on the main floor or the galleries of the central exhibition area.

BYU students continue to perform in faraway places. Three groups from the University's Program Bureau are now internationally known. The Young Ambassadors traveled to Japan (1970), Europe (1971), the eastern United States (1972), and Central and South America (1973). Sounds of Freedom, organized in 1965, was the first BYU group to perform in Africa with their tour of Rhodesia and South Africa. In 1971 the Lamanite Generation was organized entirely from Indian students on campus. Their first tour was to Indian reservations across the nation. In 1974 they toured the eastern United States, and in 1975 they journeyed to Central and South America. The number of tours has increased since 1971, and the entire program is financially self-sustaining. The tours are thought to serve three primary purposes: to give students a chance to participate and react with other cultures, to

represent BYU in a positive and wholesome way, and to draw large crowds of primarily non-Mormon people to functions which show Mormon young people at their best.

The 1974 Homecoming Week performance of the Carpenters, a brother-and-sister pop music act, attracted the largest college concert audience ever. Over 23,000 BYU students and visitors filled the huge Marriott Center. At the other end of the spectrum, weekly Concerts Impromptu are held in a small, informal location in the Wilkinson Center where any student can perform. The Wilkinson Center Art Gallery features weekly student shows and some outstanding outside exhibits. Overall involvement of students is difficult to measure, but the trend in the last few years, possibly part of a nationwide trend, has been toward small-group activities with emphasis at BYU on Church activities in the branches and stakes. Nevertheless, in the 1973-74 school year the ASBYU Social Office reported that there were over 143,000 admissions to the concerts and dances sponsored by the student body. That same year there were 29,000 admissions to the expanded hobby center as compared to 3,500 ten years before.

Emphasis on competitive intercollegiate debating increased during the Oaks Administration with Jed Richardson coaching the teams. During the 1974-75 season the BYU debate squad compiled 390 wins with 103 losses in scheduled debate tournaments sponsored by associations in various parts of the country.

Although the philosophy of BYU students represented by the slogan "building, not burning" has permeated the institution from the beginning, it has been given added encouragement during the Oaks administration. Typical of the early service projects was the effort made in 1907 by over 200 students to clear sagebrush from 500 acres of land located at about what is now the center of Orem City. The Sagerooters spent the entire day working and clearing to the accompaniment of the BYU band. For many years groups of students of Brigham Young University have painted the homes of widows and other elderly people living in Provo. In 1970 a group of about 2,000 students painted over 50 homes belonging to older people in Santaquin. At the present time these public services are rendered under the name of Student Community Services (SCS). Thousands of students contribute time and skill to various rest homes, American Fork Training School, and the State Mental Hospital in Provo. Important services are likewise rendered in connection with the BYU program called "You've Got a Friend" and the "Sub for Santa" program. Students participating in SCS show their environmental concern through a beautification and conservation program. The SCS groups often work in conjunction with BYU student branches of the Church to provide for the repair and renovation of homes belonging to the elderly or handicapped, and give special attention to public areas which tend to suffer from neglect. During the 1973-74 school year alone, SCS groups organized nearly 4,000 service

projects for a total involvement of more than 250,000 student man-hours.

Another area of student service is the office of the ombudsman, or citizens' protector, created at BYU in 1970. His function is to assist students with problems in three categories — difficulties with university administrative or service departments, legal assistance through the help of volunteer attorneys, and consumer problems. The BYU ombudsman and his staff investigate student complaints and then either seek redress for the student or help him to understand why no redress is available. In all these activities the emphasis is on serving the student complainant.

The Centennial Celebration

One of the major projects of the 1970s has been the BYU Centennial celebration during 1975-76. A series of campuswide events began in April 1975, as the University launched its year-long observance of the hundredth anniversary of its founding. The first event was the opening of a time capsule in the cornerstone of the Karl G. Maeser Building. The cornerstone had been laid on 16 October 1909 by Joseph F. Smith, then President of the Church. The metal box was opened with an old-fashioned can opener when an electric saw was unable to cut the pure metal of the time capsule. It was found to contain a copy of the original Deed of Trust of BYU, volumes of scripture, copies of the school paper, diplomas, photographs, a telephone directory, and other memorabilia. The annual spring graduation exercises the following day were billed as the Centennial Commencement. The graduation address, given by LDS Church historian and BYU faculty member Leonard J. Arrington, focused on the school's history. Also at the commencement exercises, President Oaks noted that in the school's 100-year history, 82,500 degrees had been awarded. Of that number, 3,485 (4.2 percent) were awarded at the Centennial Commencement.

President Oaks appointed Lorin F. Wheelwright, retired dean of Fine Arts and Communications, as Centennial director. The theme of the BYU Centennial was "BYU: Dedicated to Love of God, Pursuit of Truth, Service to Mankind." The committee working with Wheelwright suggested adopting as the BYU Centennial symbol a logo named "The Fruitful Tree," designed by art faculty member Alex Darais. Blue and white signs using the logo appeared all over campus, and the fruitful tree was used on stationery, bumper stickers, information kiosks, flags, brochures, the playing floor in the Marriott Center, and commencement programs during the Centennial year.

A major project undertaken in connection with the Centennial celebration was the writing of a four-volume history entitled *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*. Because of his 20-year tenure as President of the University, President Emeritus Ernest L.

Wilkinson was selected by President Oaks to serve as editor of this first complete history of the school. Because of the sensitive nature of writing the history of Wilkinson's and Oaks's administrations, Church historian Leonard J. Arrington was selected as co-editor of the chapters dealing with these two administrations. The set was sold well below cost to faculty members and alumni and is being distributed free to practically all universities and colleges in the nation.

It was also decided to publish this one-volume history of BYU, which would be more readily available for general reading and sale to the public. Because this is based on the four-volume edition, Wilkinson remained as editor, relying heavily on associate editor W. Cleon Skousen, the author of 19 other books, whose versatility as an editor is well known.

The Centennial celebration occasioned the inauguration of a major new BYU fund-raising campaign called "The Second Century Campaign," with the objective of raising \$20,000,000 in donations during the Centennial year. The drive was designed to finance a number of major projects involving building construction, the endowment of scholarly institutes, the funding of additional scholarships, and providing new centers for specialized research and training.

The Centennial events also included the construction of a carillon belltower which was dedicated at the Founder's Day Convocation in October 1975 by President Spencer W. Kimball, who then played the first few bars on the new bells.

The Sale of Lower Campus

Soon after the beginning of the Centennial year, the University signed an agreement symbolizing the end of BYU's first century.¹³ The city block near downtown Provo, which since 1892 had been the heart of campus, was sold to a development group headed by several BYU graduates who plan to renovate the old buildings and create a specialty shopping and entertainment center called Academy Square. Extended use of the time-worn buildings for University educational purposes was not economically feasible. At the same time, both the Board of Trustees and the University administration were hoping to find some means of preserving the historical buildings and grounds that were the BYU of an earlier time. The Academy Square concept seems to provide that kind of preservation while at the same time making the renovated former campus an attractive new addition to the community of Provo.

Academics in Student Life

In his welcoming address to the students for the fall semester of 1972, President Oaks quoted President Harold B. Lee, who a year

13. "Lower Campus Is Sold," *Daily Universe*, 15 May 1975.

earlier stated, "It was never intended that the leaders in this Church be an ignorant ministry in the learning of the world." Rather, Lee said, the Lord expects us "to keep pace with scientists and scholars and the development of modern knowledge."¹⁴ The following year Oaks was even more direct:

Let us banish forever the illusion that Brigham Young University exists for any purpose other than to provide a university education. Social life, physical exercise, church activity, cultural development, good times — all these are here But none of these ingredients is sufficient in itself or in combination to justify the enormous capital investment and annual financial support appropriated to Brigham Young University.¹⁵

There was no fear in the President's mind in making such a statement that he would not be warmly endorsed by the Board of Trustees. From time to time throughout his administration members of the Executive Committee and the Board pointedly asked him to make clear to the members of the BYU community that achieving sound educational goals had a higher priority than anything else that took place on the campus. To that end, a statement issued by the First Presidency during the summer of 1974 directed the leaders in the BYU campus stakes to limit the weeknight church activity of their members so they would have ample time for their studies.

BYU's increasing academic emphasis is reflected in the enrollment increase of 20 percent in the undergraduate Honors Program since 1971 (from 858 to 1,050). Established in 1961, the Honors Program at BYU became a major attraction for gifted Mormon high school graduates across the nation who sought access to superior teachers, small classes, highly flexible curriculum planning, and stimulating intellectual exchanges among the students themselves. The growth of this program even after the imposition of an enrollment ceiling indicates increasing acceptance throughout the Church of the concept that BYU has the capacity to prepare talented students for graduate and professional study while helping them mature their educational skills and spiritual moorings.

BYU teachers and leaders have always talked about the pursuit of academic excellence. However, the increased capacities and commitments of the present faculty, who are themselves largely the fruits of the labors of a much smaller band of scholars from earlier BYU generations, may well demonstrate to future historians that the elusive goal of large-scale intellectual achievement at a Mormon university is becoming an accomplishment instead of a dream.

14. Harold B. Lee, "Installation of and Charge to the President," *Inaugural Addresses* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1971), p. 13.

15. Dallin H. Oaks, "Annual address to the BYU student body," 6 September 1973.

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The J. Reuben Clark Law School

The idea of a law school at Brigham Young University was first proposed in 1897. A letter was written to President Benjamin Cluff by J. Whitely, a teacher of civics and public law at the University of Utah, who had successfully prepared a number of students for law schools in the East. Since he had been blocked in his attempt to establish a law school at the University of Utah, he wanted to organize a law school at BYU as "a branch of the Academy."¹ Apparently President Cluff was either uninterested or unable to respond favorably to this proposal. Two years later a proposal to teach law came from A. Alfred Saxey of Spanish Fork, who said that for a salary of \$600 per year he would donate a law library of 200 volumes and undertake to get his students admitted to the bar in two years.²

At a Board Meeting on 16 October 1901 acting president George Brimhall reported that a law school and possibly a medical school could be instituted at once in connection with the Academy without any charge to the students because local lawyers and doctors in Provo volunteered to provide such training. President Joseph F. Smith said, "Why not?" Reed Smoot moved that the Board approve these schools, and Brimhall felt so encouraged by the reaction of both the Board and President Smith that he felt it would soon be possible to announce the launching of these new schools. He wrote President Cluff, who was in Central America, to that effect.³ The fact that neither school was established at that time probably indicates that upon closer examination it was found that they could not be operated free of charge, even with the relative low quality of medical and law training then prevailing.

In the light of hindsight, it probably would have been premature to start either a law or medical school at Brigham Young Academy during

1. J. Whitely to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 12 April 1897, Cluff Presidential Papers.
2. A. Alfred Saxey to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 1899, Cluff Presidential Papers.
3. George H. Brimhall to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 16 October 1901, Cluff Presidential Papers.

those early years. But a half century later in 1949, Clyde Sandgren, future general counsel for BYU who was then practicing law in New York City, suggested in a letter to Ernest L. Wilkinson, then practicing law in Washington, D.C., that they both should give serious consideration to urging the establishment of a law school at BYU. At that time Wilkinson had no idea that within two years he would be President of that institution. Further, following his appointment as President he felt that the establishment of other colleges should have priority over a law school; indeed, that BYU was not ready for a graduate school of law. It was not until the closing years of Wilkinson's administration that he gave serious consideration to such a proposal.

When he did, he first suggested the possibility to Marion G. Romney, a member of the Council of the Twelve, and coupled the proposal with naming it after J. Reuben Clark, Jr. Under a provision of Clark's will, Romney had been made the custodian of all of the Clark papers. Romney responded enthusiastically, then took the matter up with Harold B. Lee of the First Presidency who also favored the proposal. Consequently, on 18 June 1970 Romney recommended to the Executive Committee of the BYU Board of Trustees that a law school be established at BYU honoring J. Reuben Clark, Jr. A careful study was made of this proposal, and after approval was granted it was officially announced on 9 March 1971 by President Harold B. Lee at the time of the public announcement of President Wilkinson's resignation.

The college will bear great significance on this campus. . . . President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., was one of the greatest lawyers of our time, internationally known, a student of international law and constitutional law. Perhaps there has not been a more ardent student of the Constitution than President Clark; but by his side is President Wilkinson. It is a fact that this Church has looked upon the Constitution, as the Lord has revealed, as having been framed by men whom God raised up for this very purpose. Where else but on this campus should we be concerned about having a school of law where we can train lawyers who will defend the Constitution of the United States, keeping in mind that the Prophet Joseph Smith is quoted as having said that the time would come when the Constitution may hang as by a thread and the elders of the Church may have to step forth to help save it. If we can train lawyers who are soundly based in the Constitution, we will have made a great step forward in helping to send out into the world men who will uphold, defend, and protect the basis of the foundation of the great United States of America.⁴

Reasons for Founding a Law School at BYU

There has been considerable speculation as to the purpose of the

4. Harold B. Lee, "Decades of Distinction: 1951-1971," *Speeches of the Year* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1971), p. 3.

Church in founding a law school at Brigham Young University. The thinking of Church leaders is reflected in the concise and emphatic statement of President Lee quoted above. President Wilkinson underscored this same theme in his prayer at the opening ceremony of the school on 27 August 1973:

While we shall teach at this school all the various theories of law underlying the decisions of our respective legislatures and courts, we must ever recognize that it owes its existence to the profound belief of its Trustees that the Constitution of our country is a divine instrument and that its concepts need expression in a law school.⁵

A similar and more extended view was expressed by Marion G. Romney, an attorney by profession and by then a member of the First Presidency, who had more to do with initiating the school than anyone else. He expressed the thought that it was established so that there might be an institution in which the students who enroll could obtain a knowledge of the laws of man in light of the laws of God.⁶

At the dedicatory services for the law school building which took place on 5 September 1975, President Romney spoke on the topic "Why the J. Reuben Clark Law School," in which he stated,

To begin with, I have long felt that no branch of learning is more important to an individual or to society than law. I further felt that the educational base at Brigham Young University — the flagship of our Church educational system — would be and should be broadened by the establishment of a law school. I likewise felt that the atmosphere of honor, integrity, patriotism, and benevolence prevailing at Brigham Young University would be a good influence upon a law school and its student body. I also desired to have perpetuated on this campus the memory and influence of President J. Reuben Clark, Jr. — a great lawyer, patriot, statesman, and church leader. It's my hope that all faculty and student body members will familiarize themselves with and emulate his virtues and accomplishments.

He then pointed out that

President Clark . . . believed, as do all Latter-day Saints, that the law which "proceedeth forth from the presence of God" is binding upon this earth and its inhabitants; that "there is a law, irrevocably decreed in heaven before the foundations of this world, upon which all blessings are predicated, and when we obtain any blessing from God, it is by obedience to that law upon which it is predicated" (D&C 88:45-47).

5. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Opening prayer at beginning of J. Reuben Clark School of Law," 27 August 1973, Ernest L. Wilkinson speech file.
6. Marion G. Romney, in *Addresses at the Ceremony Opening the J. Reuben Clark Law School*, 27 August 1973, BYU Archives, p. 20.

Tying the establishment of the law school to Old Testament and New Testament scriptures, he said,

Laws on which a peaceful, progressive, prosperous, and happy society must be built are prescribed in the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount. Our knowledge that the origin, scope, and universality of law is thus revealed in the scriptures enhances rather than demeans or diminishes our appreciation and respect for the law of the land.

Then, quoting modern-day scriptures, he continued,

“We believe that governments were instituted of God for the benefit of man; and that he holds men accountable for their acts in relation to them, both in making laws and administering them, for the good and safety of society” (D&C 134:1).

Commenting further on Latter-day Saint belief, he pointed out that

... we believe that the Almighty was instrumental in setting up the constitutional government of the United States. He himself so declared. In the early days of the Church (1833), the Lord admonished the Saints to importune for redress: “According to the laws and constitution of the people, which I have suffered to be established, and [which] should be maintained for the rights and protection of all flesh, according to just and holy principles: That every man may act in doctrine and principles pertaining to futurity, according to the moral agency which I have given unto him, that every man may be accountable for his own sins in the day of judgment. . . . And for this purpose have I established the Constitution of this land, by the hands of wise men whom I raised up unto this very purpose” (D&C 101:77-80).

Finally he quoted the Prophet Joseph Smith’s tribute to the Constitution:

The Constitution of the United States is a glorious standard; it is founded in the wisdom of God. It is a heavenly banner; it is to all those who are privileged with the sweets of its liberty, like the cooling shades and refreshing waters of a great rock in a thirsty and weary land. It is like a great tree under whose branches men from every clime can be shielded from the burning rays of the sun (DHC 3:304).

Romney concluded, “Our background increases our love for the Constitution, deepens our respect for the bar and the judiciary, and urges us, individually, to be law-abiding.”⁷

Following the dedication of the law school, Ezra Taft Benson, President of the Council of the Twelve, wrote to President Wilkinson,

7. Marion R. Romney, “Why the J. Reuben Clark Law School?” *Proceedings at the Convocation and Dedication of the J. Reuben Clark College of Law*, 5 September 1975, pp. 43-46.

It is my hope that in your history you will give a full treatment as to [the purpose and mission of the law school] that will be forthright in defending the Constitution of the United States as our Constitutional Fathers intended. I hope the law school will also emphasize the spiritual foundation of this country and its prophetic history . . . as forecast in the *Book of Mormon*. That, I know, was in the minds of the Board when the law school was authorized and, except for that purpose, there would have been no purpose for its creation.

Biographical Sketch of J. Reuben Clark, Jr.

J. Reuben Clark, Jr., after whom the Law School was named, was a 1906 graduate of Columbia Law School. He had achieved international distinction in a variety of State Department positions and finally became Undersecretary of State and Ambassador to Mexico. He left his profession in 1933 to become a counselor to President Heber J. Grant and continued to serve in the First Presidency of the Church under George Albert Smith and David O. McKay. Clark died in 1961. He was the author of numerous scholarly books on religious subjects, including *Harmony of the Four Gospels*, *Why the King James Version*, *Our Lord of the Gospels*, *On the Way to Immortality and Eternal Life*, *To Them of the Last Wagon*, and *Wist Ye Not That I Must Be About My Father's Business?* He also wrote and spoke extensively on legal and government matters, and some of these writings were published in book form under the title *Stand Fast by the Constitution*. Representative of his high standards are those he expressed in an address he gave to the Los Angeles Bar Association on 24 February 1944:

I am . . . mindful that in speaking to you, I am speaking to a distinguished group of that great body of citizenry, who, because of their training and experience, must take an important place in the future of this country, whether we shall go left or go right. You who are elevated to the bench are the dispensers of justice and equity to the people, the guardians of the peace and order of our society. You who are of the bar man the watchtowers of the nation and give view far and near. Your eyes must be the first to see and you the first to make ready to meet the oncoming tyranny. Upon the bench and the bar of the country rests the great responsibility of seeing that our liberties and free institutions are preserved. Legislators may be incompetent, executives may be dishonest, but if the bench and the bar be honest and filled with integrity, then under the Constitution, the people are secure, and free institutions will still live with us. But security and liberty both take flight where the [bar and/or] the judiciary [are] corrupt.⁸

Because of President Clark's intellectual standards, his reputation as a scholar, his instincts for public service, and his demonstrated reli-

8. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., to the Los Angeles County Bar Association, 24 February 1944.

gious devotion, the BYU Library had been given his name. Therefore, for a short time both the library and the law school honored his memory. However, to avoid confusion, following the death of President Harold B. Lee in December 1973, the library was renamed in Lee's honor and President Clark's name remained associated with the law school and the new building which it occupies.

Initial Feasibility Study

There were many problems connected with the establishment of a law school that needed to be resolved before it could be approved. A feasibility study was conducted confidentially under the direction of President Wilkinson in late 1970 to obtain answers to several important questions. First, it was necessary to determine the number of experienced Mormon and non-Mormon law teachers who might qualify for consideration and be interested in becoming members of the school's new faculty. It was also necessary to determine the accreditation standards of the American Bar Association and accreditation obstacles that might be encountered when the new school was established. The Board of Trustees wanted to know the costs involved in developing a law school library and the necessary physical facilities required for the school. To provide this information it was necessary to estimate the number of students to be enrolled and the extent of the training which would be provided. Consideration was also given to the supply and demand factors both for legal education and for professional opportunities in the legal profession. In determining the answer to these questions, Wilkinson, among others, consulted Dallin H. Oaks who was then a professor of law at the University of Chicago and executive director of the American Bar Foundation. Oaks warned that BYU should not establish a law school unless it would be first class, and that such a law school would be very extensive.

After all the facts were in, and despite doubts on the part of some, the First Presidency approved the establishment of the law school, and following its public announcement President Wilkinson was directed to undertake the preliminary studies for the planning of a law school building. Before the construction of the law school building got underway, the Utah State Bar Association appointed a committee to study the problem of whether the state could sustain two law schools. The committee consisted of Dean Samuel Thurman of the University of Utah, Robert Van Sciver of the Salt Lake Bar, and Ernest L. Wilkinson, President-Emeritus of BYU, as chairman. They decided that in view of the increasing complexity of our society and the need for more legal advice by many of its citizens, another law school could be sustained in the state, especially since many of those legally trained in Utah would practice in other states.⁹

9. Samuel D. Thurman, Robert Van Sciver, and Ernest L. Wilkinson,

When Oaks was appointed President, he was requested by the First Presidency to exert his best efforts to see that an outstanding law school of the highest caliber was established at BYU. President Oaks accepted that charge and work on the law school project continued along three fronts during the summer of 1971. First, it was necessary to find a competent dean who could handle the difficult task of assembling a high-quality faculty. A competent law librarian was also needed to acquire and supervise an appropriate library. Finally, there was the task, in cooperation with Wilkinson, of completing estimates and making final recommendations for the preparation of architectural plans for the new law school building.

Selecting a Dean

The search committee for a dean consisted of Marion G. Romney, Howard W. Hunter, Boyd K. Packer, Marion D. Hanks, Neal A. Maxwell, Dallin H. Oaks, and Ernest L. Wilkinson. The Committee interviewed a number of Mormon law teachers and lawyers over a period of three months. On 9 November 1971 President Oaks announced that the search committee had unanimously recommended, and the Board of Trustees had approved, Rex E. Lee, a 36-year-old lawyer from Phoenix, Arizona, as the founding dean of the J. Reuben Clark Law School. Lee had been the top scholar in his class at the University of Chicago Law School and had served as a clerk with U. S. Supreme Court Justice Byron R. White. His record was such that the law school from which he graduated would have been interested in having him on the faculty had he expressed any interest in teaching. He then practiced for eight years with Jennings, Strauss, & Salmon, the largest law firm in Phoenix, Arizona. He had also taught once a week an anti-trust law class at the University of Arizona Law School. Lee's selection was representative of the blend of practitioner and scholar that the search committee felt was needed in a dean who would be responsible for establishing a new law school.

After the selection of Lee, Ernest L. Wilkinson, who by that time was in the hospital recovering from heart surgery, was not called upon to perform any further assignments in the creation or operation of the law school, except for raising funds. The establishment, organization, and operation of the law school became the function of the Oaks administration.

Selecting the Law School Faculty

Sensing the need for academic experience, and believing the faculty to be the key component in the law school's success, Dean Lee im-

"Forecast of Lawyer Placement in Utah," *The Utah Bar Journal*, October-December 1973.

mediately began recruiting an initial corps of distinguished law professors who were already teaching at nationally recognized law schools. To establish the proper balance between theory and practice the new dean also undertook to entice to the campus a number of outstanding practicing lawyers of proven academic ability. By the time the school opened its doors in the fall of 1973, nine faculty members had been hired, over half of whom had acquired considerable teaching experience at various American law schools. By the fall of 1974 there were 15 teachers on permanent appointments, who averaged over four years of teaching experience and six years of experience in the practice of law. Virtually all of them had graduated in the upper five percent of their classes from six different well-established law schools. Three of the fifteen had been clerks to Justices of the United States Supreme Court and all of them had published scholarly works either as law students or as law teachers. In addition, three of the faculty were co-authors of leading law school textbooks.

The initial breakthrough in the recruiting of the faculty occurred in the winter of 1972-73 when Carl S. Hawkins of the University of Michigan, Edward L. Kimball of the University of Wisconsin, and Dale A. Whitman of the Department of Housing and Urban Development in Washington, D. C., who had taught at the University of North Carolina and the University of California at Los Angeles, all agreed to join the new BYU Law School faculty. They were joined by a group of practicing attorneys, including Woodruff J. Deem, district attorney in Ventura County, California, who had 32 lawyers on his staff and had been president of the District Attorneys Association of California; and C. Keith Rooker, a member of the firm of VanCott, Bagley, Cornwall & McCarthy, the largest firm in Salt Lake City. All five of these men had outstanding qualifications, including the fact that Carl S. Hawkins, Woodruff J. Deem, and Edward L. Kimball were all first in their respective classes at Northwestern, Georgetown, and the University of Utah.

Selection of a Law Librarian

Meanwhile, a full-time law librarian was hired early in 1972, together with an experienced law library consultant. David Lloyd, the librarian, and Roy M. Mersky of the University of Texas, who came as a consultant, were so successful in their initial efforts at acquiring a basic collection of legal materials on favorable terms that the volume count in the law library by the time the school opened easily exceeded both the accreditation requirements and the most optimistic estimates of the law school planners. By the end of 1974 the library's 150,000 volumes made it the largest law school library between California on the west and Minnesota and Texas to the east. In addition, this placed the BYU library among the top 20 percent of law school libraries in the country.

Construction and Fund Raising

By the time of Dean Lee's appointment, a team of BYU building planners had already visited a number of newly constructed law buildings and made a series of recommendations to the University administration. These recommendations were studied by a number of legal educators whose advice led to a number of changes. The most notable was a recommendation to increase the library capacity from 100,000 to 200,000 volumes. Construction on the law school building commenced 1 May 1973 and was completed during May of 1975. In the interim, the first two academic years of the new professional school were conducted in a former Roman Catholic high school building named for St. Francis, which the entering law students quickly and affectionately called "St. Reuben's."

In the area of fund raising, Lee's and Wilkinson's efforts began to meet with considerable success. The largest early gift, in the amount of \$500,000, was made in 1973 by Los Angeles attorney Roland Rich Woolley for the purpose of creating a revolving law student loan fund. Substantial gifts of real property and other assets were also made by Guy Anderson, Ray and Nellie Reeves, Ernest L. Wilkinson, and Lou Meitus. These donations, together with many additional contributions from Mormon lawyers and others, gave the school a start toward a substantial endowment fund by the end of the University's Centennial year.

Student Body and Student Activities

The opening of the school occurred at a time when there was a tremendous burst of interest throughout the country in law school training. In fact, 1973, the year the law school opened, was the first time in the history of legal education that all American law schools had every opening in their entering classes filled. The J. Reuben Clark Law School opened with a class of 157. Of this group 12 were women. Over half of the entering students were BYU graduates and their average score on the nationally administered Law School Admission Test (LSAT) was just above 600, a level that would have been very impressive ten years earlier but which, due to the national enrollment boom, was not uncommon among the leading U.S. law schools by 1973. However, the class entering in the fall of 1975 boasted an average score some 40 points higher, which placed the average above the 90th percentile of all entering law school students throughout the nation that year. Admission each year has been highly competitive, selections being made from approximately 500 applicants each year, most of them returned LDS missionaries. Each entering class has been about the same size as the first-year class.

During the late fall of 1973 officials of the American Bar Association

(ABA), which is the official accrediting agency for law schools, made their initial accreditation visit to the new BYU law school. Based upon their favorable report, the House of Delegates of the ABA unanimously voted in February 1974, after the school had been in operation only one semester, to add the J. Reuben Clark Law School to its list of provisionally approved American law schools.

By the time the third-year class was admitted in fall 1975, the J. Reuben Clark Law School had become the largest law school in Utah. Admission requirements were so high that many students who were qualified to enter top law schools had to be turned down. Acting dean Hawkins commented that his greatest disappointment as dean was the necessity of turning down so many students who were qualified to be lawyers, but who did not come within the highest 150 applicants. (Hawkins was acting dean because Rex E. Lee, the founding dean, at the specific request of the U. S. attorney general had been given a leave of absence in May 1975 to serve as assistant U. S. attorney general in charge of the Civil Division.) The Law School was most fortunate in persuading Hawkins, by request of President Oaks and by the unanimous urging of the law faculty to function as dean in Lee's absence. Hawkins had great stature in legal education, having served for 16 years as a professor at the University of Michigan and for several years as executive secretary of the Michigan Law Review Commission.

During the first two years of the school's existence a variety of research projects were launched on the student and faculty level. Forty percent of the second-year class was involved in research, writing, and publication efforts of various kinds. This program included the founding of the *BYU Law Review*, a largely student-edited scholarly journal which publishes not only the work of BYU law students but also the work of legal scholars from around the country. The dean and faculty of the Law School have given a high priority to creating standards and attitudes consistent with the best traditional approaches and expectations of leading American law schools. Establishing credibility in the community of legal educators has been a major goal as the J. Reuben Clark Law School seeks to formulate a reputation of highly qualified legal training among its peers.

In addition, the school has taken vigorous steps toward the establishment of professional respectability with the organized bar, particularly in those areas where there are considerable numbers of Mormon practitioners, primarily in the western United States. Patrons of the law school have felt that a law school associated with Brigham Young University should be marked by the ethical standards and values of the LDS Church. A clear moral concern is expected in the work of lawyers trained in the BYU environment, and it is felt that other effects of the Mormon value system will eventually emerge and become a force for good in the communities where BYU graduates practice.

The Law School Building and Its Dedication

On 5 September 1975 the new J. Reuben Clark Law School Building was dedicated. This was undoubtedly the most nationally prominent dedicatory service in the history of BYU. Dignitaries in attendance included Chief Justice Warren Burger and Justice Lewis Powell of the U. S. Supreme Court, as well as judges of the Ninth and Tenth Circuit Courts of Appeals, the Utah Supreme Court, other states' supreme courts, and many lower courts, as well as many other public officials from neighboring states. A special University convocation service was held in the morning and the dedicatory services in the afternoon. The entire First Presidency and other General Authorities of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were also in attendance. Honorary doctor's degrees were conferred upon Chief Justice Burger, Justice Powell, and President Marion G. Romney at the Convocation services.

The chief justice had been in the state for several days and had acquainted himself with the University and the law school — especially the faculty. He gave the formal address at the convocation. After admitting that the law profession had not always measured up to its noblest potential and that a critical analysis of it was of real value, he noted on the other side that

we should remember . . . the countless examples of courageous lawyers supporting the claims of people who were subject to operation or abuse of governmental power. Mr. Justice Jackson once commented that in every vindication of the rights of individuals and in every advance of human liberty in our history, key figures were lawyers who were willing to risk their professional reputations and their futures in pursuit of an ideal.

He then congratulated the University on its new law school and its great opportunity for meeting the highest professional standards:

Here at Provo you have carried on the work of a great university for a century, and it is good that you have now added a school of law to carry on the training of lawyers in keeping with the standards that made this institution one of the great centers of learning in America, privately sustained and conducted in conformity with Christian teaching. A school of law with such inspiration and sponsorship fills a significant need in the legal education of this country — a need not met by all law schools today. Guided by these standards, it is safe to predict that this law school will become one of the foremost in the country. . . .

A new law school such as yours has a rare opportunity available to few others. It can engage in a reexamination of the basic assumptions on which our system of justice functions, always remembering that some are fundamental and immutable and some are open to change. We begin, of course, with the Constitution that implemented the ideals of the Declaration of Independence, and few better foundations could be conceived. In this two hundredth year of independence we will do well to look again at both those

documents. We see that in the Declaration itself not less than four times the authors expressed direct reliance on God as “the supreme judge,” as “the creator,” and in the closing sentence the Declaration calls for the protection of divine providence. The uniqueness of this law school is, in part, that your basic charter exemplifies these concepts of the Declaration of 1776. . . . This is indeed a large mission for any school or university, but the background of one hundred years of Brigham Young University assures that it will be accomplished.¹⁰

At the conclusion of the Chief Justice’s address, President Spencer W. Kimball responded with brief comments in which he thanked the Chief Justice for the high ethical standards he had enumerated, expressed his gratefulness for the opportunities we have because of the independence of the law school and promised that one of the main purposes of the school was to have graduates measure up to the moral and professional obligations he had outlined.

At a luncheon Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr., told of the moot court hearing he had witnessed at the school the day before. Although the participating law students had received only two years of law school training, Justice Powell commented,

The moot court yesterday afternoon was an unprecedented one. It was composed of the entire active bench of the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals, together with Judge Wallace of the Ninth Circuit and me — a full panel of nine judges. The participants had the benefit of only two years of law school training. I agree, nevertheless, with the view of Chief Judge David Lewis that he had never heard better moot court presentations.

In passing even tentative judgment on a law school, one must consider the university of which it is a part. Central to my confidence in the quality of your law school is its relationship to Brigham Young University, described this morning by the Chief Justice as one of the finest centers of learning in the western world. With these assets one may predict with confidence that the J. Reuben Clark Law School will not merely be a good one: in due time it will rank as a great one.¹¹

In the afternoon President Dallin H. Oaks spoke on the topic “Ethics, Morality and Professional Responsibility” and President Romney spoke on the reason for the law school, after which the dedicatory prayer was given.

In his serious address on defects in both our law schools and in the practice of the law, President Oaks urged that one of the most serious defects in the curriculum of most law schools is the inadequate emphasis on ethics and morality in the practice of law. He quoted retired

10. Warren E. Burger, “The Role of the Lawyer in Modern Society,” *Proceedings of the Convocation and Dedication*, pp. 2-3.

11. Lewis F. Powell, Jr., “In Defense of the Langdell Tradition,” *Proceedings of the Convocation and Dedication*, pp. 14-15.

Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark as declaring that "law schools must consciously undertake the one task that they have universally rejected: instilling normative values in their students." It was Justice Clark's opinion that the need for teaching morality and ethics was never greater because the church and the family, which formerly developed these virtues, "have drastically diminished in importance in this country, and no other force has arisen to take their place."¹²

President Oaks noted that many law professors thought law schools could not meet the moral challenge because student's morals are formed before they reach law school and law teachers have no clear sense of how to teach legal ethics. But others insisted this was the responsibility of the bar, which had been lax in both disciplinary standards and enforcement. Oaks congratulated both the Chief Justice and Justice Powell for their efforts to improve the ethical standards of the bar, both in law schools and in the practice.

Oaks then quoted professor Harold J. Berman of the Harvard Law School as saying that Western society is reaching an "integrity crisis" which threatens the whole Western culture with the "possibility of a kind of nervous breakdown."¹³ Berman pointed out that the law has largely lost its former underpinning of strong religious conviction which gave life and emotional attachment to the institutes of the law. He made the point that secularists and rationalists who rely on an intellectual commitment to the law have drained it of the essential emotional vitality needed to provide a deep sense of its ultimate "rightness." Because the moral equation which distinguishes the difference between right and wrong has its roots in religion, Professor Berman concluded that "Law and religion stand or fall together; and if we wish law to stand, we shall have to give new life to the essential religious commitments that give [the law] its ritual, its tradition, and its authority."¹⁴

President Oaks then pointed out how the retreat from the moral and ethical aspects of the law, brought about by a disregard for its essential role in the divine plan of structuring social justice, has led to a preoccupation with technical legal procedures rather than the primary goal of determining guilt or innocence. He referred to his published report criticizing the "exclusionary rule," which allows a defendant who is known to be guilty to escape the consequences of his crime if the law enforcement officers followed an improper procedure in gathering the evidence against him.¹⁵ Oaks pointed out that such deficiencies led Justice Walter V. Schaefer of the Illinois Supreme Court to say,

Almost never do we have a genuine issue of guilt or innocence today. The system has so changed that what we are doing in the

12. Tom C. Clark, "Teaching Professional Ethics," *San Diego Law Review* 12 (1975):249, 252-53.

13. Harold J. Berman, *The Interaction of Law and Religion*, p. 21.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25, 36-37.

15. "Studying the Exclusionary Rule in Search and Seizure," 37 *The Univer-*

courtroom is trying the conduct of the police and that of the prosecutor all along the line. Has there been a misstep at this point? at that point? You know very well that the man is guilty; there is no doubt about the proof. But you must ask, for example: Was there something technically wrong with the arrest? You're always trying something irrelevant. The case is determined on something that really hasn't anything to do with guilt or innocence.¹⁶

Oaks emphasized that the legal profession must raise its sights, restructure its priorities, and strive to elevate its professional profile: "Truth and justice are ultimate values, so understood by our people, and the law and the legal profession will not be worthy of public respect and loyalty if we allow our attention to be diverted from these goals."¹⁷ He pointed out the inescapable responsibility of the legal profession to develop better procedures for the achieving of genuine justice, establishing the truth, determining guilt or innocence, and restoring public confidence. He noted that in the final analysis the whole problem revolves around the issue of whether or not the practitioner of the law has been girded in the armor of a strong and abiding sense of moral values and identified himself with the highest standards of ethical procedures. Oaks said that the church-related law school has a unique advantage, if it will exercise it. He quoted dean Thomas L. Shaffer of Notre Dame, who said, "Christianity has had too little to do with what is hopeful in the American legal profession. . . . Too many candles are under too many bushels."¹⁸

Oaks assured his listeners that the candles of enlightened Christian morality would not be left under a bushel at BYU:

We have no diffidence in talking about religious commitment at Brigham Young University, and we will have none in the J. Reuben Clark Law School. Religious commitment, religious values, and concern with ethics and morality are part of the reason for this school's existence, and will be in the atmosphere of its study. As President Marion G. Romney . . . noted in our opening ceremonies, this law school was established to provide an institution in which students could "obtain a knowledge of the laws of man in the light of the laws of God," and the Trustees would like this school to reflect the aura of President J. Reuben Clark: "faith, virtue, integrity, industry, scholarship, and patriotism."¹⁹

sity of Chicago Law Review, 665 (Summer 1970). There are now several cases involving this rule which have recently been argued in the U. S. Supreme Court. Should the Court adopt Oaks's viewpoint, the present spectacle of guilty criminals being released because of the technical mistakes of police officers would be substantially reduced.

16. Walter V. Schaefer, "A Center Report/Criminal Justice," *The Center Magazine*, 69, 76 (November 1968).
17. *Proceedings of the Convocation and Dedication*, p. 33.
18. Thomas L. Shaffer, "Christian Theories of Professional Responsibility," *Southern California Law Review*, no. 48, p. 722.
19. *Proceedings of the Convocation and Dedication*, p. 35.

Distinctive Qualities of the BYU Law School

One month before these dedicatory exercises, acting dean Carl S. Hawkins circulated to the law faculty a memorandum outlining some of "The Distinctive Qualities of the J. Reuben Clark Law School." Among its aspirations and projected goals he highlighted the following:

We should be distinguished by the degree of our commitment to the development of our individual students, based upon our revealed knowledge as to the unique worth and dignity of each individual as a child of God.

The Law School should be distinguished by its efforts to research, publish, and teach the Judeo-Christian value assumptions underlying the development of our legal system. The Law School should be distinguished by its efforts to discover and articulate:

The ultimate spiritual values underlying our Constitutional system and how they may be adapted to different cultures,

The ultimate spiritual values underlying our Common Law legal system, and

The moral and spiritual values underlying professional responsibility.

The Law School should be distinguished by its efforts to research, publish, teach, and work for legal reform in support of family institutions.

The Law School should be distinguished by its efforts to develop lawyering skills as tools to serve the needs of people in the light of their unique worth and dignity as spirit children of God.²⁰

In concluding his address on "Why the J. Reuben Clark Law School?" President Romney had said,

In establishing this J. Reuben Clark School of Law, we hoped to attract a student body capable of being trained, and assemble a faculty competent to teach, train, and inspire such students to be top flight lawyers and superior judges — men who in their private and professional lives will, by precept and example, implement the high ideals and standards which we have been talking about.

Although we have been in operation but two years, operating in makeshift quarters, we feel that we have made creditable progress. With this new building, we shall move rapidly toward our goals.²¹

Every step taken by the law school so far indicates that this ideal will be achieved.

20. Carl S. Hawkins, Memorandum to the Law School Faculty, 23 July 1975, pp. 4-5.

21. *Proceedings of the Convocation and Dedication*, p. 47.

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The Promise of the Oaks Years

Dallin H. Oaks was appointed to the presidency of the largest private university in America at a time when it was ready for a series of innovations that his background and temperament were uniquely equipped to provide. With the consent of the Trustees and the commissioner of Church education, Oaks carefully guided the faculty, department heads, deans, and administrative staff toward an unprecedented level of individual participation in decision making. Oaks blended line and staff functions into a harmonious task force, which smoothly administers the policies set by the Board of Trustees.

Relationship with the Board of Trustees

Because the Board of Trustees is selected from among the General Authorities of the Church, its relationship with the BYU administration is unique among universities. While all boards of trustees to a greater or lesser extent have full legal responsibility for their institution, many have never assumed this responsibility. The BYU Board of Trustees has. Without involving themselves unnecessarily in operational details, the Trustees of BYU have taken full responsibility for the spiritual lives of the students.

Marion G. Romney of the Council of the Twelve said at the first faculty meeting under the Oaks administration,

Since BYU is a Church institution it must of necessity be administered in the same way the Church is administered — that is, by the priesthood. The Lord established this order, and we cannot rightly change it. This means, of course, that the major policies and administration procedures at Brigham Young University are and must continue to be determined by its Board of Trustees, which is composed, in the main, of General Authorities.

Not only is the board charged with the responsibility of determining general policies with respect to physical plant and personnel matters, but it is also responsible for the academic courses offered and, insofar as it can be predetermined, for the content of forum lectures.

The trustees of BYU are deeply interested in academic excellence; they desire that scholastically BYU be unexcelled. . . . In all its efforts to promote such excellence, however, the . . . saving of souls always takes precedence over the urge to compete with other universities in academic offerings and worldly honors.¹

Once the Board of Trustees has chosen men it can trust for important leadership positions within the Church educational system, the Board allows great latitude. The BYU Board of Trustees has shown a deep respect for the power it possesses by exercising remarkable restraint in using it.

President Oaks entered into his new duties at a time when Church leaders were faced with problems caused by the worldwide growth of the Church. Careful attention was given to fill every top-level Church position with personnel talented and trained enough to administer the rapidly broadening Church. Every appointee had to meet stringent requirements of professional competence and demonstrated loyalty to the principles and leaders of the Church.

Educational circles were tapped for many of these appointments. Shortly after Oaks became President, a group of trained Mormon historians were assigned to write a new history of the Church, and for the first time a noted professional historian, Leonard J. Arrington, was appointed Church historian. The Church was taking a penetrating, fresh look at its organization and the strengths and weaknesses of all its programs, from internal communications and public relations to youth activity and the quality of Church education. To attain its objectives, the Church began to draw heavily upon persons who had achieved expertise in the private professional sector.

Relationship with the New Commissioner of Education

The leaders of the Church decided even before the selection of President Oaks to revive the office of commissioner of Church education in order to coordinate the expanding Church school system, and particularly to provide basic education for the many new converts to the Church in underdeveloped countries. Appointing a commissioner of education meant that Brigham Young University would be required to present its problems to the commissioner's office instead of going directly to Church leaders. When this had been tried before it had proven cumbersome and frustrating, and it was therefore a notable achievement that Maxwell and Oaks worked out a completely harmonious, mutually advantageous relationship, with clear channels of communication leading to the highest level of Church authority.

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1. Marion G. Romney, "Responsibilities of the LDS Teacher," *Horizons Unlimited* (Brigham Young University, 1971), pp. 1-2. For a similar statement, see Boyd K. Packer, "Set Your Hands to Lift Them," *Excellence in Learning* (Brigham Young University, 1973), pp. 3-13.

To lay a foundation for this kind of relationship, Marion G. Romney, chairman of the search committee that selected Oaks, flew from Salt Lake City to Chicago to meet with Dallin Oaks and Neal Maxwell. In order to attend this conference, Commissioner Maxwell flew in from England where he was on an extended assignment. This was the first face-to-face meeting between Maxwell and Oaks, although the commissioner had been a member of the search committee. While a number of matters were discussed at that meeting, its main purpose, from President Romney's point of view, was to make it clear to BYU's new President that he would be reporting to the commissioner and would be part of an educational system that had a much broader scope than previously contemplated. In spite of the University's disproportionate size in the educational system, it was the intent of Church leaders to place it in a somewhat more subordinate position than it had enjoyed under previous administrations. Commissioner Maxwell referred to this organizational restructuring at the inauguration of President Oaks:

As the only university [in the Church Educational System], we are confident that under your presidency Brigham Young University will see itself not as an isolated, self-sufficient, austere academic Everest, but rather as a living university . . . that leans into the fray of fellowship with its impressive human and spiritual resources to serve the entire Church Educational System and men and women everywhere, and as a rapprochement of theology and university in the best of that tradition.²

Both Maxwell and Oaks work together for the fullest possible realization of those ideals. This is made easier by their empathy and mutual respect. They have both spent several years in academic administration and share many of the same assumptions concerning the purpose of teaching, the importance of research, and the overall objectives of a quality education. From their first meeting they have been completely candid with each other. Maxwell and Oaks are inclined to resolve problems as quickly as possible after determining the best available factual basis. In the past few years a solid relationship of affection and mutual admiration has developed between these two men, which greatly facilitates the operation of their respective offices and the goals they both seek to achieve.

Because of the trust Commissioner Maxwell has had in President Oaks, BYU has taken the initiative in most matters concerning the University. It has been the task of the commissioner to determine whether a matter deserves to be called to the attention of the Executive Committee. Maxwell and Oaks meet with the Executive Committee jointly once each month, where decisions are made as to which prob-

2. Neal A. Maxwell, "Greetings to the President," *Inaugural Addresses* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1971), p. 1.

lems need to be presented to the entire Board of Trustees for disclosure or approval.

Since the First Presidency has the ultimate decision-making power in the Church, there is always a temptation to go to them first in emergency situations. To avoid this, President Oaks has demanded more planning and lead time from his staff in order to move smoothly through established channels. Commissioner Maxwell has described President Oaks's leadership as "anticipatory administration," which allows time for each level of Church government to exercise its judgment before a problem becomes urgent. This has proven supremely successful in developing the broad-based feeling of trust and support that President Oaks has generated, one sign of which is the fact that since 1971 both Commissioner Maxwell and President Oaks have served under three different Presidents of the Church without any discernible change in policy or relationship with the Board of Trustees or other Church leaders.

The Oaks Administration in Action

When President Oaks came to BSU he was not well known to the faculty and was therefore scrutinized with open candor to determine what kind of administration could be expected from him. One quality of his personality that became apparent was the fact that he came to faculty meetings extremely well prepared. His presentations reflected careful research, a thoughtful digestion of the problem at hand, and a highly interesting and persuasive articulation of his point of view. The same kind of thoughtful preparation was also observed in his frequent meetings with the deans and faculty of the various colleges.

Careful preparation also characterized his presentations to the commissioner and to the Board of Trustees. As with President Wilkinson before him, President Oaks and his staff are frequently seen in the foyer of the Church Office Building with an armload of graphs, charts, studies, and reports to present to the Board of Trustees.

The BYU administration has learned to trust Commissioner Maxwell to the extent that it has been reluctant to approach the Board about matters for which the commissioner has little enthusiasm. At the same time, the commissioner's independence and objectivity have put him in a position to be an advocate for the University with the Board. Maxwell is also regarded with respect by professional educators in and out of the Mormon community, and so has been an effective ambassador for BYU.

Continuing Education Projects

The Division of Continuing Education has been so successful in many of its worldwide programs that in 1972 Commissioner Maxwell decided that some of its functions should be regarded as Church

Educational System programs rather than as BYU programs. Dean of Continuing Education Stanley A. Peterson reports to both the BYU administration and Commissioner Maxwell on all projects of mutual concern.

One of these early undertakings, "Project Mexico," was approved in March of 1972 on a one-year trial basis. This program grew until by 1974 students were working in Mexico with over 2,500 local citizens in a combined study and service program. While studying and getting better acquainted with Mexican culture, students offered practical instruction to the local people in nutrition, food and home management, improvement of agricultural techniques, genealogy, housing construction, and crafts.

Commissioner Maxwell also initiated the Bolivian Literacy Project in cooperation with BYU. In 1973, under this program directed by Grant V. Harrison, 188 local adult students were being taught to read with the help of 115 individual tutors, including several LDS missionaries and native Bolivians. By the spring of 1975, approximately 200 persons were completing the Bolivian Program. This literacy project was extended to Guatemala in 1974 and is scheduled to be taken to El Salvador, Colombia, Peru, and Mexico. Participants have high praise for the value of these Church-sponsored programs to provide basic education in underdeveloped countries.

It was also in cooperation with the commissioner's office that in 1972 BYU established a two-year master's degree program in response to a request from governmental representatives in Samoa.

Churchwide Fund Raising

Because of BYU's success in fund raising, the Church decided in 1971 to use the BYU organization as the base for a new department called the Development Office—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Executive vice-president Ben E. Lewis was placed in charge of this program with Donald T. Nelson as director. During the first year of this new operation the endowment fund for Ricks College was considerably enlarged. In spite of the tremendous increase in the fund-raising responsibilities of the new program, BYU has not been neglected. By 1975 the Development Office was annually raising about six times as much as it had in 1970, with the greater part of this amount designated for BYU. The scope and sophistication of the fund-raising organization have increased materially since 1970, with the result that the University's prospects for an established permanent endowment fund are bright.

The Church Admissions Adviser Program

BYU developed an Admissions Adviser Program in 1966 in which a BYU alumnus in each stake of the Church was appointed to provide

information and assistance to college-bound students who might be interested in BYU. In cooperation with Commissioner Maxwell this program was extended so that there are now Church Educational System (CES) advisers who provide information on Ricks, BYU, LDS Business College, BYU-Hawaii, and LDS Institute programs. This cooperative program under the direction of both the commissioner's office and BYU has been in effect since June 1974, and it provides the prospective college student with assistance in planning an appropriate educational program that best suits his personal needs. At the same time an attempt is made to indicate which branch of the Church Educational System is most likely to satisfy the desires of the student.

BYU-Hawaii Campus

In April 1974 the commissioner's office announced that the Church College of Hawaii, a four-year college which had previously reported directly to Associate Commissioner of Church Education Kenneth Beesely, would become a branch campus of Brigham Young University.³ Commissioner Maxwell indicated that there were several reasons for the decision. One reason was to give the school in Hawaii the name and prestige of the University. Another reason was to give the Hawaii campus access to the expertise at BYU. The commissioner also wanted a reciprocal flow of personnel between the two campuses, although the school in Hawaii remained an autonomous branch rather than a fully merged part of BYU.

The first dean of BYU-Hawaii campus was Dan W. Andersen, who had been academic dean at the Church College of Hawaii prior to the change. Stephen L. Brower, former president of the Hawaii school, joined the faculty in Provo as a professor of sociology. At the time the Church College became a branch of BYU it had a faculty of 87, a student body of approximately 1,000, of which 72 percent were from the Orient and the islands of the Pacific, including Hawaii, and 28 percent were Caucasians from the mainland.

The Language Research Center

Another example of BYU's participation in the Churchwide educational system is the BYU Language Research Center, which is working on a variety of projects designed to aid the Church in its expanded worldwide role. The center is preparing an intercultural data bank that will aid in translating words, ideas, and concepts from one culture to another. Materials are also being prepared that might be useful in the opening of missions in countries where Church missionary work has

3. This had originally been decided in 1954 when Wilkinson, in addition to his duties at BYU, was appointed Church commissioner of education, but due to protests from local leaders, the Church College of Hawaii was transferred for administrative purposes to a local board of education.

not yet begun.⁴ BYU's research work on computer-assisted translation of languages should help the Church's internal communication throughout the world. At the inauguration of Dallin Oaks, Harold B. Lee said, "With our responsibility to teach the people of the world in fifty nations and in seventeen different languages, as we are now doing, think what it would mean to our missionary and teaching efforts if some scholars from this institution were to contribute to this possibility."⁵

Other Areas of Cooperation

There has also been a sharing with other units in the system of BYU's work on such subjects as conflict of interest and general education. BYU's Religious Instruction faculty has cooperated with the seminaries and institutes in curriculum planning and the sharing of course materials. Mormon scholars from many locations have also participated in Commissioner's Lecture Series by presenting serious academic lectures with religious implications at various places within the Educational System. This program has encouraged an exchange of ideas among LDS scholars and students.

The Intellectual Climate Under Oaks

Even as BYU's academic climate matured, some scholars thought that the conflict between church orthodoxy and secular learning might prevent the attainment of genuine scholarly excellence. The question was raised by non-Mormon writer Thomas O'Dea in his relatively objective description of 20th-century Mormonism, *The Mormons*. He wrote, "Perhaps Mormonism's greatest and most significant problem is its encounter with modern secular thought."⁶ O'Dea accurately notes that although the Church has placed great emphasis on education from its earliest beginning, "Little did they realize that in placing their hopes in education they were at the same time creating the 'transmission belt' that would bring into Zion all the doubts and uncertainties that, in another century, were to beset the gentile world."⁷ Specifically, O'Dea felt there was a serious risk that "by encouraging education and giving it a central place in both its own activities and its world view, Mormonism exposed itself more vulnerably to the danger"⁸ of a kind of intellectual apostasy. He continues,

4. George Ryskamp, transcribed interview of James Taylor, February 1975, in the possession of George Ryskamp.

5. Harold B. Lee, "Installation of and Charge to the President," *Inaugural Addresses*, p. 14.

6. Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 222.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

The Mormon youth, who usually come from a background of rural and quite literal Mormonism, finds that his entrance into the university is an introduction to the doubt and confusion that his first real encounter with secular culture entails. He has been taught by the Mormon faith to seek knowledge and to value it; yet it is precisely this course, so acceptable to and so honored by his religion, that is bound to bring religious crisis to him and profound danger to his religious belief. . . .

Mormonism as a way of life has to its credit that it has created a genuine intellectual group of considerable proportions in relation to the general size and rural composition of the community as a whole. But these intellectuals find themselves very often in a condition of inner conflict. Torn between a loyalty to the Mormon tradition and a commitment to modern thought, affected by both a genuine attachment to their own group and its way of life and the intellectual dispositions of the modern temper, these men find their own Mormonism a great problem to themselves.⁹

O'Dea's concerns have been at least partially answered at BYU by the religious orthodoxy of the students, discussed in Chapter 28.¹⁰ At BYU the students' faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ has been strengthened and not lessened by participation in secular subjects. And outside BYU, the 498 LDS institutes of religion at over 400 colleges and universities have helped students bridge the gap between secular and LDS philosophy.

Were an intellectual history of Mormonism to be written, it would have to acknowledge that the young and energetic faculty at Brigham Young University and at the LDS institutes have, by their faithfulness to the Church and competence as scholars, answered O'Dea's concern more thoroughly than he may have anticipated.

Dallin Oaks is one example of this synthesis of intellectual and spiritual qualities. Oaks has emerged from encounters with some of the great minds and issues of modern times as a loyal Mormon and an excellent scholar. He has returned to the land of his rural and quite literal Mormonism to add his portion of intellectual and spiritual leadership to a community of believing scholars. At BYU in 1976 there is a widespread sense of intellectual and spiritual vitality, not because BYU scholars have found some subtle way to outwit or circumvent authoritarianism, doctrinal literalism, or the priesthood leadership of the Church, but because their honest acknowledgment of Church authority means that these scholars have put their scholarship in perspective.

Choosing a Philosophy of Leadership

There are different styles or approaches to leadership. One student

9. Ibid., pp. 226-27; 235-36.

10. See Chapter 28.

of the subject wrote that in the aftermath of campus unrest during the 1960s higher education has sought open, candid "men of low profile," typically characterized by "an ability to mediate rather than to polarize."¹¹ President Oaks once referred to various philosophies of leadership available to a new president. The philosophy which Oaks prefers is that of "internalization leadership," by which a president helps his followers acquire a personal conviction of the value of a proposed project, and then seeks ideas and input from students, faculty, and staff about how best to achieve it.¹² Oaks works to create an atmosphere in which creative and workable suggestions can be made, and his own role is to support ideas that have merit.

Functional Role of a President

In view of the demanding routine that inevitably accompanies the BYU presidency, Oaks's openness and availability are commendable. Because he does not feel threatened in frank and forceful dialogue over the merits of an idea and treats others as equals rather than adversaries, he finds no difficulty in changing his own position on an issue when persuaded by clear reasoning. He is not afraid to speak his mind, but at the same time has a tolerance for diverse points of view.

The President's optimism and sense of humor have generally made burdens lighter and communication easier. In his opening remarks to the BYU student body, he said,

All who know and admire President Wilkinson will be able to appreciate the sense of humility and challenge I feel at being selected to follow this great man. However, I am sure all will recognize that I will do some things quite differently from President Wilkinson. For example, my *financial* condition will not permit me to start out for a salary of one dollar per year. And my *physical* condition will not permit me to do 47 pushups at basketball games.¹³

During the general Fall Faculty Meeting in 1974, when he received a joking question from the floor suggesting that it would be appropriate for the faculty to grow beards during the BYU Centennial year, the President said, "I think it is a splendid suggestion, and in keeping with the historical flavor of the idea, I'm sure we could arrange for the salaries of those who grow beards to be paid in kind, with corn, beets, and potatoes."

11. J. Kirk Sale, "Men of Low Profile," *Change* (July-August 1970), p. 36.

12. Based on remarks of Dallin H. Oaks at Primary Annual Conference, 4 April 1974. The leadership styles mentioned in these remarks were first described by BYU professor William G. Dyer in his book *The Sensitive Manipulator* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1972).

13. Dallin H. Oaks, "A New President Speaks to BYU," *Speeches of the Year* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1971), p. 4.

The Synthesizing Role

It is to the credit of the Oaks administration that an on-going attempt is made to clarify roles and duties among faculty, administrators, and staff. That clarification process has also made clear the implications of the University's commitments to the religious and professional sectors it serves. The administrative thrust in favor of greater academic productivity without losing religious perspective may earn the University credit for having pioneered a new secular and spiritual synthesis.

Oaks's commitment to the gospel and to academic excellence is reflected in his conclusion to the 1974 Annual Faculty Report in which he quotes Stephen K. Bailey's *Chronicle of Higher Education*:

"The ideal professorial model . . . is someone introspective and disciplined enough to find great psychic satisfaction in the lonely pursuit of new knowledge, someone secure enough to work effectively with others in team research and academic committees, someone gregarious enough to love students, someone articulate enough to do inspired teaching, and someone concerned enough to indulge in a variety of public services. . . ." To that last prescription for the ideal professorial model at BYU, I would add: someone worthy enough and faithful enough to enjoy the continuous companionship and guidance of the Holy Ghost in all teaching and other activities.¹⁴

This productive synthesis of intellect and spirit is balanced by Oaks's attitude that his academic commitment, important as it is, is the servant rather than the master of his religious commitment. After a widely circulated 1974 article in the *Los Angeles Times* describing BYU's efforts to upgrade its academic standards, some Church members became concerned that the University might be abandoning its traditional values in the search for academic accomplishment. But the President commented to the faculty,

We are all agreed that the price of achievement under standards recognizable by the world is too high if it uproots us from our own standards. Let us acknowledge candidly that this could happen, or could be thought to have happened, and use that knowledge as a means of guarding against the result or the misunderstanding. Far from abandoning our standards, I believe . . . that this is a time when we should reaffirm them and be more candid in expressing them. I believe, in short, that we can both hold to our traditional values and successfully attain accomplishments more understandable to people who do not share these values.¹⁵

Facing the Test of Time

President Oaks's leadership style, his scholarly background, his per-

14. Dallin H. Oaks, "Annual Report to the Faculty," *A Wise Steward* (Brigham Young University, 1973), p. 23.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

sonal traits, and the effect of his attitudes on the university community, by his example as well as his policies, suggest that by academic and spiritual criteria the Oaks years have thus far been and will continue to be good ones for BYU.

In fairness, however, some have asked whether, in spite of the spirit of harmony and honest leadership, the Oaks administration has produced or will produce substantive changes of intrinsic value. To date, his administration has necessarily concerned itself with preparation and planting. The more difficult matters of cultivation and harvest are yet to come. There are some questions about the Oaks presidency that might be pondered by a future historian. Perhaps as an open, secure, balanced man, Oaks was too soothing to “set a fire” at the University in the 1970s. This caution has been raised elsewhere concerning the type of personalities which colleges and universities around the country have been choosing for presidents. J. Kirk Sale is one of these who says,

In selecting men of low profile, universities are constantly turning away from men of vision, men of foresight, men of innovation and radical perspective — and it may be that these are the characteristics which are vital to fundamental change. It may just be that what is really needed now are not men of low profile, however tempting, but men of revolutionary vision, men who can turn the universities around rather than keep them functioning. The men of low profile are present-oriented; they try not to have visions.¹⁶

Some believe Oaks is at times too pedantic in the way he deals with the enforcement of dress and grooming standards or perhaps too didactic in some of his hard-hitting talks on subjects such as honesty. A few have wondered whether he has been colorful enough or imaginative enough to be more than smoothly efficient in his leadership. Still others have questioned whether the progress that has been made may have been rooted more in the structure of the school itself rather than in the new leadership. Some longtime members of the BYU community have at least wondered, although they confess it is too early to judge accurately, whether there were not enough good people already at BYU to do much of what has been done regardless of who became President.¹⁷

Nevertheless, whatever questions arise concerning the meaning and effectiveness of the Oaks administration, by 1976 it must be acknowledged that to most members of the University community Dallin Oaks is obviously much more than merely a refined man of low profile. The foregoing pages describing life at BYU since he came should speak for themselves. The most serious question in evaluating his administration

16. J. Kirk Sale, “Men of Low Profile,” *Change*, (July-August 1970), p. 39.

17. The sources for the personal impressions contained in this portion of the text were the result of numerous formal interviews with deans, directors of administrative areas, faculty members, and others, conducted in the spring and summer of 1974 by Bruce T. Reese and Bruce C. Hafen.

is how much the impression of his apparently solid beginning must be discounted because of the absence of a historical perspective that only time can provide.

The larger and potentially more significant questions about the meaning of the 1970s for BYU have as much to do with the faculty and student body as with the administration. There is only so much that can be accomplished by rhetoric, reorganizations, policy proclamations, personal example, and moving descriptions of destiny. Even attitudinal changes are meaningful only if they are lasting enough to bear fruit. It could be argued that even the best of what has been accomplished since 1971 is still in the nature of mechanics, stage-setting, pump-priming, and multiple reaffirmations of what has always been obvious about BYU — its great potential. The potential for genuine independence, the potential for value-oriented education of high academic quality, the potential for wholeness, the potential to have a great impact on American society — BYU has all this at a time when there is increasing doubt as to whether American higher education has enough vigor to warrant realistic hopes for the future. It is good to perceive potential, and without question, BYU has enough of it to increasingly capture the imagination of both friends and strangers. The very idea of the place is exciting. It has been so ever since it was first dreamed about. As one member of the faculty stated,

Can you imagine with me that perhaps on one of those nights as some of the pioneers came across the prairies, one or two of the older youngsters who liked books (or even Brigham himself, who liked books) might have sat beneath the stars and said, . . . “Do you think that one day there might be a great university in Zion? A great school, with all the books, and laboratories, and teachers — where the Saints might come from all around the world to learn together? Just think — all those books and the Spirit too.” An impossible dream? They might have thought so. But the dream has come true.¹⁸

The fulfillment of that dream in the fullest sense seems more within reach in 1976 than ever before, especially when the astonishing progress of 100 years so vividly shows that dreams do come true. But in the words of Richard L. Evans, “Sooner or later in life there comes a time when it is performance that counts. Not promises, not possibilities, not potentialities — but performance.”

18. Bruce C. Hafen, “Reflections on Being at BYU,” *Best Lectures 1973-1974* (Associated Students of Brigham Young University Academics Office, 22 January 1974), pp. 52-53.

41

The Fruitful Tree: A Century of Love, Truth, and Service

Centennial Emblem and Motto

Responding to the century of tradition of BYU, the BYU Centennial Committee adopted as its Centennial Emblem “the Fruitful Tree” and as its motto “Love of God, Pursuit of Truth, and Service to Mankind.” These together represent the past and living aspirations of BYU (*see* photograph on page 380).

Love of God

One of the Pharisee lawyers, in an effort to embarrass or entrap the Savior, asked him, “Master, which is the great commandment in the law?”

Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.

This is the first and great commandment.

And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.¹

The founders of Brigham Young University recognized from the outset that a university dedicated to the Lord should be founded on love for God. BYU was designed to be a “school of the prophets,” a divinely led institution where students and faculty met on the common grounds of faithful, studious preparation, of ongoing spiritual renewal, and of love and service — the divine pattern for happy living which God has revealed for all who will enter his Kingdom. The founders of BYU aspired to qualify for the benediction from heaven given to an earlier school of the prophets: “I, the Lord, will cause them to bring forth as a very fruitful tree which is planted in a goodly land, by a pure stream, that yieldeth much precious fruit” (D&C 97:9). This fruitful tree is described in the Book of Mormon as representing “the

1. Matthew 22:35-40.

love of God which sheddeth itself abroad in the hearts of the children of men" (1 Nephi 11:21-22), and is the core of Brigham Young University's success during its first century.

Though the ideals which constitute this love of God are somewhat elusive, BYU has clung to them tenaciously. In doing so, BYU seeks to avoid the tragic decline of spiritual training in American universities. The need for spiritual leadership among institutions of higher learning was recently emphasized by Charles H. Malik, former president of the United Nations General Assembly, who after referring to annual reports of presidents and administrators of institutions of higher education commented:

I search in vain in these reports for any reference to the fact that character, personal integrity, spiritual depth, the highest moral standards, the wonderful living values of the great tradition, have anything to do with the business of the university or with the world of learning. Now scholarship, freedom and creative research certainly befit a university. But the root of all evil is when these are absolute . . . and values and morals and spirit and integrity are only relative. . . .

The soul of the learned these days is quite empty — empty to the bare bones. The students will rebel, not knowing why they are rebelling or what they are rebelling against, although they think they do. For they have come to the great banquet of being, seeking food and fullness, and are turned away empty.²

It was William James who said that the alpha and omega of a university is "the tone of it" and that this tone is "set by human personalities exclusively." A kindred thought was expressed by Robert Gordon Sproul, president (1930-1958) of the University of California before the recent epidemic of riots: "The truly great university is not a thing of books and papers, test tubes and reports, grades, and mechanisms. It is a creature of the spirit built out of the lives of men — faculty men, student men [and women]. It is founded on great loyalties as well as on great intellects."³

BYU has kept the love of God as its foundation because the men and women who have taught and studied at BYU, and who have administered the school, have kept their love for God first in their lives. Their work may sometimes be mundane, but their aspirations never are.

Keeping the Commandments

On one occasion Jesus said, "If ye love me, keep my commandments" (John 14:15). This spiritual formula is a persistent and popular tenet at BYU and the campus visitor will see immediate evidence that these

2. Charles H. Malik, "Education in Upheaval: The Christian's Responsibility," *Creative Help for Daily Living* 21:18 (September 1970).

3. From a talk by Gordon B. Hinckley to BYU faculty and staff on 28 August 1975.

commandments are being faithfully observed by a majority of the BYU community.

On the BYU campus more than 90 percent of the students attend two or more sabbath-day meetings in the 120 branches of the LDS Church located on and off campus. Students also generally honor the sabbath by refusing to participate in athletic contests, attend movies, or engage in other activities demeaning to the sabbath. BYU respect for the sabbath came to the attention of the entire nation a few years ago when a BYU baseball team won a berth in a national championship tournament, but withdrew when it was found that they would be required to play on Sunday. All athletic facilities at BYU are closed on Sunday.

Another commandment emphasized at BYU, the contribution of a tenth of one's increase or commercial gains, is a gospel tenet in both the Old and New Testaments (*see* Genesis 14:18-20, 28:20-22; and Hebrews 7:5). While most churches have long since abandoned the practice of tithe paying and have substituted congregational collections which usually amount to mere token contributions, the LDS Church adheres to the full tithe. On the campus at BYU between 85 and 90 percent of the students pay tithing, thereby fulfilling an explicit covenant they make as members of the LDS Church.

Another religious tenet has to do with health. In a revelation given to Joseph Smith in 1833, members of the Church were advised against the use of such substances as tea, coffee, tobacco, and alcohol (*see* D&C 88:7-8). None of these substances are for sale at BYU and students commit themselves when coming to BYU to refrain from using them either on or off campus. These standards are important in the preservation of good health: during 1968-69 at least 144,400 persons died in the U.S. as a direct result of using alcohol.⁴ During the same period there were 81,000 reported deaths from lung cancer caused by tobacco or other irritants.⁵ BYU students are taught that their bodies are the temples of God and should be honored by strict abstinence from harmful drugs of any kind. In his 25 years experience on the BYU campus the editor of this history has never seen a student smoking.

Another Article of Faith of the LDS Church states, "We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law."⁶ This precept promoted behavior at BYU in striking contrast to the disturbances on most campuses in America during the 1960s and early 1970s. During those historic and divisive upheavals, BYU remained productive and at peace (*see* Chapter 28).

4. Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, *Statistical Bulletin*, vol. 55, July 1974, p. 2.

5. American Cancer Society, *Cancer Facts and Figures '75* (American Cancer Society, Inc., 1974), p. 18.

6. James E. Talmage, *Articles of Faith* (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: 1924), p. 413.

A basic belief of the Mormon faith is that man was endowed by his creator with the right to be free and independent. A corollary tenet of the Church is that every human being should strive to be self-reliant, self-supporting, and not dependent on society for his sustenance. Students are trained to live within their means, even though they may be in humble circumstances while attending college, and to avoid the bondage of debt as much as possible. If they need financial help, the Church has a welfare plan which will take care of them. The Church and school believe that while it is the duty of the people to support the government, it is not the duty of the government to support the people.

One of the most distinguishing characteristics of BYU is the extremely high premium placed on chastity. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints teaches that "sex immorality stands next to murder in the category of personal crimes"; it is "most abominable above all sins save it be the shedding of innocent blood or denying the Holy Ghost" (Alma 39:5). This strict adherence to chaste and virtuous living applies to both sexes — a single standard of morality is a basic principle of conduct for BYU students. This does not mean that there are no students who violate this principle, but the instances are relatively few, and when they do occur the participants are subject to disfellowshipping or excommunication from the Church and dismissal from school.

The trend of the world, on the other hand, is toward increasing looseness by both sexes. Even though in America there are still Christian-oriented statutes on the books which forbid adultery, fornication, and other forms of immorality, rarely are people prosecuted for these offenses. Indeed, vigorous and widespread attempts are now being made throughout the country to eliminate these offenses from recognized categories of crime and to make these God-forbidden practices a legal and acceptable way of life.

A related abuse and a most serious vice, according to the doctrines of the LDS Church, is that of abortion. It has been condemned by the First Presidency of the Church in the following language:

The Church opposes abortion and counsels its members not to submit to or perform an abortion except in the rare cases where, in the opinion of competent medical counsel, the life or good health of the mother is seriously endangered or where the pregnancy was caused by rape and produces serious emotional trauma in the mother. . . . Abortion must be considered one of the most revolting and sinful practices in this day. . . .⁷

President Spencer W. Kimball has further declared,

. . . we deplore the reported million unborn children who will lose their lives in this country this year. Certainly the women who yield to this ugly sin and the sin which often generated it, and those who assist them, should remember that retribution is *sure*. It is *sure*.

7. *The Ensign*, March 1973, p. 64.

We marry for eternity. We are serious about this. We become parents and bring wanted children into the world and rear and train them in righteousness.⁸

Adherence to this belief is so well observed by BYU students that the director of the BYU Health Service and Medical Clinic has reported that during his 12 years in his present position not a single case of abortion has come to his attention. In contrast, there were an estimated 800,000 reported abortions in the United States during 1973, and the number is growing.⁹ The Church and BYU have also condemned sterilization for women and vasectomies for men and none have been known to occur among BYU students.

Contrary to the general American fashion of today, it is normal for BYU graduates, instead of practicing birth control, to have large families. The LDS Church accepts completely the first commandment given to mankind: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth . . ." (Genesis 1:28). Over a hundred years ago Brigham Young, the founder of BYU, condemned the practice of birth control:

To check the increase of our race has its advocates among the influential and powerful circles of society in our nation and in other nations. . . . The wife of the servant man is the mother of eight or ten healthy children, while the wife of his master is the mother of one or two poor, sickly children, devoid of vitality and constitution, and of daughters, unfit, in their turn, to be mothers, and the health and vitality which nature has denied them through the irregularities of their parents are not repaired in the least by their education.¹⁰

President David O. McKay expressed the Mormon viewpoint when he said, "The principal reason for marriage is to rear a family. Failure to do so is one of the conditions that cause love to wilt and eventually to die."¹¹

8. Spencer W. Kimball, "God Will Not Be Mocked," *The Ensign*, November 1974, p. 9. President Stephen L Richards has given this warning:

To warn of a greater danger I must speak of it more specifically. I do so most reverently. If it shall please the Lord to send to your home a goodly number of children, I hope, I pray, you will not deny them entrance. If you should, it would cause you infinite sorrow and remorse. One has said that he could wish his worst enemy no more hell than this, that in the life to come someone might approach him and say, "I might have done good beyond computation, but if I came at all I had to come through your home and you were not man enough or woman enough to receive me. You broke down the frail footway on which I must cross and then you thought you had done a clever thing" (CR-10/41:108).

9. "The Abortion Battle," *Newsweek*, 4 February 1974, p. 57.

10. Brigham Young in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 Vols. (Liverpool, England: Albert Carrington, 1869; Photo Lithographic Reprint, 1966), 12:120.

11. David O. McKay, "The Home Front," *The Improvement Era*, November 1943, p. 657.

For a number of years Population Reference Bureau, Inc., of Washington, D.C., compiled a yearly record of the number of children born to both men and women graduates of approximately 150 universities in the United States and found that, over the years, graduates of Brigham Young University had larger families than graduates of any other institution of higher learning. In 1955, graduates of Utah State Agricultural College (Utah State University) and the University of Utah, whose students are generally Mormon, also had a high rating — but lower than that of BYU. The performance of the three Utah universities, in particular BYU, led Robert C. Cook, director of the Population Reference Bureau, to write to President Wilkinson on 31 May 1955,

It is a remarkable record. When college graduates on the average are falling quite far short of replacing themselves, the graduates of these three Mormon universities have consistently shown a fertility well above replacement. Since in the kind of world we live in, there is an even greater need for people with a high level of competence and ability, the importance of this can hardly be overestimated. I sometimes tell my genetic classes at George Washington University that a college diploma comes high. Speaking statistically it amounts to almost semi-sterilization! That is not true in Utah. You should be very proud that this is so.¹²

Since the introduction of the birth control pill, the rate of reproduction in the United States does not, according to some experts, even amount to replacement.¹³ On the other hand, it is not unusual at BYU for distinguished members of the faculty to have from eight to ten or more children, sometimes by adoption.

University Policy

School administrators are under the mandate of Church leaders to subordinate university goals and policies to the commandments of God. This accounts for the University's sustained insistence on viewing students as individuals, not as numbers or ciphers; on encouraging Christianity to be taught in any classroom and in connection with any

12. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Charge to the Graduates," *Speeches of the Year* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 3 June 1955), BYU Archives, pp. 18-19. Unfortunately, the Population Reference Bureau no longer makes a study of the comparative size of families of college graduates.
13. This trend, although not as pronounced as now, led Theodore Roosevelt as early as 1916 to exclaim, "Voluntary sterility among married men and women of good life is, . . . the capital sin of civilization. . . . If the average woman does not marry and become the mother of enough children to permit the healthy increase of the race; . . . then the race is decadent, and should be swept aside to make room for one that is better. Only that nation has a future whose sons and daughters recognize and obey the primary laws of their racial being"; Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Charge to the Graduates," *Speeches of the Year* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 3 June 1955), BYU Archives, p. 31.

subject; and invoking an honor code as the basis for governing the affairs of both students and faculty. At BYU one may see 20,000 or more students unitedly cheering a basketball game on Saturday night and 12 hours later reverently worshipping together. To accomplish this the school converts over 100 of its largest classrooms into chapels; several different congregations use each room on alternating schedules so that a room may have as many as a dozen worship services on a single Sunday. At BYU, professors are seldom referred to by their academic title. They are usually addressed as *brother* or *sister*, and teachers are graded not merely on their professional expertise but on the amount of service and affectionate esteem which they inspire in their students. A certain reverence for life is reflected in the immaculate buildings and grounds where cleanliness and order are part of the spiritual sensitivity the school is seeking to cultivate in its youth.

Outside Appraisals and Comments of Distinguished Visitors

Outside appraisals of the institution have said that something intimate, even familial, characterizes BYU classrooms. Certainly BYU stands for discipline, excellence, and technical mastery — but it stands for far more. The relationships of love open the mind. They are the presupposition and the ultimate outcome of genuine inquiry, genuine expression, and lasting educability.

The difference this has made to the tone of the University is reflected in comments of visitors who have seen the vision of the fruitful tree: the reaction of Swedish theologian Nels F. S. Ferre that all over the world he had discovered committed individuals but at BYU he had found a “committed community”; the comment of a visitor from the Far East that, walking across campus, he saw “few neurotic faces”; the observation of humanist-philosopher Sydney Hook, “I would trust your young men more than any I have met in the world”; the comment of an expert in comparative religion that he felt “more vitality per square inch” in his seminars with the faculty and students at BYU than elsewhere; the comment of a Briton that there was something “wholehogmatic” about BYU students he met; the appraisal of David Reisman that behind BYU’s peaceful facade, and in contrast with the disorder and in some cases the chaos of universities elsewhere, there is obviously not just strong, but also deeply humane, leadership; the advice of a trustee of a large related series of prominent universities in this country, given to a foreign government official, that if he wanted his children to obtain an American education he should send them to BYU; and the verdict of the Danforth Foundation team for Religion in Higher Education that BYU is doing more than any other to make Christianity a permeating part of its program.¹⁴

14. Manning M. Pattillo and Donald M. Mackenzie, *Church Sponsored Higher Education in the United States*, pp. 187-89.

Student Responses

For most BYU students there are attractive and highly important internal differences between BYU and other universities. At BYU, academic life is more than a career, it is a mission. The student experiences crucial distinctions between intellectual stimulation and spiritual emulation; between twisting the University into a theater for political protest and building it into a community of cooperative creativity; between grade-getting and genuine growth; between making the pursuit of truth a selfish religion and making true religion the basis of the pursuit and the selfless application of truth; and between seeking accolades and placing one's best on an altar of consecration. Divine revelation and a century of experience teach that the educational future belongs not to those who withdraw from or secularize the sacred, but to those who sacramentalize the secular. Every aspiration and activity must be an important effort to achieve harmony. In the final analysis, the entire University enterprise — its classrooms, its laboratories, and perhaps most of all the long hours spent in one-to-one counseling — is a sacramental act, a form of worship; even its demanding drudgery is a manifestation of the love of God for man and the love of man for God. In answer to the ever-recurring question of how BYU is different, perhaps we can say "Elsewhere, little if anything is sacred. Here, everything is."

The Pursuit of Truth

The second part of the motto for the BYU Centennial is "Pursuit of Truth." BYU students are taught not only the secular knowledge available elsewhere, but also modern revelation from God, the source of all truth. Mormon philosophy recognizes that there is a wide margin between absolute truth (which is known to God as a fixed postulate of cosmic reality) and fragments of truth as they appear to the human intellect with its limited comprehension, its finite capacity for analysis, and its restricted powers of observation. Mormon philosophy further teaches that since absolute, perfect truth is attainable only by a divine intelligence, it becomes the task of human scholarship to test all secular knowledge through the prism of divine revelation when such is available. This is, ideally, the BYU approach to truth.

Since truth never contradicts itself, when the BYU scholar finds an apparent contradiction between what science has pronounced to be true and what God has revealed, he treats this contradiction as a temporary aberration which he knows eventually will be resolved. This means that at BYU there is a strong priority of revealed knowledge over secular knowledge. The student accepts divine revelation as springing from the source of absolute truth, even though our understanding of it may be incomplete, whereas ever-changing secular knowledge must always remain entirely relative to the latest research.

Revealed Definition of Truth

The LDS concept of absolute truth follows a definition given by divine revelations: "Truth is knowledge of things as they are, as they were, and as they are to come" (D&C 93:24). It is spelled out with even greater clarity in the words of Jacob, a Book of Mormon prophet of the sixth century B.C., who said, "For the Spirit speaketh the truth and lieth not. Wherefore, it speaketh of things as they really are, and of things as they really will be" (Jacob 4:13). In other words, truth in its totality is equated with an all-encompassing knowledge of the universe. The scripture states that these realities are fixed both as to time and space; therefore, a perfect knowledge such as God possesses becomes an eternal, absolute truth that will never change in all the eons of the future. One LDS scripture says, "Truth abideth and hath no end" (D&C 88:66), and another promises that by pursuing knowledge and practicing principles of God-like conduct man will ultimately attain a knowledge of all truth precisely as God has done (D&C 93:26-28).

Although many non-Mormon scholars insist that no truth can come from divine revelation, Mormon scholars join with those of other faiths who insist that truth in its ultimate sense can be comprehended only by God, and it therefore becomes man's task to approximate as nearly as possible God's knowledge of truth. As Thomas Aquinas emphasized, "Natural things are said to be true insofar as they express the likeness of the ideas that are in the divine mind." To achieve this level of understanding it is necessary to sharply hone the fine edge of research scholarship. This is the BYU philosophy of education, and in such a process a disclosure of truth by divine revelation on any subject assumes supreme significance.

Mormon scholars believe in the scripture in which God says, "I am the Spirit of truth" (D&C 93:26). The Lord reveals himself to "bear witness unto the truth" (John 18:37). He is described as being "full of grace and truth" (John 1:14), and his "law is the truth" (Psalms 119:142). In addition, his "commandments are truth" (Psalms 119:151). Once we accept these premises as fundamental, we must attribute to each revelation from God the highest possible priority in the pursuit of truth. This makes BYU scholars responsible for a careful scrutiny of knowledge on two distinct but ultimately harmonious levels, the secular and the divine. This explains why Mormon philosophy considers it intellectually crippling to restrict research to either of these areas: truth comes from both sources.

Advantages of a Dualistic Approach

One advantage of this approach to the discovery of truth is that divine revelation can precede the secular discovery of truth by decades or even centuries. For example, as early as 27 February 1833 it was revealed to Joseph Smith, the first prophet of the LDS Church, that

alcohol, tobacco, and certain hot drinks were not good for man (D&C 89). It took science nearly a century to verify the soundness of this revelation which in Mormon literature is known as the Word of Wisdom (*see* page 841). Recent statistical studies comparing the health of those who abstain from these substances with those who use them verify Joseph Smith's teaching.

The American Indian

The Book of Mormon gives LDS anthropologists a special perspective on the history of man in the western hemisphere. That a number of great civilizations once flourished on this continent is beyond dispute, but the question is who they were and where they came from. The Book of Mormon, which is the history of some ancient populations in the American Continent, accounts for three major migrations to America. It gives hundreds of details concerning their culture and history, many of which were opposed to the popular scientific thought of a century ago. Many Mormons believe that the tradition among American Indians in both North and South America of the "fair God" who visited their ancestors and promised to return springs from an actual visit by Christ, which also explains the presence among many Indian cultures of teachings and customs similar to those of the Judeo-Christian milieu.¹⁵

Search for Truth in Political Science

Modern revelation also has disclosed a pattern for sound government which the American experiment with freedom has vindicated, even though certain exponents of political theory are determined to replace that pattern with various forms of collectivism. The LDS Church accepts the U.S. Constitution as a divinely inspired document capable of securing "the rights and protection of all flesh, according to just and holy principles."¹⁶ In this age when the sanctity of life, respect for private property as the foundation of freedom, and many other traditions are being abandoned, the LDS Church holds to its belief that "no government can exist in peace, except such laws are framed and held inviolate as will secure to each individual the free exercise of conscience, the right and control of property, and the protection of life."¹⁷

15. For more details recorded in the Book of Mormon as to the colonization of America, the types of people who inhabited America, their religious life and beliefs, the building of temples and cities, the destruction of large cities, the materials used in their building and living and the existence and use of animals, see the scholarly article of John L. Sorenson, "Ancient America and the Book of Mormon Revisited," *Dialogue*, Summer 1969, pp. 80-94.

16. Doctrine and Covenants 101:77.

17. *Ibid.*, 134:2.

Because economic and cultural changes have occurred since the writing of the Constitution, some scholars have tried to label that document obsolete. The Mormon viewpoint is that the present Constitution was designed to maintain a proper balance between the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Branches of our government; and that so far as possible each will be a check on the others from the use of excessive power. This squares with the revelation by the Lord to Joseph Smith in which he states, "We have learned by sad experience that it is the nature and disposition of almost all men, as soon as they get a little authority, as they suppose, they will immediately begin to exercise unrighteous dominion."¹⁸

Even if this revelation should be interpreted as applying solely to the natural inclinations of human beings to usurp authority over each other, it is equally applicable to the relationship of one branch of government to another, as recent and continuing relationships between Congress and the executive branch illustrate. Indeed, the desire to curtail excessive governmental power was in the minds of our Constitutional Fathers. Thomas Jefferson, for instance, said, "In questions of power, then, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."¹⁹ James Madison in the *Federalist Papers* expressed the same idea:

The interest of the man must be connected with the constitutional rights of the place. It may be a reflection on human nature that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government. But what is government itself but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary.²⁰

The Search for Truth in the Social Sciences

Because human nature does not change, each generation must be disciplined in the basic principles of self-control, personal responsibility, and basic morality. Social and cultural institutions continually change, but these fundamental requirements for a civilized society do not. No amount of human engineering or psychological experimentation has been able to improve upon the revelations of God concerning the principal requirements for human happiness and social well-being as taught in the Bible and reinforced by modern revelation. Standards of self-reliance, honesty, sobriety, morality, compassion for those in need, honest labor, honest wages, strengthening the family, reparation rather than imprisonment for the commission of lesser crimes, and

18. Ibid., 121:39.

19. Andrew A. Lipscomb, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, 24 vols. (The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association: 1904), 17:389.

20. James Madison, *The Federalist Papers* (New York: New American Library, 1961), Clinton Rossiter, ed., p. 322.

governing of mankind through covenant societies; the principles required for the establishment of justice; the emphasis on conservation; and concern for cleanliness and beauty provide the social scientist with reliable tools for structuring families, societies, and nations. While Mormon scholars pretend to no higher role than implementing what divine revelation and human experience have demonstrated to be sound, they insist on the opportunity to demonstrate the reliability of what God has revealed for human happiness in complex social relationships.

The Task of Establishing Credibility

Mormon scholars have learned that while science is in the process of catching up with revealed truth anyone who relies upon revelation as a source of knowledge runs the risk of being considered by his academic peers in secular schools as both unscientific and unscholarly. Nevertheless, Mormon academicians have observed such an undeviating pattern of fulfilled expectations in relying on advanced knowledge from a divine source that they press forward with the assurance that time is on the side of truth and eventually all that God has revealed will be vindicated. Rather than rule out divine revelation as a source of truth to accommodate their critics, Mormons prefer to take advantage of this superior source of truth while winning the confidence of their peers in the secular field through scholarly excellence. The community of Mormon scholars accepts all truth as its province, no matter what the source. As Brigham Young expressed it,

If, on the Sabbath day, when we are assembled here to worship the Lord, one of the Elders should be prompted to give us a lecture on any branch of education with which he is acquainted, is it outside the pale of our religion? I think not. . . . If an Elder shall give us a lecture upon astronomy, Chemistry, or geology, our religion embraces it all. It matters not what the subject be, if it tends to improve the mind, exalt the feelings, and enlarge the capacity. The truth that is in all the arts and sciences forms a part of our religion.²¹

Service to Mankind

The third part of BYU's Centennial Slogan is "Service to Mankind." Many programs sponsored by the University have impact far beyond the confines of campus, as the University offers service to other countries, local communities, and the LDS Church.

BYU Participation in the Point Four Program in Iran

During the first year of President Wilkinson's administration at BYU, the University agreed to participate in the Point Four Program in

21. *Journal of Discourses*, 1:334-35.

Iran under the direction of Franklin S. Harris, president of Utah State Agricultural College and former President of Brigham Young University.²² President Wilkinson endorsed the contractual agreements with the United States government for the participation of BYU faculty therein. BYU sent its first group of six educators to Iran in the autumn of 1951 and had four other groups follow. The United States Government also sought the aid of such institutions as the University of Utah and Utah State Agricultural College in planning, staffing, and operating the program. The objective of helping Iran remain among the non-Communist nations of the world, oriented to the West, was achieved, as was the goal of helping the people of Iran to help themselves to a better standard of living. Despite political crises and incited opposition, Iran's 18,000,000 people and their government generally welcomed the Point Four Program and helped make it a success.

The Iranian school system was plagued with a multitude of weaknesses, including problems with administration, school organization, curriculum, teacher training, and the prevailing educational philosophy. The initial group of six educators from BYU assisted in upgrading elementary education, establishing tribal schools, and getting other parts of the Point Four Program into operation. On 5 October 1953, a second contingent of 12 educators arrived in Tehran. This group worked primarily to raise the standard of secondary education in Iran.

In the fall of 1957 a third group of BYU personnel arrived in Tehran. This group was successful in establishing and upgrading educational programs at the National Teachers College, known as Daneshsaraye Ali. This school was given a special charter by the Iranian Parliament to develop good teachers, supervisors, administrators, and researchers to meet the mounting needs of the nation. The educators in the third BYU group had effected an excellent beginning for the National Teachers College by the time they left in 1959, and the next BYU group arrived to carry on the program. This group returned in 1961. Altogether over 30 faculty members participated in this project.

Assistance to the Arab Development Society

BYU also played a helpful role in providing cattle for the Arab Development Society directed by Musa Bey Alami. At the invitation of President Wilkinson, Alami visited BYU in 1960 and during his visit appealed to Wilkinson for help in getting some dairy cattle to start a producing herd in the Jordan Valley, which is over 1,000 feet below sea

22. It was first begun under the name of the Iranian-United States Joint Commission for Rural Improvement. It was later changed to the Technical Cooperation Administration for Iran, and finally to the United States Operation Mission to Iran, under the International Cooperation Administration.

level and has a rainfall of less than four inches per year. In this valley the Arab Development Society established a small school for Palestinian refugee orphans to train them to become good farmers.

The BYU Board of Trustees approved the plan to sponsor the entire dairy project without outside financial aid. Deciding that it was too expensive to ship the cows all the way from Utah, Professor Seymour Mikkelsen of the BYU faculty, accompanied by his wife, Orel, left BYU in January 1961, purchased 27 head of top Frisian cattle in Holland, and shipped them to Jordan. The herd arrived in good condition and provided the means of setting up the first dairy in Jericho; up to that time the students at the school had never tasted milk. During the intervening years there have been numerous political upheavals, but the farm and school are still operating and Mr. Alami, as recently as September 1975, expressed his deepest gratitude to BYU for the dairy herd. These are only two examples of ways in which BYU has been and continues to be of service to the world.

Assistance to Local Communities

The humanitarian services abroad are only an outgrowth of continued community services in the area of BYU (*see* Chapter 38). In addition to assistance of this nature, all members of the BYU community render extensive service to the LDS Church.

Assisting the Church Missionary Program

One of the ways BYU assists the Church missionary program is in the voluntary conversion of students to the gospel of Jesus Christ. While no precise figures have been kept, it has consistently been estimated by the faculty and administration that approximately one-half of non-Mormon students attending the Y either join the LDS Church while they are on campus or after they return to their homes. This they have done of their own accord: at the beginning of each school year the student body (composed largely of Mormons) has been told that no pressure to join the Church is to be applied to non-Mormons, for they have the same rights as Mormons to their religious beliefs.²³

BYU further encourages the missionary program of the Church by sponsoring classes specifically designed to train prospective missionaries. In fact, the entire Religious Instruction organization might be considered a training ground for those who are preparing to take the gospel message to the world. The existence of BYU stakes and branches on campus with over 8,000 returned missionaries participating has accentuated devotion and dedication to the Church among students.

23. See Welcome Address, Ernest L. Wilkinson, *Speeches of the Year*, 26 September 1968, p. 4.

The Language Training Mission

As early as 1947 the First Council of Seventy gave serious consideration to a program of training missionaries in the languages of the nations to which they were called as missionaries.²⁴ On Wilkinson's arrival at BYU in 1951 the Speech Department recommended the construction of an International House on campus for the training of prospective missionaries in foreign languages. In 1952 the President wrote a long letter to the First Presidency urging that the Salt Lake Mission Home be combined with a language training facility at BYU. In 1958 Wilkinson appointed a committee to investigate the role BYU might play in training missionaries in foreign languages. This report was given to Henry D. Moyle, who presented it to the General Authorities in 1960.

Nothing was done until September 1961, at which time visa problems encountered by missionaries assigned to Mexico prompted affirmative action. Arrangements had been made with the Mexican government to permit missionaries to enter that country on a special visa which would no longer require disruptive periodic exits from the country as did tourist visas. However, it took two to three months for this special visa to be issued. In order to gain the greatest advantage from the waiting period, the BYU committee proposed that recently called missionaries be assigned to a special school at BYU to learn Spanish.

In October 1961 Marion G. Romney presented the proposal to the First Presidency and it was approved. The program was placed quickly into operation. The pilot program, organized originally for missionaries going to Mexico, was expanded to include missionaries assigned to Argentina who were having similar visa difficulties. On 8 November 1961 Ernest J. Wilkins, professor of Spanish in the BYU Language Department, was named director of the new program, which was called the Missionary Language Institute. By December 4 there were 24 missionaries at the institute, 19 assigned to Argentina and 5 to Mexico. Wrote an excited Wilkinson that day in a letter to the First Presidency,

Eighty-five years ago Brother Karl G. Maeser held his first class of 29 students at Brigham Young University. This year before the second semester ends we will have had over 12,000 students on the campus.

This morning I had the pleasure of meeting with the first 19 missionaries who have been sent to the campus to receive training in the Spanish language preparatory to their serving the balance of their missions either in Mexico or Argentina. With the remarkable growth of the Church, which I venture to predict will greatly

24. James S. Taylor, "History of the BYU Language Training Mission," unpublished typescript, May 1975, BYU Archives, p. 1.

accelerate in the future, it is not at all unlikely that 85 years from now we will have at the BYU or in other parts of the Church School System as many as 12,000 missionaries being trained to carry the gospel to every kindred, tongue and people.²⁵

The growth of the Missionary Language Institute continued at such a rapid pace that by 1962, with Allen Hall the headquarters for the program, 590 Spanish-speaking and 145 Portuguese-speaking missionaries studied at the Institute.

By 1963 the First Presidency elevated the Institute to the status of a mission with Ernest Wilkins serving as mission president.²⁶ The Institute was designated the Language Training Mission and in 1964, with German being taught along with Spanish and Portuguese, the Amanda Knight residence hall was assigned to the Language Training Mission as its new headquarters. In 1967 Navajo and French were added to the program.

At first missionaries participating in the Language Training Mission were given academic credit for their effort; however, when this was frowned upon by the 1966 Accreditation Committee it was stopped. Instead, a returning missionary may obtain 16 hours of foreign language credit by successfully passing a special examination and taking an advanced course after his two years in the mission field.

In the spring of 1968 Church leaders decided that all missionaries bound for non-English-speaking countries were to be trained at a Language Training Mission prior to their departure.²⁷ A Language Training Mission was established at Ricks College for the teaching of Scandinavian languages with Ermel Morton as president, and a Language Training Mission was organized at the Church College in Hawaii with Kenneth Orton presiding. Meanwhile, Italian and Afrikaans were added to the training curriculum at BYU.

In 1970 President Ernest J. Wilkins was released and succeeded by Terrance L. Hansen.²⁸ During Hansen's administration the Church Missionary Committee decided to consolidate all of its language training activities into one program at BYU. As a result plans were made for a large self-contained complex of facilities on the northern fringe of the BYU campus that would accommodate all language training ac-

25. Ernest L. Wilkinson to David O. McKay and counselors, 4 December 1961, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers. At the time many thought President Wilkinson was overly exuberant, but it is now evident that by 1980 (65 years earlier than predicted), BYU, during the course of a single year, could help train that many missionaries at the Language Training Mission.

26. The First Presidency to Ernest J. Wilkins, 30 April 1963, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

27. James S. Taylor, "History of the BYU Language Training Mission," p. 4.

28. In addition to Hansen, other men who had served as counselors and assistants were Lewis Bastian, Ross Broadbent, Ben Martinez, Allen L. Litster, Steve Covington, Derrold D. Harris, and Allen C. Ostergar, Jr.

tivities. Unfortunately, in 1974 Hansen died suddenly at age 53. Max Pinegar was appointed to replace him. Between 1961 and 1975, 27,000 missionaries received their training through this program, and the pace will increase when the large complex of facilities is finished in the fall of 1976.²⁹

When the new Language Training Complex is completed, it, together with other facilities on campus, will provide accommodations for the training of approximately 15,000 missionaries per year. It is contemplated that 20 foreign languages will be taught.³⁰ Undoubtedly others will be added in the future. By 1975 the LDS Church had established 62 foreign-language-speaking missions in addition to 69 English-speaking missions in various parts of the world.

President Harold B. Lee described the significance of the new Language Training Mission facilities in these words: "The approval of this new project will have the effect of making Provo the language capital of the world, with Brigham Young University the focal point, and I would just like to observe the approval of this project is not the end — it is just the beginning."

Computer-assisted Language Processing Program

In 1975 the Church translated over 17,000 pages of material into 15 different languages. For some time there had been a great need for faster translating services, and therefore a computer-assisted language processing program was initiated at BYU under the direction of Eldon Lydle. The three objectives of this BYU language-computer service are to devise a special computer code for expressing the meaning of sentences unambiguously, to program computers to interact with a human to convert sentences to this special code, and to program computers to convert this special code back into natural language sentences.³¹ The eventual aim of the system is to accomplish simultaneous computer-assisted translation into many languages.

Research for the Church

In 1957 the Wilkinson administration, with the authority of the Board of Trustees, established a Bureau of Church Studies "for the purpose, in part, of assisting the General Authorities in research and other problems."³² Because many of the research projects were statisti-

29. James S. Taylor, "History of the BYU Language Training Mission," p. 5.

30. The 20 languages which will be taught when the new facilities open in 1976 are Afrikaans, Cantonese Chinese, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Mandarin Chinese, Navajo, Norwegian, Portuguese, Samoan, Spanish, Swedish, Tahitian, and Thai.

31. Melvin Smith and D. K. Jarvis, "The Brigham Young University Project in Computer-assisted Language Processing," slide presentation, printed copy in BYU Archives.

32. BYU Board of Trustees Minutes, 27 September 1957, BYU Archives.

cal in nature this institute was placed under the direction of Howard C. Nielson. After preparing studies on membership, tithing, marriage and divorce, and possible site locations for junior colleges, the Bureau of Church Studies was discontinued in 1963.

In May 1961 the Institute of Mormon Studies was organized under the direction of Daniel Ludlow. This institute, which was placed under the direction of Truman Madsen in 1966, concerns itself primarily with Mormon doctrinal and historical studies.

In 1965 approval was given to establish a Book of Mormon Institute to promote and coordinate research related to the Book of Mormon. Daniel Ludlow was the first director of this unit; he was succeeded in 1968 by Paul R. Cheesman. Since 1968 the Book of Mormon Institute, in addition to its regular functions, had also produced several movies and filmstrips about the Book of Mormon.

Leland H. Campbell came to BYU in 1962 as Director of Institutional Research for BYU and the Unified Church School System. In this capacity Campbell directed numerous studies for both BYU and the Church until 1964 when administration of the Unified Church School System was temporarily relinquished to Harvey Taylor.

Finally, on 27 February 1976 the Board of Trustees approved the establishment of a BYU Center for Religious Studies.³³ This new Center will assume and expand upon all functions now being performed by the Book of Mormon Institute and the Institute of Mormon Studies, and these organizations will be discontinued. The Center for Religious Studies will also provide a base for the Richard L. Evans Chair of Christian Understanding to help the chair occupant, Truman Madsen, to establish broader contacts with other related organizations and religious groups throughout the world. Jeffrey R. Holland, BYU dean of Religious Instruction, was named director of the Center and Keith H. Meservy, assistant professor of ancient scriptures, was appointed administrator.

Many of the research projects conducted by these various institutes have been published in *BYU Studies*, which began in 1957 as a professional quarterly designed for scholarly articles from many fields. Clinton F. Larson, who was instrumental in instigating the journal, was chosen first managing editor. Larson and Dean Farnsworth served as managing editors from 1957 until 1967, when Charles Tate of the English Department took over editorial duties. In August 1969 the Mormon History Association recognized *BYU Studies* in a special achievement award for its scholastic excellence.

The Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, edited by Thomas G. Alexander, have also afforded an opportunity for the publication of many articles on Mormon history. With the inauguration of the BYU Center for Religious Studies it is expected that more

33. "Trustees OK Study Center," *BYU Daily Universe*, 27 February 1976.

Mormon scholars will be able to publish their work as a part of the Redd Monograph series.

Stimulating Church Activity

A survey of the 1974-75 LDS Church Directory conducted by the BYU Alumni Association indicated that, although less than five percent of the worldwide Church membership has attended BYU, BYU alumni comprise almost 25 percent of the General Authorities, more than 40 percent of the regional representatives of the Twelve, almost 23 percent of the Church's stake presidents, more than 27 percent of the counselors in stake presidencies, and almost 24 percent of all bishops.³⁴

Faculty Contributions to the Church

The Church has not only called upon the BYU faculty to lend their professional expertise in solving a wide variety of problems, but also many of them have been directly involved in fulfilling ecclesiastical assignments. Between 1950 and 1975 three General Authorities were chosen from the BYU faculty and administrative staff. In addition, 24 regional representatives, 112 members of general Church boards, 125 members of general Church committees, 34 mission presidents, 98 counselors to mission presidents, 45 stake presidents, 108 counselors to stake presidents, 398 bishops, 668 counselors to bishops, 102 stake mission presidents, 355 stake missionaries, 78 temple workers, and 275 branch presidents were called from among the BYU faculty and administrative staff.³⁵

Auxiliary organizations of the Church are receiving similar support. Illustrative of this is a letter from Belle Spafford, former president of the Relief Society, who wrote to President-Emeritus Wilkinson on the occasion of Sister Wilkinson's release from the Relief Society General Board after serving 14 years:

Looking back over the more than 29 years I served as President of the Relief Society of the Church, there stand out in bold relief a few events that have proved highly significant in advancing the work of the Society and in preparing it for the heavy responsibilities that now lie before it.

Holding a position of distinction among these events was the . . . organization of campus Relief Societies. . . .

34. "Report on BYU Alumni in Positions of Church Leadership," 25 September 1975, BYU Archives.

35. This data is approximated and not meant to be exact. Some previous faculty who passed away were not included in this computer tabulation. Furthermore, some of the data represents a faculty member's participation before coming to BYU. If anything, these figures are conservative; Memorandum from David H. Yarn, Jr., to Robert K. Thomas, 19 March 1975, BYU Archives.

As the young women leave the colleges they take with them leadership experience, a depth of understanding of the purpose of the organization, a knowledge of its fundamental procedures, and an abiding testimony of its divine origin. . . .

I have met them and seen them in action in many parts of the world, and I marveled at all they have to offer. For example, I met one young woman on the BYU campus a few years ago who had just been called to be a Relief Society president. . . . The next time I met her she was competently presiding over a Relief Society in a branch on a military base in Japan. Later I met her once again, a member of a Relief Society stake board in San Antonio, Texas. Now I am told she is a stake Relief Society president in one of the large centers in the United States.³⁶

In addition to the above, other members of the faculty have been commissioned to fulfill special assignments, such as writing manuals (in 1968, 28 were commissioned to fill this assignment), composing and directing pageants, contributing to Church publications, and translating material to be distributed through Church channels around the world.

Genealogical Research and Temple Work at BYU

BYU has long maintained facilities to assist members of the Church in searching out the records of their ancestors, but in recent years BYU has acquired a more distinct role in genealogical education. The largest branch library of Salt Lake City's LDS Church Genealogical Society Library has been in operation at BYU since May 1965. The activities in genealogical research became so pronounced that by 1973 a BYU Institute for Genealogical Studies was established. The Institute has a section for academic teaching of fundamentals in genealogical research as well as advanced research. There is also a section on demography which provides training in population origins, and a professional research assistance section trains participants in Family History Services, while providing professional aid to researchers and professional services to patrons at a reasonable compensation.³⁷ BYU also hosts various family and genealogical research seminars throughout the year. In 1975, for example, the week-long Priesthood genealogical seminar was attended by about 3,000.

The opening of the Provo Temple in 1972 greatly increased the interest and activity of the BYU faculty and students in temple work. Although the temple has been in existence only four years, it already accommodates more activity than any of the other 14 temples of the Church. The temple is served without compensation by approximately

36. Belle S. Spafford, "An Evaluation of BYU Campus Relief Societies," April 1975, BYU Archives.

37. Transcribed interview of Roger Flick by Richard E. Bennett, 2 June 1975, BYU Archives, p. 1.

1,000 workers and patrons who perform nearly 1,500,000 temple ordinances each year. While students are not recruited as temple workers because it would conflict with their studies, thousands of them actively participate in Temple sessions.

Educational Guidance Center

Beginning in 1965 an Educational Admissions Guidance Center was established for the purpose of assisting college-age LDS students in selecting post-high school educational training. Depending on individual needs, students are counseled to go to BYU, to Ricks, to BYU-Hawaii campus, to state schools with strong LDS institutes, or to technical colleges.³⁸ In time the program, amplified to include career counseling, was placed under the direction of Lynn Eric Johnson. Special conferences, telelectures, addresses, and radio broadcasts in many areas of the United States and Canada advise LDS students on school selection and career opportunities. The total program of education and career counseling for the benefit of all young Latter-day Saints has been increased in recent years with the expanded use of Church service time counselors in each of the stakes of Zion, who are responsible to counsel young people about education and career choices generally, while also serving as BYU admissions advisers.³⁹

In addition to the Educational Guidance Center, BYU has suggested many other innovative ideas that have been either adopted or praised by the LDS Church. Most of these proposals have had as their goal service to all mankind as well as service to the Church.

Family Movie of the Year

From 1966 until 1968, on the initial suggestion of Jay M. Todd, formerly of the Program Bureau and currently managing editor of *The Ensign*, BYU gave a Family Movie of the Year Award in conjunction with the *Improvement Era* magazine, KSL radio and television, and the *Deseret News*, all Church-controlled operations.⁴⁰ The purpose was to present an award to the movie of the year that best expressed qualities of family unity, love, and decent personal relationships. The award went in 1966 to the "Sound of Music," in 1967 to "Follow Me Boys," and in 1968 to "To Sir with Love." The festivities usually included a student assembly and award banquet. In 1969 and immediately succeeding years no movie seemed worthy and no award was given. The program was not revived.

38. First Presidency to all presidents of missions and stakes, 5 May 1965, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

39. Lynn Johnson, "Educational Information and Guidance Center Annual Report, September 1969-August 1970," in the possession of Lynn Eric Johnson.

40. Memorandum from Jay M. Todd to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 29 December 1965, BYU Archives.

The Mormon Festival of Arts

The idea of the Mormon Festival of Arts began in 1967 among an informal group of faculty and students who met on Sunday evenings to discuss Mormon art and belief. Dale Fletcher, leader of the movement, expressed the idea that "Mormon arts should be dedicated to the upbuilding of the kingdom of God on earth."⁴¹ An address by Spencer W. Kimball at a BYU faculty conference in September 1967 added encouragement:

If we strive for perfection . . . and are never satisfied with mediocrity, we can excel. In the field of both composition and performance, why cannot the students from here write a greater oratorio than Handel's *Messiah*? The best has not yet been composed nor produced. They can use the coming of Christ to the Nephites as the material for a greater masterpiece. Our BYU artists tomorrow may write and sing of Christ's spectacular return to the American continent in power and great glory, and his establishment of the kingdom of God on the earth in our own dispensation. . . .

The story of Mormonism has never yet been written nor painted nor sculptured nor spoken. It remains for inspired hearts and talented fingers yet to reveal themselves. They must be faithful, inspired, active Church members to give life and feeling and true perspective to a subject so worthy. Such masterpieces should run for months in every movie center, cover every part of the globe in the tongue of the people, written by great artists, purified by the best critics.⁴²

With this kind of encouragement, dean Lorin F. Wheelwright and assistant dean Lael J. Woodbury, who later succeeded Wheelwright as dean of the College of Fine Arts and Communications, put into motion the plans that culminated in the first Festival of Mormon Arts in 1969. This production included art exhibits, choral and orchestral concerts, writing and publishing symposia, dramatic productions, operas, recitals, and a Mormon Arts Ball. Every year since 1969 the College of Fine Arts and Communications has sponsored the Festival with increasing participation by the entire University community.

The Performing Arts

Perhaps the most visible representatives of BYU to the outside world are the students. They have, in a number of different organizations, made important contributions to society both as examples and goodwill ambassadors.

A Cappella Choir

In 1970 the BYU A Cappella Choir under the direction of Ralph

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41. Lorin F. Wheelwright, Preface to *Mormon Arts*, Vol. 1, BYU Archives.
42. Spencer W. Kimball, "Education for Eternity," *Fall Faculty Workshop* (Brigham Young University, 12 September 1967), pp. 14-15; 18.

Woodward was the first non-Catholic choir to sing in the Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris and it did so well that it was invited to return in 1972. In fact, the choir has performed in major cathedrals throughout Europe with great success. Some of the honors gained by the choir include being named "Best International Choir" at the Linz Centennial Festival in Linz, Austria, in 1972.

An important contributor to the development of the tours to foreign lands was John G. Kinnear, an LDS convert from Rhodesia, South Africa. By carefully prepared advance promotion he succeeded in making practically all of the tours completely self-funded.

Other Groups

Other groups have also contributed to BYU's service and favorable acclaim abroad. The 1973 tour to South America of the Program Bureau's Young Ambassadors was televised on nine Latin American television stations; it was estimated that 88,000,000 viewers watched the young people from BYU.⁴³ The 1975 Lamanite Generation tour to Central and South America was described by Janie Thompson as "the most significant tour in my entire career" because of its great impact on Indian peoples.

International Folk Dancers

As ambassadors of good will, the International Folk Dancers have also made favorable impressions abroad. W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., former United States ambassador to Portugal, after seeing the International Folk Dancers appear in the Portugal National Agricultural Fair at the International Folk Festival, wrote Senator Wallace F. Bennett,

Several Portuguese groups took part in some or all of these affairs and there were groups from several European countries including Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Ireland, Italy and Spain. True to communist practice, the Bulgarians sent a highly skilled, professional group; other national groups were well coordinated and of long experience. But our young people from Brigham Young University were unquestionably the big hit. . . .

I don't think we need to worry about the broad appeal of our country for people abroad when we have outstanding representatives like the Brigham Young University group traveling and making friends.⁴⁴

After the folk dancers had toured Austria, the information coordinator of the Austrian Mission wrote,

This fine group was one of the biggest helps we've received in the missionary work in Vienna in a long time. They presented not only

43. Richard E. Bennett transcribed interview with John Kinnear, 31 January 1975, BYU Archives.

44. W. Tapley Bennett to Wallace F. Bennett, 28 June 1967, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

a great showing of dancing ability but also, and equally as important, a type of clean cut, real, down-to-earth freshness that really spotlighted the “fruits” of Mormonism.⁴⁵

The BYU Program Bureau

One of the most effective vehicles through which BYU students have served as ambassadors of good will to the world is the Program Bureau. This organization is an outgrowth of the old Public Service Bureau established in 1920 by Ernest L. Wilkinson when he was a student at BYU. Although it was originally run as a student activity function, a new dimension was added in 1951 when W. Cleon Skousen was placed in charge of University Public Relations. The program needed professional direction, and so in 1952 Janie Thompson, a BYU graduate in music, was chosen to organize the Bureau on its present basis.

Janie's name has become synonymous with Program Bureau and the enthusiasm, color, dash, youthful exuberance, and talent for which it has become famous. She was a born entertainer. While a student at BYU during World War II, she helped produce assemblies, floor shows, and musicals. After graduation she was one of 100 girls selected by the U.S. Army from throughout the United States to tour Europe and entertain the GIs overseas. She taught music professionally in Utah, California, and New York.⁴⁶ A pianist, singer, talent coach, song leader, and choreographer, Janie Thompson has been the spark plug, the inspiration, and the initiator of the Program Bureau's amazing performances which have delighted audiences around the world during the Wilkinson and Oaks administrations.

She spent her first few years in the Program Bureau in a large-scale recruiting effort aimed at increasing the BYU enrollment and improving the positive image of the school. Some idea of the prodigious amount of work Janie Thompson initiated is reflected in the fact that roughly 700 variety shows were sponsored annually. Eventually, the grueling pace began telling on Janie and after four years and 2,463 shows she resigned on 1 January 1957 with the amazing announcement that she was going to New York “to get some peace and quiet after Provo.”⁴⁷

She remained in New York for three years coaching talent shows, teaching music, and training a number of outstanding performing groups. However, she missed BYU and BYU missed her. In 1960 she returned to BYU and took over the Program Bureau where she had left off. Because of the Bureau's increased activity, she was assisted by James “Jimmy” Lawrence, former sportscaster and program director of KOVO Radio. He served for 12 years as chairman and business

45. “American Folk Dancers,” report of the 1966 Folk Dancers Tour, Program Bureau Records, p. 117.

46. Janie Thompson Biographical File, BYU Archives.

47. *Daily Universe*, 18 November 1968.

manager of the Program Bureau until he died in July 1972 from a fall in his home.⁴⁸

Although before 1960 the Program Bureau served primarily as a public relations and recruitment tool for the University, beginning that year the tone became more international, professional, and diversified. The Program Bureau troupes were often joined by the International Folk Dancers and Ballroom Dancers, and the entire world became the stage for BYU entertainers. This provided unusual international opportunities for BYU student performers and at the same time built good worldwide public relations. Between 1960 and the end of 1974, Program Bureau variety groups visited Europe 17 times, the Orient 11 times, Greenland twice, the Caribbean twice, and the Middle East, South Africa, and South America once each.⁴⁹ These tours in large part were sponsored by the Department of Defense, the Office of Cultural Presentations of the State Department, other governmental agencies, and the People-to-People Organization headed by Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Many important people responded enthusiastically to the tours. After a whirlwind tour by Curtain Time USA through Ceylon in 1965 an American official wrote,

Here in Ceylon our image of American youth is what we get only from Elvis Presley records, rock and roll, and second rate Hollywood films. We see American youth with a cigarette in one hand, a glass of alcohol in the other and highly spoiled by wealth as they race around in their flashy cars.

But this group from BYU represents the larger, finer element of American youth . . . the youth who will prevail. For they do not smoke or drink and their customs and manners . . . are of modesty and bearing.⁵⁰

That same year, Adlai Stevenson said, "I am completely captured: These glorious young people have represented superbly the ideals of my country . . . They should be sent on a nationwide tour to show Americans what Americans can do and produce."⁵¹

Theodore Burton, then president of the European Mission, said of the 1963 "Curtain Time USA" production,

The presentation last night was in the Rosengarten Hall in Mannheim [West Germany] where we had more than 700 in attendance. . . . The talent was so good and the whole presentation on such a high level that everyone was enthusiastic about it. In the past our Church has been regarded as a "back-alley sect." . . . Now

48. James H. Lawrence Biographical File, BYU Archives.

49. Richard E. Bennett transcribed interview with John Kinnear, p. 2.

50. "Program Bureau's 'Curtain Time' Receives Rave Reviews in Ceylon," *Daily Universe*, 18 March 1965.

51. "Song and Dance Goes a Long Way," *Monday Magazine*, 13 January 1975, p. 15.

this wonderful program from such a large L.D.S. University has opened up everyone's eyes. From a public relations viewpoint this tour has been a tremendous help to us.⁵²

Centennial Motto and Emblem

The emblem of the Fruitful Tree, with its accompanying motto "Love of God, Pursuit of Truth, Service to Mankind," richly symbolizes BYU's accomplishments during its first century and its commitment to greater progress during its second century. The University has maintained a balance between spiritual development, academic achievement, and humanitarian service. In so doing it has followed the admonition of the Savior: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."⁵³

Centennial Hymn

The spiritual feeling of those who celebrate the first century of Brigham Young University and share the highest aspiration of its future, join in this Centennial Hymn, composed for the commemoration by its director, Lorin F. Wheelwright:

One hundred years, a moment's time
In thy eternal day,
Yet, like a prologue of the stars
They shine to light our way.

O BYU press on, press on,
In thy prophetic role;
O lift our eyes to see the light
Of thy eternal goal.

O, help us gain eternal truth,
And pow'r to serve mankind;
O, help us give to Christ, our Lord,
Our strength, our might, our mind.

With excellence we glorify
Our loyalty to thee;
We pray, O God, to know Thy will,
To build what ought to be.

52. Theodore M. Burton to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 8 August 1963, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

53. Matthew 25:40.

42

A University of Destiny: Education for Eternity

The Mission of BYU

Since the earliest days of the Church when Joseph Smith received the first revelations concerning the establishment of a Church school system, there has never been any doubt as to the purpose and mission of the educational institutions sponsored by the LDS Church. They were to be educational institutions “at which the children of the Latter-day Saints can receive a good education unmixed with the pernicious, atheistic influences that are found in so many of the higher schools of the country.”¹ In 1888 President Wilford Woodruff reiterated the same purpose:

... the time has arrived when the proper education of our children should be taken in hand by us as a people. Religious training is practically excluded from the District Schools. The perusal of books that we value as divine records is forbidden. Our children, if left to the training they receive in these schools, will grow up entirely ignorant of those principles of salvation for which the Latter-day Saints have made so many sacrifices. To permit this condition of things to exist among us would be criminal.²

Similar expressions followed from each of the Presidents of the Church. The statements of President Spencer W. Kimball, who has been president of the LDS Church since December 1973, are representative. In a speech to the students and faculty in 1953 he said,

This institution has no justification for its existence unless it builds character, creates and develops faith, and makes men and women of strength and courage, fortitude and service — men and women who will become stalwarts in the Kingdom and bear witness of the Restoration and the divinity of the Gospel.³

1. Brigham Young to Alfares Young, 20 October 1875, Brigham Young Papers.
2. James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5 Vols. (Salt Lake City; Bookcraft, 1965-71), 3:168.
3. Spencer W. Kimball, “A Style of Our Own!” *Church News*, 28 February 1951, p. 4.

On another occasion President Kimball made it plain that BYU must prepare its students not only for this life but for all eternity:

The uniqueness of Brigham Young University lies in its special role — education for eternity — which it must carry in addition to the usual tasks of a university. This means concern — curricular and behavioral — for not only the “whole man” but for the “eternal man.” Where all universities seek to preserve the heritage of knowledge that history has washed to their feet, this faculty has a double heritage — the preserving of knowledge of men and the revealed truths sent from heaven.⁴

John A. Widtsoe, who once served on the faculty of BYU and was later president of both Utah State Agricultural College and the University of Utah, from which he was appointed to the Council of the Twelve Apostles, wrote in 1949, “There are many institutions of learning, which foster splendidly the learning gains of the centuries. But, there is only one offering full collegiate training, Brigham Young University, in which the wisdom of men is saturated and made alive with the wisdom of the gospel of Jesus Christ — the gospel restored through Joseph Smith.”⁵ Elder George Q. Morris, also a member of the Council of the Twelve, told the BYU student body on 11 January 1955, “You are attending a university that is absolutely unique in all the world. As I have said before, it is called the Brigham Young University, but it is the University of the Kingdom of God, and that is its uniqueness.”⁶

One of the most forthright statements about the mission of BYU was made by Boyd K. Packer, who later became a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, in a speech at BYU on 29 April 1969. After quoting the president of another university, also established by a religious group, who said, “We can best serve as a neutral territory — a kind of arbiter where people can come to reason,” Elder Packer commented,

This could not be said of Brigham Young University. For this University is not neutral; it is committed; it is one-sided; it is prejudiced, if you will, in favor of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

This is not a playing field where good and evil can come and joust with one another until one may win. Evil will find no invitation to contest here. This is a training ground for one team. Here you are coached and given signals preparatory for the great game, and we might say the great battle, of life. The scouts and the coaches of the opposing team are not welcome here.⁷

4. Spencer W. Kimball, *Education for Eternity* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1967), pp. 1-2.
5. John A. Widtsoe, “Commencement Day at Brigham Young University,” *The Improvement Era*, July 1949, p. 449.
6. George Q. Morris, “Church Doctrine,” *Speeches of The Year* (Brigham Young University, 1955), p. 1.
7. Boyd K. Packer, “A Dedication — To Faith,” *Speeches of The Year* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1969), p. 4.

Visions of the Fulfillment of BYU's Mission

The ultimate fulfillment of the mission of the Church and its University seems never to have been doubted by Mormon leaders. John Taylor, who succeeded Brigham Young as President of the Church, had no hesitancy in proclaiming the destiny of LDS schools. As early as 13 April 1879 he prophesied, "You will see the day that Zion will be as far ahead of the outside world in everything pertaining to learning of every kind as we are today in regard to religious matters. You mark my words, and write them down, and see if they do not come to pass."⁸

President Lorenzo Snow said of Brigham Young Academy, "It is a wonderful institution; there is nothing the like of this in the world, or ever has been since the world was formed."⁹

In thanking President Franklin S. Harris for his twenty-four years of service, President Heber J. Grant characterized BYU as "the greatest institution of learning in the world."¹⁰

In asking Ernest L. Wilkinson to become President of BYU, President George Albert Smith emphasized that it was the desire of the First Presidency to have "Brigham Young University become the greatest educational institution in the world."¹¹

During the administration of David O. McKay, the First Presidency issued a letter to all stake presidents and bishops which echoed the same thought:

Because of its combination of revealed and secular learning, Brigham Young University is destined to become, if not the largest, at least the most proficient institution of learning in the world, producing scholars with testimonies of the truth who will become leaders in science, industry, art, education, letters and government.¹²

In 1954 President McKay expressed his personal vision of the University's future: "Brigham Young University . . . now has taken its place among the leading institutions and universities of our land and . . . is destined to become the greatest Church university in the world."¹³

President Joseph Fielding Smith bore a similar testimony: "I want to see the Brigham Young University . . . the greatest school in all the

8. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 Vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1855-86), 21:100.
9. Lorenzo Snow, address given at Brigham Young Academy, March 1899, BYU Archives.
10. BYU Board of Trustees to Franklin S. Harris, 7 February 1945, Harris Presidential Papers.
11. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 9 September 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
12. The First Presidency to all stake presidents, 4 November 1957, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.
13. David O. McKay, "Response of Pres. McKay to Honors Extended at BYU," *Church News*, 18 December 1954, p. 2.

world. It ought to be because it is a school organized by and under the direction of the authorities of the . . . only church on the face of the earth, the Lord has said it, in which He is well pleased.”¹⁴

President Harold B. Lee, who succeeded Joseph Fielding Smith as President of the Church, informed the audience at the dedication of the Herald R. Clark Building on 28 March 1953 that “this building is just the first link in a chain of buildings that will be built on the campus in the next few years. These new buildings and the increased effort to furnish them with the proper instructors will make BYU the greatest university in the world.”¹⁵

Other General Authorities have made prophetic statements about the destiny of BYU. George H. Brimhall reported that Francis M. Lyman of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles said, “This school will be needed in the millennium.”¹⁶ The *Domestic Monitor*, a publication of the BYA Domestic Science Department, reported that John W. Taylor of the Council of the Twelve spoke to the students on Sunday evening, 15 December 1901, and in the course of his remarks prophesied that translated beings would visit the Academy and address the student body.¹⁷

BYU Presidents and the Destiny of BYU

The Presidents of BYU have had the same prophetic vision of the destiny of the school. During his 17 years as principal of Brigham Young Academy, Karl G. Maeser among other statements declared, “I should be ungrateful if I did not place myself on record as being conscious that the Brigham Young Academy has been a chosen instrument in the hands of the Lord God of Israel, to plant the seed for an educational system that will spread its ramifications throughout all the borders of Zion, penetrating with its benign influence every fireside of the Saints, and open to our youth the avenues to all intelligence, knowledge, and power.”¹⁸ On another occasion, when his daughter was criticizing his successor, Maeser rebuked her, saying, “That is a school of destiny, and no man can thwart its purpose.”¹⁹

As early as 1895 George H. Brimhall was so certain about the future of the school that he declared, “The school depends not on man, or any

14. Joseph Fielding Smith, “Alumni Meeting Address,” 8 April 1950, given at the Lion House, Salt Lake City, BYU Archives, p. 1.

15. Harold B. Lee, “\$425,000 Student Building Displayed,” *Church News*, 28 March 1953, p. 4.

16. George H. Brimhall, “The Founding and Growth of a Great School,” *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*, January 1926, p. 10.

17. BYA Faculty Meeting Minutes, 16 December 1901, BYU Archives.

18. Reinhard Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1928), pp. 125-26.

19. Hollis Scott, interview with Eva Maeser Crandall conducted 26 June 1964, BYU Archives, p. 37.

set of men. God planted it and we are but gardeners to take care of it.”²⁰

In a Founder’s Day address in 1923 President Franklin S. Harris declared,

Behold the greatest university campus in all the world — in embryo.

... More students will come, the faculty will be enlarged, new colleges will be added and there is no end to the improvements which can be made. Truly the campus is the setting of what will undoubtedly be “the greatest university in the world, a place to train for our leaders.”²¹

When he was criticized for purchasing additional land for the school, President Harris told his secretary, Dean A. Peterson, “I can never purchase enough land to provide for the future growth and development of this campus.”²² Even the accreditation committee of 1966, which made certain criticisms of BYU, concluded, “The University will undoubtedly earn its rightful place as one of the great universities in the United States of America.”²³

On 5 February 1971 President Wilkinson devoted an entire address to sustaining the prophetic utterance of the First Presidency that BYU “*will* become, . . . the most proficient institution of higher learning in the world.”²⁴ President Oaks joined in expressing similar faith, and added, “It will not be gained without unity and love and personal effort toward perfection.”²⁵

Making Dreams Come True

During earlier years the seemingly extravagant superlatives employed by the builders of BYU to describe its prophetic destiny must have aroused great outbursts of humorous disdain among the school’s detractors. The prophetic utterances have not yet been fulfilled in their entirety, but great strides have been made. All the various administrations have contributed to this end, despite what seemed insurmountable barriers.

20. George H. Brimhall to Benjamin Cluff, Jr., 13 December 1902, Cluff Presidential Papers.

21. “President Harris Outlines Future Plans for Young,” *Y News*, 24 October 1923.

22. Ernest L. Wilkinson, conference with Dean A. Peterson, 26 September 1974.

23. “Report of the Visitation Committee to the Commission on Higher Education of the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools on Brigham Young University, April 26-29, 1966,” Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers, pp. 71-72.

24. Ernest L. Wilkinson, “The Unique Role of BYU among Universities of America,” *Speeches of the Year* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1970), p. 3.

25. Dallin H. Oaks, “The University Community,” *Intercom* 1 (BYU Printing Service, September 1973):1:2.

The Dusenberry Administration

The founding of Brigham Young Academy in Provo rather than Salt Lake City was undoubtedly due to the educational endeavors of Warren and Wilson Dusenberry. They had founded two schools, both of which were eminently successful, even though they were financially unstable. Warren was also president of the Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret, which had to close because of lack of financial support by the parent institution. Because of his successful educational experience it was only natural that Warren was chosen as the first principal of BYA, although it was understood he would serve only until a permanent principal was appointed. To him, three financial educational failures were enough. He preferred to go into the practice of law, where he would not have to push wheelbarrows around to collect produce for tuition. He preferred the tumult and controversy of the law with its financial security to the peace of education with its financial uncertainty. After serving as principal only a few months, he recommended Karl G. Maeser as his successor.

The Maeser Administration

Maeser's administration was plagued from the beginning with insufficient funds on which to operate the school. Its only resource was the Lewis Building, which came as an endowment from Brigham Young. Young intended to provide other financial support for the school, and at the time of his death on 29 August 1877 had another deed of property for the Academy on his desk awaiting his signature. After President Young's death the school was dependent on tuition and gifts for survival. With only 29 beginning students, who paid only four dollars per term in a community with many financial problems, the outlook was bleak. Even with an average of 70 students through four successive terms the first year the tuition did not even pay Maeser's salary of \$1,200, let alone provide salaries for other faculty members or for operating the school. Thus, in the very first year of Maeser's administration it became painfully apparent that the Academy would go the way of the Timpanogos Branch if it could not recruit more students and attract the general support of Utah Stake residents. With almost superhuman effort under the leadership of Abraham O. Smoot, president of the Board of Trustees, in recruiting students and obtaining contributions from Utah County residents and the Church, the school managed to survive.

On the night of 27 January 1884 a fire of undetermined origin destroyed the entire Lewis Building. Since Brigham Young, founder and benefactor, was no longer alive to aid the school, many thought that the fire meant the end of the Academy.²⁶ Accosting Professor

26. Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred*

Maeser on the street, Reed Smoot said, "Oh, Brother Maeser, the Academy has burned." Maeser answered, "No such thing, it's only the building."²⁷

From then until 1896 the school almost went under on at least four occasions. One year the teachers taught without pay, and other years they waited long periods for their meager salaries. On 14 April 1886 Brother Maeser wrote to President John Taylor,

As all the teachers have been forced to incur debts, and the financial condition of the Academy gives them no hope of meeting their obligations, nor to support their families until the commencement of the new academic year in August, and there being even then no prospect of better times, they all will be under the necessity of seeking positions elsewhere immediately after the close of the present term.²⁸

But they survived that year, although conditions became even worse.

On 4 May 1887, clearly evidencing his discouragement and exasperation, Karl G. Maeser penned the following pathetic lines to L. John Nuttall:

The affairs of this institution are in such an unsettled condition, financially and executively, that I cannot see my way clear at any point. . . . This one point is certain that it cannot go on much longer in the way in which it has vegetated during the last two years, in as much as the teachers have no security that the institution may not have to stop in the middle of the schoolyear for lack of funds. . . . I am *worn out* and *sick in spirit*, dear Brother, about this dragging and planless condition of things, and with all my love for this Academy, I feel that I owe it to my very life, which is needlessly wearing out here in an apparently hopeless task, to accept any change that will promise to me opportunities for permanent usefulness.²⁹

At one time during these financial crises Karl G. Maeser informed his wife and daughter that because of lack of finances and sufficient money to live on he was going to accept a position at the University of Deseret. Accordingly, his wife and daughter got things packed and sat on their trunks. When the daughter finally mustered enough courage to ask her father when they were moving, his response was, "I have changed my mind. I have had a dream — I have seen Temple Hill filled with buildings — great temples of learning, and I have decided to remain and do my part in contributing to the fulfillment of that

Years, 4 Vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975-76), 1:125.

27. Ibid.

28. Karl G. Maeser to John Taylor, 14 April 1886, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

29. Karl G. Maeser to L. John Nuttall, 4 May 1887, box 1, folder 3, Karl G. Maeser Papers.

dream.” Maeser repeated this story to his family on many occasions.³⁰ During his entire administration, Maeser and his colleagues struggled to keep the institution afloat so that his dream would eventually come true.

The Cluff Administration

Cluff was plagued with financial problems and threats to the existence of BYU from the beginning of his administration in 1892. Even President Smoot, who was in ill health and had financially saved the Academy on many instances, either by his own funds or by appealing to the Brethren in Salt Lake with whom he had great influence, felt that if the stake could not pay the school’s outstanding debts the Academy would probably be removed from Utah Stake. It appeared that nothing could save the school.³¹ Plans were already being made for the establishment of a Church University in Salt Lake City which would become the center of LDS Church education and relegate BYA to a position of decreasing importance. *Circular Eight* announced that Brigham Young Academy would be authorized to carry on normal (teacher training) work only. With a \$100,000 building erected but not paid for, the BYA Board of Trustees faced bankruptcy.

As the school faced financial collapse, a rumor spread that the Catholic Church was going to buy the Academy’s property and take over the school’s operation. Except for the national financial panic of 1893, which made both the Church University in Salt Lake City and the purchase of BYA by the Catholic Church impossible, it is likely that the Church University would have become a reality, and Brigham Young University would never have come into being.

But the school still did not have funds on which to operate. Smoot arose from his death bed and made a special trip to Salt Lake City for help. He partially succeeded but died two weeks later. With the death of President Smoot, on whom both Maeser and Cluff relied for community and Church succor for the school’s continuance, most supporters gave up hope of the Academy’s survival.³²

It was at this critical juncture that, in the words of President Cluff, “one evening while returning from a walk down town and while studying deeply over the future of the Academy, the thought came to me like an inspiration: ‘give the school to the Church.’ Immediately my mind was at rest. I knew that it was the right thing to do.”³³ Although this

30. Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, Vol. 3, chapter 31.

31. Utah Stake High Council Minutes, 2 September 1892, LDS Church Historical Department.

32. Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 1:239-43.

33. Eugene L. Roberts and Mrs. Eldon Reed Cluff, “Benjamin Cluff, Jr.,” typescript history in BYU Archives, pp. 84-85.

same suggestion had been made and rejected a number of times in the past, the Board of Trustees succeeded in obtaining permission to incorporate the school on 18 July 1896. However, incorporation of Brigham Young Academy by the Church only temporarily quieted fears that BYA would be closed.

In 1892 the school had a net indebtedness of \$61,107, but the General Board of Education allocated only \$3,600 to the school for the coming year, plus \$5,000 for the Normal School. It appeared that nothing could save the school. Appropriately, the closing song at the Founder's Day Celebration of 1892 was "The Sinking Ship." The Board of Trustees, which had always been firmly united behind Maeser and influential with the authorities in Salt Lake City, had begun to weaken in effectiveness. BYA facilities were in serious need of repair. Salaries were so low that many of the leading teachers and professors were considering leaving BYA for better pay elsewhere. At one time it was actually decided to curtail certain programs at BYU and make it a "feeder" to the University of Utah. This aroused the ire of President Cluff, who did not hesitate to express himself. Because of the advent of another serious depression which also seriously impaired the financial capacity of the University of Utah, this decision was never acted on.

The Brimhall Administration

Financial crises continued throughout the Brimhall administration. There were, however, those who maintained a positive attitude and had an optimistic vision of the future. President Edwin S. Hinckley, shortly after the turn of the century, predicted that the campus of Brigham Young University would one day extend to Rock Canyon.³⁴ Counting the closely related Language Training Mission, the campus now extends nearly that distance. But Hinckley's optimism did not alter the bleak economic outlook. By 1911 the school administration had continued to spend money that it did not have until BYU's debts became a threat to its existence. But the faculty took inspiration from the fact that in 1912 the University graduated its first four-year graduating class of 18 students. The president of the class was B. F. Larsen, who later chaired the Art Department for 30 years. The students chose Alfred Kelly, a young teacher-critic in the Training School, to give the graduation speech. When Kelly was introduced, he rose and stood in silence for a moment. Some thought he had lost his power of speech. When he gained his composure, he explained that he had been much concerned over his speech, that he had written and discarded it several times.

34. J. Edward Johnson, "Edwin S. Hinckley as an Administrator," *Edwin Smith Hinckley Centennial Tributes* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1968), p. 19.

Finally one morning with a feeling of desperation he walked toward Temple Hill. He stopped to rest and think when he reached the hill top. . . .

He partially closed his eyes and was startled. He stood as if transformed. The advancing sunlight suddenly assumed the appearance of people. The trees, the bushes, the ripples on the surface of Utah lake, everything in the valley disappeared. Only people were there, young people moving toward Temple Hill. Hundreds of people, thousands of young people came into view advancing with the warm sunlight to the place where this campus is now built. . . .

The whole of the present campus was illumined beyond the power of description and Kelly saw buildings here, not homes but temples of learning, large buildings, beautiful buildings, buildings which covered the top of this hill.³⁵

At the time of this address it was contemplated that the east end of Temple Hill, where the University now stands, would be divided into lots and sold. A new subdivision of Provo City, to be named *Manavu*, had already been planned and President Brimhall had expected Kelly to sponsor the sale of these lots. But after Kelly's speech this plan was abandoned, and Temple Hill was preserved for BYU.

This did not help the school's financial worries. By 1914 the financial situation had become so acute that there were unofficial reports that the school was to be closed and moved to Salt Lake City to be consolidated with the Latter-day Saints University.³⁶ In April 1915 Reed Smoot recorded in his diary that BYU owed \$104,000 in overdue debts.³⁷ By July 1918 indebtedness had grown to \$113,500. This crisis was temporarily solved by a loan from the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, coupled with personal assistance from Jesse Knight. Having little confidence that BYU would ever be able to pay its debts, the First Presidency chose to liquidate the debts of the school in exchange for BYU's limited assets.

The Harris Administration

Despite the brilliant beginning of Harris's administration, during which he organized several colleges and it looked like the school would

35. B. F. Larsen, "Fifty Years Ago," address given at a BYU Alumni Meeting, 25 May 1962, BYU Archives, p. 4.

36. "'Uncle Jesse' Knight's Gift," *Provo Herald*, 24 September 1914: "There has been talk of consolidating this school with the LDSU and concentrating both in Salt Lake City. . . . The theory is advanced that if both schools were operated under one head there would be a greater saving of money to the Church." The editorial noted that Jesse Knight's generosity to the school would probably enable it to remain in Provo. See also "A Great University," *Provo Herald*, 15 October 1914. There was no mention of the rumored move in Church Board of Education minutes, BYU Board minutes, or in Brimhall's papers.

37. Reed Smoot, diary, 14 April 1915, BYU Library Special Collections.

come into its own, a new series of financial crises asserted themselves. On 18 March 1926 Superintendent Bennion recommended that Brigham Young University be organized on the basis of a senior college and a junior college and that the junior college be taken over by Provo City or Utah County. While he was willing that a small but eminently superior Church university should continue, he felt that “the enthusiasm to build a great Church University” should be discouraged.³⁸ In a subsequent meeting of the General Board of Education on 23 March 1926, President Grant stated that “I doubt if we will be able to maintain the higher institutions at all.” He reported that the cost of maintaining Church schools had vastly increased, but the tithing of the Church had not.

Between 1921 and 1926 President Franklin S. Harris was never quite sure of the role of BYU. While he publicly proclaimed that BYU would never close, he had internal fears. In obvious frustration he wrote John T. Wahlquist that he wished “the Brethren would tell me what they want done to the BYU — am I to starve it, am I to phase it out, or am I supposed to make it a reputable institution?”³⁹

Pessimism increased in 1928 when the General Board of Education decided “that the policy of the Church was to eliminate Church schools as fast as circumstances would permit.”⁴⁰ Between 1931 and 1934 the LDS Church turned over Weber College at Ogden, Snow College at Ephraim, and Dixie College at St. George to the State of Utah, and Gila Academy at Thatcher, Arizona, to the county in which it is located. Although enrollment at BYU rose from 1,009 in 1924 to 2,459 in 1934, appropriations from the General Board of Education remained around \$200,000 per year.

Profoundly affected by the rumors that BYU would close, Sidney B. Sperry, a member of the religion faculty, said he once awakened in the middle of the night and saw a vision of Brigham Young University in the future. He saw beautiful modern buildings extending along the entire East Bench and great crowds of people going to and from the University. He also saw a temple, seemingly indicating that BYU was going to remain a Church institution. The following morning Sperry advised a number of his colleagues of his vision and insisted that the Church was not going to give up BYU. In relating his experience Sperry said, “I know that BYU is destined to be one of the great universities in the world, and that some day we will have a Temple here.”⁴¹

38. General Board Minutes, 18 March 1926.

39. John T. Wahlquist to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 6 April 1971, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

40. General Board Minutes, 22 March 1928 and 20 February 1929.

41. Memorandum of conference between W. Cleon Skousen and Sidney B. Sperry, 1951, and memorandum of conference between Ernest L. Wilkinson and Sidney B. Sperry, 26 September 1975, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

The McDonald Administration

Even with the vision of Maeser, the prophetic prediction of Hinckley, and the visions of Kelly and Sperry, further considerations were given to the discontinuance of BYU. As late as 1945, when Howard S. McDonald was appointed president of BYU, he was asked by J. Reuben Clark to make a study to determine whether BYU should continue. He urged that the University be perpetuated and with much greater support than in the past.⁴²

The Wilkinson Administration

Even during the Wilkinson administration the suggestion was made from time to time by outsiders that by turning BYU over to the state the Church could be spared its large cost of operation. The Church leaders' firm rejection of this idea is reflected in the multi-million-dollar appropriations which have made possible the remarkable growth of BYU in buildings and educational services.

The Oaks Administration

No internal suggestion of any kind has been made concerning BYU's continuance during the Oaks administration. The only threat has been a growing challenge to BYU's independence resulting from broad regulations issued by the federal government involving all schools which have accepted any vestige of federal aid. While BYU does not accept federal aid, some of its students have availed themselves of federal loans and the government contention is that this is an acceptance of federal aid by BYU. President Oaks has responded that the school will resist this federal intrusion to the end.

Destined to Survive

In all there have been at least 21 recorded times when the BYA or BYU could have ceased to exist. The fact that it has survived for 100 years, has become the largest private university in the country, and still magnifies the spiritual mandate of its prophetic founder gives unwavering assurance that it will achieve its prophetic destiny.

The visions of Maeser, Kelly, and Sperry and the prophetic utterance of President Edwin H. Hinckley did not result in the campus now existing on Temple Hill. That was accomplished only by the perseverance and loyal sacrifices of the administration, faculty, and staff for 100 years and the vision and generosity of the Board of Trustees. Dreams and prophetic utterances are not self-executing. They are fulfilled only by righteous and devoted people making the prophecies come true.

42. Howard S. McDonald to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 6 July 1975, BYU Archives.

Contributions of Various Presidents

The founder of Brigham Young University and its eight presidents have all made their unique individual contributions to the success of the institution. President Brigham Young founded the school, gave it its first home, and chartered its course with his simple instructions to Maeser that he should not teach anything except under the inspiration of the Spirit of God. Dusenberry's contribution consisted of providing the climate in Provo for the establishment of the educational institution which eventually became BYU.

Karl G. Maeser was the master teacher and spiritual architect of BYU. Following faithfully Brigham Young's instructions, he established a religious foundation which has guided the institution over its entire 100-year history. His administration, however, would never have endured without the guidance and financial statesmanship of Abraham O. Smoot.

Although often at odds with Karl G. Maeser, Benjamin Cluff was an educational innovator who brought progressive ideas to the campus and successfully fused them with the spiritual motivation of Karl G. Maeser. Though others had failed, he persuaded Church leaders to incorporate BYU as an official subsidiary of the Church. Without this important change the future growth of BYU would have been impossible.

George H. Brimhall, who was in the good graces of both Maeser and Cluff, began building what he and others considered to be a great educational faculty. This thrust was temporarily stalled by the modernism controversy of 1911. Many erroneously thought this meant the end of BYU, but it did not, and although the school was not yet organized in the pattern of a modern university, it produced many outstanding graduates who distinguished themselves in their professions. Brimhall was an eloquent speaker and, like Maeser, moved his students and others to great accomplishments. In addition to these contributions, Brimhall was a great stabilizer of the University. Like Abraham O. Smoot during the Maeser administration, Jesse Knight came to the financial rescue of the Brimhall Administration on many occasions.

Franklin S. Harris, who served longer than any other President, was responsible for molding BYU into the beginning of a great modern university. He organized the first colleges on campus and was successful in recruiting a faculty with superior training and advanced degrees. During the lean years of the Great Depression he was successful in persuading most of them to stay on at starvation-level salaries. With his educational background (he was the first president of BYU to hold a doctor's degree), perseverance, and magnetic personality, he was able to have BYU approved by important national accrediting associations. He contributed greatly to the overall advancement of higher education

throughout Utah and was an international personality, having traveled abroad more than any other President of the school.

The four years of Howard S. McDonald's administration were times of turbulence due to the return of the veterans from World War II. In three years they increased the size of the student body fourfold. With his great energy, McDonald provided temporary housing for the new students and completely reorganized student services, making them more professional and functional. His greatest accomplishment was probably his creating an awareness among the Trustees of the need for an extensive building program. This resulted during his short administration in the construction of the Carl F. Eyring Science Center and the start of construction on the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse. This laid the groundwork for the progress made later during the administration of Ernest L. Wilkinson.

With this foundation laid by his six predecessors, coupled with the growth of the Church, improved economic conditions, and the unusual support of President David O. McKay and the Board of Trustees, Ernest L. Wilkinson made his contribution by building the nation's largest private university. Under his administration the dreams of Maeser, Hinckley, Kelly, and Sperry concerning the building of tabernacles of learning on Temple Hill became a reality. The University now has 284 permanent and 85 temporary buildings on one of the most beautiful campuses in America. Of more importance, the growth in size and quality of the student body paralleled the physical growth of the campus, as did the size and professional stature of the faculty and the intellectual standards of the University. Also during his administration, 10 LDS stakes and 104 branches were established on campus. Since then they have increased to 12 stakes and 120 branches.

President Dallin H. Oaks, who has been in office less than five years at this writing, has already left his imprint on the University. He has continued the building program of his predecessor with the enlargement of the bookstore, construction of the Law School, and the building of a new library addition equal in size to the original structure. He has also witnessed the construction by the Church of the Language Training Mission which adjoins the campus and which will draw on BYU resources to teach foreign languages to 15,000 new missionaries per year. Of equal or more importance, he has accelerated the intellectual renaissance of the faculty and is striving for perfection of performance in all areas of the University.

Each President of Brigham Young University has employed his talents in solving problems and meeting challenges peculiar to his own administration.

Prospects for the Future

Despite the struggles and near death of BYU on many occasions during the first century of its existence, the University is on its way to

fulfilling the prophetic destiny envisioned by the Presidents of the Church, various General Authorities, its eight presidents, and faithful members of the University community. Nevertheless, there is still a long way to go. The many advances which remain to be made may not require the same kind of privation as in the past, but strenuous effort, personal sacrifices, and professional dedication will continue to be required as the University moves closer to its prophetic goal.

The writers of this history make no pretense of knowing or adequately perceiving all that this University will become by the end of the second century, but even so there are certain trends which already point toward higher dimensions of future achievement.

Intensifying the Teaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ

The University must intensify its efforts to teach the gospel of Jesus Christ, which embraces all truth. In the words of William E. Berrett,

There is a noticeable hunger in the land for a vital, living religion. In this awakening religious fervor, Brigham Young University holds a unique position. BYU must represent true religion in action. There must be no equivocation or apology for offerings in the field of religion. . . . In this field BYU has a leadership which can become recognized over the world. It is especially true in this area of learning that honest men will beat a path to the doors of a University that is not ashamed of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.⁴³

The University must continue to teach that man is a child of God and has the potential to become like God. The emphasis on free agency, excellence in personal performance, service to others, the worth of hard work, and the avoidance of the dole as basic doctrines of the Church must all find expression in the programs of the University.⁴⁴ The University should always have as its objective this statement of Karl G. Maeser to President John Taylor: "There is one thing, Pres. Taylor, I will guarantee, that is, that no infidels will go from my school."⁴⁵

The Language Capital of the World

BYU will be assisted in the accomplishment of its mission by the enlargement of the Language Training Mission, which will be in full operation by the end of 1976. When construction of the Language Training Mission was approved, President Harold B. Lee prophetically stated, "The approval of this new project will have the effect of making Provo the language capital of the world, with Brigham Young

43. William E. Berrett to Ernest L. Wilkinson, received March 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

44. Memorandum from Ben E. Lewis to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 18 March 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

45. *Journal of Discourses*, 20:48.

University the focal point." He also said, "the approval of this project is not the end, it is just the beginning."⁴⁶

Religion Teacher Training

Achievement of the basic goals of the institution will require a great enlargement of its programs for the preparation of institute and seminary teachers. The tremendous growth of the institutes and seminaries in the Church will give BYU a much greater role in teacher training. During the 1974-75 year there were 498 institutes serving 73,643 students and more than a thousand seminaries serving 174,018 students. This must have top priority. Joseph Merrill, former Church commissioner of education and a member of the Quorum of the Twelve about 50 years ago, gave an address to the BYU student body shortly after the seminary system was started. He said,

The Church has established a great seminary system — the greatest one in America. A seminary system without a university to head it would be like a U.S. navy without Annapolis, without the naval academy. A navy must have officers, and officers must be trained. The Naval Academy is therefore an indispensable unit in the navy. And just so is a university an essential unit in our seminary system. For our seminary teachers must be specifically trained for their work. The Brigham Young University is our training school.⁴⁷

Since the time of Elder Merrill's address, the institute and seminary system has increased 19 times, and the opportunity and obligation of BYU to train teachers has increased proportionately.

Pioneering New Programs

Fulfilling prophetic utterances concerning BYU will require that the school be an innovator of bold, new programs. As Franklin S. Harris expressed it, the school must constantly find new ways to train leaders: "What this particular university must aim to do is to train for leadership in its highest forms: leadership in the Church itself, leadership in social affairs, leadership in business, leadership in art, leadership in citizenship, in fact leadership in all that will contribute to the betterment of the world and the happiness of its people."⁴⁸

In an address to the faculty Dallin H. Oaks said,

Brigham Young University is more than a university in the conventional sense. Its domain spans the limits of human experience,

46. Memorandum from Ben E. Lewie to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 18 March 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers. Lewis was present at the meeting.

47. Joseph F. Merrill, "Brigham Young University, Past, Present and Future," *Deseret News*, 20 December 1928.

48. "Pres.-Elect Harris Writes on Future of School," *White and Blue*, 25 May 1921.

spiritual as well as physical, practice as well as precept. . . . It is concerned with teaching the fundamentals of spiritual and secular knowledge.

That is the nature of the challenge to this University. That is the task I see you performing better than any other educational institution in the world. That is why I am honored and grateful to join your efforts.⁴⁹

Writing New Textbooks

In the past, the work load of members of the faculty and in some cases their lack of adequate professional training have often required the use of textbooks which were written for secular institutions of learning and which were not fully suited to BYU. However, the improved salary schedule and economic conditions during the Wilkinson administration gave faculty members sufficient time to begin writing texts and other books related to their fields. From 1951 to 1975, faculty members authored 831 books. Of these, 419 were textbooks in various disciplines. While this was a good beginning, it was only a start. The accomplishment of the mission of BYU will require the authorship of textbooks designed especially for BYU, Church institutes, and high school seminaries. William E. Berrett said, "In the future BYU professors must cease to be followers and launch out as leaders in their respective fields. The union of faith and science has its greatest chance at this University. Textbooks in Sociology, Archaeology, Geology, Psychology, etc., must be written with a bold new view."⁵⁰ This same idea was emphasized by Ezra Taft Benson, President of the Council of the Twelve, in an address to the student body in December 1974:

Only a Zion people can bring a Zion society. And as the Zion people increase, so we will be able to incorporate more of the principles of Zion until we have a people prepared to receive the Lord.

This means that on this campus, in due time, there will be an increasing number of textbooks written by inspired men of the Church. There will be less and less a tendency to subscribe to the false teachings of men. There will be more and more a tendency to first lay the groundwork of the gospel truth in every subject and then, if necessary, to show where the world may fall short of that standard. In due time there will be increased teaching by the Spirit of God, but that can take place only if there is a decreased promotion of the precepts of men.⁵¹

49. Dallin H. Oaks in "Naming of a New President," *Speeches of the Year* (1971), p. 6.

50. William E. Berrett to Ernest L. Wilkinson, received March 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

51. Ezra Taft Benson, "Jesus Christ — Gifts and Expectations," *Speeches of the Year* (1975), p. 305.

President Oaks gave further emphasis to this in an address which he gave to members of the faculty on 27 August 1975:

I must not leave this review of creative activities without reemphasizing my conviction that our most important creative activity is one that strengthens our effectiveness as a teaching institution. Indeed, this is the principal justification for all our research and our other creative activities. The writing of more effective textbooks is, in my view, a creative activity of vital importance, and one that has been neglected in some of our departments. I echo here and underline my total agreement with President Ezra Taft Benson's remarks last December that "on this campus, in due time, there will be an increasing number of textbooks written by inspired men of the Church. There will be less and less a tendency to subscribe to the false teachings of men."⁵² Where the textbooks available for teaching in a particular area do not measure up to the standards we desire, whether because of inadequate professional content, values inferior to our own, or because of failure to treat matters of value that we believe to be relevant for that subject matter, I urge the colleges and departments to manage their resources so that this significant omission can be repaired as soon as possible by our own scholars. Until I am formally advised to the contrary, I will assume that every academic department at BYU has both the resources and the professional qualifications to prepare its own texts where necessary.⁵³

On another occasion he told deans and department chairmen, "If you do not have faculty capable of writing texts in your field, it is your duty to help identify the poorest performers in the department, persuade them to go elsewhere, and hire faculty who can. We are a *University*, not a high school or a junior college."

Setting a New Level of Quality in the Arts

In the field of fine arts, Mormons should be able to produce dramatic, musical, and artistic productions that would inspire students and patrons of the arts to higher and more noble goals as opposed to the degrading influence of today's standards in those areas. On 27 September 1967 Spencer W. Kimball told the faculty at BYU,

For years I have been waiting for someone to do justice in recording in song and story and painting and sculpture the story of the restoration, the re-establishment of the kingdom of God on earth, the struggles and frustrations; the apostacies and inner revolutions and counter revolutions of those first decades; of the exodus; of the counter reactions; of the transitions; of the persecution days; of the plural marriage and the underground; of the miracle man, Joseph Smith, of whom we sing "Oh, what rapture filled his

52. Ibid.

53. *Brigham Young University Speeches*, 1975, p. 10.

bosom, for he saw the living God”!; and of the giant colonizer and builder, Brigham Young, by whom this University was organized and for whom it was named.

The story of Mormonism has never yet been written nor painted nor sculptured nor spoken. It remains for inspired hearts and talented fingers *yet* to reveal themselves. They must be faithful, inspired, active Church members to give life and feeling and true perspective to a subject so worthy. Such masterpieces should run for months in every movie center, cover every part of the globe in the tongue of the people, written by great artists, purified by the best critics.⁵⁴

Providing Leadership in Political and Social Sciences

In the field of humanities, BYU textbooks should have the same ennobling objectives and accomplishments as President Kimball yearned for in the fine arts. The same is true in the social sciences. Certainly, in the field of sociology BYU teachers should be able to give powerful insight into the consequences that flow from righteous as well as iniquitous practices that have existed in the civilizations of the past. In the field of political science, President John Taylor advised that “the Elders of Israel [should] understand that they have something to do with the world politically as well as religiously, that it is as much their duty to study correct political principles as well as religious.”⁵⁵ He also said, “Besides the preaching of the Gospel, we have another mission, namely, the perpetuation of the free agency of man and the maintenance of liberty, freedom, and the rights of man.”⁵⁶ The philosophy of the Presidents of the LDS Church that man should not become a pawn of a socialistic state should find expression and application in textbooks written by BYU teachers, without regard to the views of the political parties to which the authors belong.

Improving Teaching Methods

Just as the school will need to write its own textbooks, it will need to discover and institute new and more effective methods of teaching. As William E. Berrett expressed it, “With the type of students drawn to BYU, experimentation with many new methods of learning, away from the traditional lockstep methods, is not only possible but will become a must.”⁵⁷ University archivist Hollis Scott noted, “The advent of video disc, new improvements in computer science, the lazer beam,

54. Spencer W. Kimball, *Education For Eternity* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1967), p. 18.

55. *Journal of Discourses*, 9:340.

56. *Ibid.*, 23:63.

57. William E. Berrett to Ernest L. Wilkinson, received March 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

automation, and new energy sources will open up new vistas of learning and dissemination of knowledge.”⁵⁸

Continuing Education

During its second century of operation, BYU must fulfill to an even greater extent its slogan “The World Is Our Campus.” There are unlimited possibilities for Continuing Education at BYU. The program must utilize more local LDS leadership in all parts of the world, supplementing leadership from the Provo campus. According to William E. Berrett, this means organization of courses by BYU professors to be taught by local talent for college credit in many places. It must become quite different from personal correspondence courses (which should be continued) and quite different from the “Semester Abroad” programs, which to date have been composed mainly of BYU students. The program would involve an expansion of services similar to those offered in BYU off-campus centers.⁵⁹

Expansion of the role of Continuing Education will accommodate national trends: “Recent government statistics show that between 1969 and 1972, the rate of increase in numbers of collegiate part-time students was three and one-half times as great as for full-time students. In 1972, 57.5 percent of all postsecondary students were attending school on a part-time basis.”⁶⁰

In the opinion of Dean A. Peterson, administrative assistant to President Oaks, “Many additional overseas BYU Centers should be established to help fill worldwide educational needs. BYU will be a world center of excellence.”⁶¹

Executive vice-president Ben Lewis is enthusiastic about the prospects for BYU’s Continuing Education program:

The work of our University professors through the organization of Continuing Education in developing programs and taking them to the people where the end product is to teach them to read and write is having remarkable results. The teaching of English as a second language will provide means for communication which should help people to have greater understanding and to live at peace with each other.⁶²

58. Memorandum from Hollis Scott to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 25 March 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

59. William E. Berrett to Ernest L. Wilkinson, received March 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

60. Memorandum from Stanley A. Peterson to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 20 March 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

61. Memorandum from Dean A. Peterson to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 1 April 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

62. Memorandum from Ben E. Lewis to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 18 March 1975, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers.

Ezra Taft Benson Agriculture and Food Institute

On 23 September 1975 Brigham Young University announced the establishment of the Ezra Taft Benson Agriculture & Food Institute "... to raise the quality of life through improved nutrition and enlightened agricultural practices." The institute "will promote research and teaching that will improve the quality and quantity of food and fiber and thus fill the needs of hungry, undernourished, and poorly clothed people throughout the world."⁶³

Based on the inspired programs of the church that founded and maintains BYU, the Agriculture and Food Institute will assist the countries of the world in making better use of their agricultural resources to feed a growing population without restricting the size of individual families. The Institute will support the words of the Lord as reflected in the words of President Benson in a speech given on 23 September 1975 when the Institute was named for him:

Throughout the world — and I have seen most of it — there are vast resources waiting to be used for the betterment of mankind. *The objective of this institute is to use the human, physical, and spiritual resources of BYU to help the people of the world help themselves improve their quality of life.* In so doing, it is well to remember what the Lord has said in regard to the way this should be done. These statements are the basis of the Church Welfare Program:

"For the earth is full, and there is enough and to spare; yea, I prepared all things, and have given unto the children of men to be agents unto themselves.

"Therefore, if any man shall take of the abundance which I have made, and impart not his portion, according to the law of my gospel, unto the poor and the needy, he shall, with the wicked, lift up his eyes in hell, being in torment" (D&C 104:17-18).

"... if ye are prepared, ye shall not fear" (D&C 38:30).

"That through my providence, notwithstanding the tribulation which shall descend upon you, that the church may stand independent above all other creatures beneath the celestial world" (D&C 78:14).

The institute will be an agency of experimentation whereby the agricultural resources of the various lands can be evaluated, new technology applied, nutritional needs studied. Then, the beneficial results of this research can be implemented at the proper time through the worldwide priesthood channels of the Church, correlated through existing developing welfare services programs.

In this manner, the delivery system for these programs will enjoy the effectiveness of the priesthood leadership throughout the world. The people will be taught to help themselves. And that is a vital part of God's plan.⁶⁴

63. "Y Food Institute Created to Fill Wide Church Needs," *Daily Universe*, 24 September 1975.

64. The philosophy of President Benson is supported by Philip F. Low,

Better Opportunities for Women

Brigham Young University has always been a leader in providing educational opportunities for women. Anticipating modern educational thought, the school provided coeducational training from its beginning. Brigham Young declared that if he had to choose between educating his daughters and his sons, he would choose to educate his daughters, for they would have the most influence in training the rising generations.⁶⁵

Over the years, women have been admitted to all the academic programs on the BYU campus. Women have graduated in agriculture, animal husbandry, and preveterinary programs. Except where donors have placed certain restrictions on their gifts, all scholarships and grants are now open to women as well as men. Surprisingly enough, women were participating in intercollegiate athletics at BYU before men. At the present time there are more single women on the BYU campus than single men. Women are also employed along with men on the building and grounds crew. While women students at BYU are taught that their most important mission in life is to be mothers and raise a Christian family, they are also given vocational and professional training to enrich their family activities and provide them with marketable skills. As President Dallin H. Oaks has observed,

One of the most important purposes of a university education is to prepare men and women to be responsible and intelligent leaders and participants in the life of their families, in their Church and in their communities. That kind of education is needed by young men and women alike. . . . We make no distinction between young men and young women in our conviction about the importance of an education and in our commitment to providing that education.”⁶⁶

Professor of Agronomy at Purdue University, who has written, “There are about 7.8 billion acres of potentially arable (cultivable) land in the world, of which more than half, about 4.4 billion acres, are not yet cultivated (President’s Science Advisory Committee, 1967: 405-69; Kellogg and Orvedal, 1968: 14-17). These figures are conservative and do not include land that could be brought under cultivation if desalinized sea water or soil-warming systems were available (Howard M. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, and Darwin L. Thomas, *Population, Resources and the Future* [Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1972], p. 65).

In Dr. Low’s view, “The technology exists or can be developed to produce enough food for the world’s people both now and in the foreseeable future. The real question is whether or not we will take advantage of this technology. In other words, providing food for all mankind is more a matter of will than of ability”; *Ibid.*, p. 78.

65. *Deseret News*, 1 October 1975.

66. Dallin H. Oaks, “Statement on the Education of Women at Brigham Young University,” 9 September 1975, BYU Archives.

With the added attention now being given to women, BYU will undoubtedly originate many programs of special interest to them.

Scientific Goals

In earlier years the University did not have the funds for proper scientific research, and until the advent of the Carl F. Eyring Center in 1950 there were very few facilities. At its dedication, Dean Eyring commented that within that very building some student might discover the cure for leukemia, from which Eyring was slowly dying at the time (he passed away on 3 January 1951). Now practically all areas of science and engineering have good laboratory facilities at BYU.

School of Social Work

While the matter was never resolved by formal action, the Board of Trustees at one time during the Wilkinson administration favored the establishment of a college of social work — one whose graduates would exemplify the standards and ideals of the Church in this area; to rely more on self, the family, and Church rather than the government. Because of other commitments and a lack of trained persons in the Church available at that time to serve on the faculty, no action was taken on the establishment of this school. But with the increased reliance by other schools of social service on the government, it is possible that consideration may be given to this at some other time unless it is felt that an Institute of Behavioral Sciences or some other educational program will better serve the purpose of the Church.

Improved Moral and Intellectual Standards

The editors of this Centennial History think it is safe to say that the moral and intellectual climate of the University has continually improved during the school's first 100 years and during the University's next 100 years will undoubtedly continue to improve and refine itself. Ezra Taft Benson told the student body in December 1974, "There is certain music heard and art seen and clothes worn on this campus that must pass away — not because the styles change but because our standards will be improved."⁶⁷ William E. Berrett echoed the same thought:

BYU in the future will become more and more distinctive as to its student body. The contrast with other universities as to moral standards will become more marked. With the screening of admissions made possible by the curtailment of numbers, the intellectual level of BYU students should gain national and international recognition.⁶⁸

67. Ezra Taft Benson, "Jesus Christ — Gifts And Expectations," *Speeches of the Year*, 1975, p. 306.

68. William E. Berrett to Ernest L. Wilkinson, received March 1975, Ernest

In 1952, shortly before his death, John A. Widtsoe wrote in his book *In A Sunlit Land*, "If the B.Y.U. fulfills its destiny it will more and more draw students from the whole world to seek revealed truth and worthwhile practical knowledge. Its message must be given to all people. The B.Y.U. must look up to the skies; it must have the courage to challenge, if needs be, the whole world."⁶⁹

Views of President Oaks as to Future

In a recent memorandum, President Dallin H. Oaks gave his views about the future of BYU:

As I look ahead to the Second Century of BYU, and feel the momentum and direction of present growth, I see the University holding to its present spiritual and educational ideals, and increasing its effectiveness in the education of our young people. But the most important growth in the stature and performance of the University in the Second Century will be in the area of research and creative work — pushing back the frontiers of knowledge, especially in areas of preeminent importance for the Church and Kingdom of God. The Wilkinson administration took the first steps toward that goal in building the physical plant, strengthening the faculty, and beginning the creation of several special research entities to encourage faculty creative work and to provide an administrative organization to manage that work apart from the formal academic departments and colleges, though the relations with those departments and colleges must remain close. Thus, the formation of the Research Division was an extremely important step. We took a further step in that direction by naming Leo Vernon as an Assistant Academic Vice President for Research, and by establishing a pattern in which our various research entities — especially those whose operations affect more than one college — report to Vernon on their research activities. [Wilkinson's] establishment of the Center for Business and Economic Research, the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies (just being established as I became president), and the Language Research Center were examples of the early development of research entities. . . .

The establishment of the Law School, which bridged our administrations, is another event of immense importance in terms of the research and creative role of Brigham Young University in the Second Century. I have always believed that the role of the Law School in assembling a faculty and stimulating top legal scholarship by persons spiritually committed to our form of government and to the interests of the Kingdom of God would turn out to be just as important as a contribution to our government and the

L. Wilkinson Papers.

69. John A. Widtsoe, *In a Sunlit Land* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1952), p. 96.

Kingdom as its role in training the graduates of the Law School. I see the Law School as a giant research institute in law.

President Oaks then proceeds in a modest way to enumerate some of the research activities initiated in his short administration:

The Institute of Ancient Studies was organized to provide a focus for scholarship on ancient documents of great religious significance.

The Center for Religious Studies has just been formed to give better coordination and focus to the activities previously carried on by the Institute of Mormon Studies and the Book of Mormon Institute, which were established during the Wilkinson administration, and to the Richard L. Evans Chair of Christian Understanding, established during my administration.

A Family Research Center was established about two years ago in connection with the College of Social Sciences and the College of Family Living in order to provide research in the institution and structure of the family and other family-related topics.

The Graduate School of Management will provide a special research focus that will provide in the field of management (of obvious importance to the increasingly complex and worldwide Church) the same kind of research impetus that the Law School will provide in its sphere. . . .

During the past year we approved and announced a Center for Communications Research, which will sponsor basic research into the theory and practice of communication of ideas, not just across cultures (as some aspects of the Language Research Center do) but within a common culture.

We have just obtained Trustee approval of . . . an Institute of Education, to be established in connection with the College of Education . . . to serve as an organizational vehicle and stimulus for research into the theory of learning and the practice of teaching with special emphasis on the teaching of moral values, and also to serve as an organizational home for certain activities . . . dealing with instructional research, evaluation, and testing.

We are currently giving some serious administrative consideration to . . . some type of Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences. This would serve as a focus for the kind of basic behavioral research that we need in order to provide the scientific basis and experience necessary to construct and use a unique Mormon approach to human behavior, which would have immense ramifications in the teaching and practice of many disciplines.⁷⁰

70. It is obvious that the editor of this history is pleased with the views of President Oaks, for as a young student editor some 55 years ago the editor wrote in the *White and Blue*, which was then the student newspaper,

Brigham Young University should be the great Church laboratory for social . . . work. The scope of social service work should be

President Spencer W. Kimball's Second Century Address

On 10 October 1975 the principal address commemorating the founding of Brigham Young University was given by President Spencer W. Kimball at the Centennial Founder's Day Convocation. President Kimball reiterated the Latter-day Saint belief in education by quoting from the founder of this institution:

Learn everything that the children of men know, and be prepared for the most refined society upon the face of the earth, then improve on this until we are prepared and permitted to enter the society of the blessed — the holy angels, that dwell in the presence of God.⁷¹

Making it plain that this education must be well-rounded, President Kimball said:

We do not want BYU ever to become an educational factory. It must concern itself with not only the dispensing of facts, but with the preparation of its students to take their place in society as thinking, thoughtful, and sensitive individuals who, in paraphrasing the motto of your Centennial, come here dedicated to love of God, pursuit of truth, and service to mankind.⁷²

Stressing the divine responsibility of the faculty at BYU, he stated:

The faculty has a double heritage which they must pass along: the secular knowledge that history has washed to the feet of mankind with the new knowledge brought by scholarly research — but also the vital and revealed truths that have been sent to us from heaven. . . .

Your double heritage and dual concerns with the secular and the spiritual require you to be "bilingual." As LDS scholars you must speak with authority and excellence to your professional

enlarged and the entire population of the Church should be influenced directly by what the school is doing. The best teachers in the Church — experts in different lines of work — should be brought here to reinforce the now loyal faculty. If the Church wants scientific and authoritative treatises of its social and other problems, it should then submit them to the heads of the various departments for investigation. In this way the Church, as a whole, as well as Y students, would reap direct benefits (*White and Blue*, 5 January 1921).

Whether these institutes will fulfill the objectives suggested by the young editor of the *White and Blue* 55 years ago, or the more sophisticated and meaningful proposals of President Oaks today, time only will tell. There may be other programs which will be originated by the First Presidency and General Authorities which will be much more productive in achieving the ultimate destiny of BYU.

71. Spencer W. Kimball, *Second Century Address* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), p. 5.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

colleagues in the language of scholarship, and you must also be literate in the language of spiritual things.⁷³

Placing great emphasis on the Christian uniqueness of the University, he declared,

We expect . . . that Brigham Young University will “become a leader among the great universities of the world.” To that expectation I would add, Become a unique university in all the world! . . .⁷⁴

This University is not of the world any more than the Church is of the world, and it must not be made over in the image of the world.⁷⁵

Making it plain that the faculty must be men of faith, he quoted from President John Taylor:

Whatever you do, be choice in your selection of teachers. We do not want infidels to mold the minds of our Children. They are a precious charge bestowed upon us by the Lord, and we cannot be too careful in rearing and training them. I would rather have my children taught the simple rudiments of a common education by men of god, and have them under their influence, than have them taught in the most abstruse sciences by men who have not the fear of God in their hearts.⁷⁶

Referring directly to the educational objective which BYU must envision for the future, he urged that it strive to become “an Educational Everest”:

There are many ways in which BYU can tower above other universities — not simply because of the size of its student body or its beautiful campus — but because of the unique . . . glow, for while you will do many things in the programs of this University that are done elsewhere, *these same things can and must be done better here than others do them. You will also do some special things here that are left undone by other institutions.*⁷⁷

Applying this to the curriculum of the University, he urged that BYU

. . . become the last remaining bastion of resistance to the invading ideologies that seek control of curriculum as well as classroom. We do not resist such ideas because we fear them, but because they are false.⁷⁸

As the need for work, industry, and patience in pursuit of excellence continues on this campus and elsewhere in the Church Educational System, President Kimball commented,

73. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

74. Ibid., p. 11.

75. Ibid., p. 3.

76. Ibid., p. 5.

77. Ibid., p. 1.

78. Ibid., p. 2.

... we must remember the great lesson taught to Oliver Cowdery who desired a special outcome — just as we desire a remarkable blessing and outcome for BYU in the second century. Oliver Cowdery wished to be able to translate with ease and without real effort. He was reminded that he erred, in that he ‘took no thought save it was to ask’ (D&C 9:7). We must do more than ask the Lord for excellence. Perspiration must precede inspiration; there must be effort before there is excellence. We must do more than pray for these outcomes at BYU, though we must surely pray. We must take thought. We must make effort. We must be patient. We must be professional. We must be spiritual. Then, in the process of time, this will become the fully anointed University of the Lord about which so much has been spoken in the past.⁷⁹

President Kimball emphasized the need for linguists:

One peak of educational excellence that is highly relevant to the needs of the Church is the realm of language. BYU should become the acknowledged language capital of the world in terms of our academic competency and through the marvelous “laboratory” [the Language Training Mission] that sends young men and women forth to service in the mission field. . . . There is no reason why this University could not become the place where, perhaps more than anywhere else, the concern for literacy and the teaching of English as a second language is firmly headquartered in terms of unarguable competency as well as deep concern.⁸⁰

Referring to the loss of freedom by many universities because of their reliance on the government for monetary support, President Kimball stated,

Too many universities have given themselves over to such massive federal funding that they should not wonder why they have submitted to an authority they can no longer control. Far too many no longer assume that nations are responsible to heaven for the acts of the state. Far too many now see the Rights of Man as merely access rights to the property and money of others, and not as the rights traditionally thought of as being crucial to our freedom.

He noted that the labors of the past were not sufficient:

It will take just as much sacrifice and dedication to preserve these principles in the second century of BYU, and even more than were required to begin this institution in the first place — when it was once but a grade school, and then an academy supported by a stake of the Church. If we were to abandon our ideals, would there be any left to take up the torch of some of the principles I have attempted to describe?⁸¹

As in other addresses he has made, he therefore urged the administra-

79. Ibid., p. 8.

80. Ibid., p. 9.

81. Ibid., pp. 7-8.

tion, faculty, and students to lengthen their stride, quicken their pace, and continue their journey for “dreams are never self-executing.”

He predicted that “there will rise brilliant stars in drama, literature, music, sculpture, painting, science, and in all the scholarly graces. This University can be the refining host for many such individuals who will touch men and women the world over long after they have left this campus.”⁸² He quoted Brigham Young as stating there is “no music in hell,” from which he insisted that our art must be the kind which edifies man, which takes into account his immortal nature, and which prepares us for heaven, not hell.⁸³

To achieve the University’s purposes in the second century he warned that BYU must be patient, because, just as the City of Enoch took decades to reach its pinnacle of performance, which the Lord described as occurring “in the process of time” (Moses 7:21), so the quest for excellence at BYU must also occur “in the process of time.”⁸⁴

He urged also that to accomplish its objectives BYU must be kept free as a university; that our state and federal governments and our people are better served by free colleges and universities than by institutions that are compliant out of fears over funding. Observing the rights of men and the concept that a nation is responsible to heaven for its acts are now being shifted to universities, and Kimball asserted the latter are losing their control of what should be our educated aspirations.

Quoting President Wilkinson that “attendance at BYU is a privilege and not a right, and . . . students who attend must expect to live its standards or forfeit the privilege,”⁸⁵ President Kimball noted that “because fewer [in percentage of total Church membership] will attend BYU [in the future], its obligation will be greater,” and that many of its objectives are “hidden from our immediate view” and will be until “we have climbed the hill just before us.”⁸⁶

He assured his audience that the Church will continue to make greater use of BYU. Finally, he also noted the institution cannot escape its rendezvous with history as stated by John Taylor:

You will see the day that Zion will be as far ahead of the outside world in everything pertaining to learning of every kind as we are today in regard to religious matters. You may mark my words, and write them down, and see if they do not come to pass.⁸⁷

President Kimball made it plain that suggestions given in the right spirit are always welcome,

82. Ibid., p. 4.

83. Ibid., p. 9.

84. Ibid., p. 4.

85. Ibid., p. 7.

86. Ibid., p. 9.

87. Ibid., p. 6.

We want, through your administration, to receive all your suggestions for making BYU even better. I hope none will presume on the prerogatives of the prophets of God to set the basic direction for this University. No man comes to the demanding position of the Presidency of the Church except his heart and mind are constantly open to the impressions, insights, and revelations of God. No one is more anxious than the Brethren who stand at the head of this Church to receive such guidance as the Lord would give them for the benefit of mankind and for the people of the Church. Thus, it is important to remember what we have in the revelations of the Lord: "And thou shalt not command him who is at thy head, and at the head of the Church" (D&C 28:6).⁸⁸

With these solemn guideposts by the living prophet who is also chairman of the Board of Trustees, Brigham Young University now moves into its second century with every expectation of demonstrating, through prayer, humility, faith, and performance, that it will measure up to the prophetic utterances made in its behalf.⁸⁹

88. Ibid., p. 3.

89. The entire Centennial Address of President Kimball is printed in the appendices to Volume 4, *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years* (BYU Press, 1975).

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The montage on the end sheets represents some of the outstanding presidents of the Board of Trustees; Principal Maeser, the spiritual architect of the institution; members of the Council of the Twelve who have had special connections with or made special contributions to BYU; alumni who have distinguished themselves as statesmen; presidents of universities; women who have made unusual contributions to the Church; educational administrators; superlative teachers; and, to make it complete, a very limited number of representative students.

A montage of this kind omits many individuals who have made great contributions to BYU equal to some of those portrayed, whom the editors would have liked to have included but could not because of space. This the editors profoundly regret, and hope the readers will understand.

Left Side — Names listed by row, left to right, top to bottom:

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Clarence Robison — BYU Olympic athlete, outstanding track coach
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David P. Gardner — BYU student, president of the University of Utah
Hugh Nibley — renowned BYU scholar of ancient scriptures
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Row 3

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William E. Berrett — dependable BYU and Church Schools administrator
Harvey L. Taylor — BYU vice-president and chancellor of Church schools

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B. T. Higgs — longtime BYU superintendent of buildings, maintenance and grounds
Henry Blood — former governor of Utah

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Todd Britsch — captain of BYU college bowl team
Don B. Colton — Commercial College graduate in 1895, Congressman from Utah
Ben E. Lewis — executive vice-president under Wilkinson and Oaks
E. L. Roberts — architect of the BYU athletic program

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B. F. Larsen — noted artist and skilled instructor
Nettie Neff Smart — dean of women for many years
David O. McKay — President of the Board of Trustees, staunch supporter of BYU
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Karl G. Maeser — spiritual architect of Brigham Young Academy
George Sutherland — early BYA student, Associate Justice on the U.S. Supreme Court

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Kathryn B. Pardoe — great supporter of fine arts at BYU, longtime teacher
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Ernest L. Wilkinson, Editor

Ernest L. Wilkinson received his A.B. from BYU, his J.D. from George Washington University Law School, and his S.J.D. from Harvard Law School. He practiced with the New York City law firm headed by Charles Evans Hughes, who became Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and during the same time was professor of law at New Jersey Law School. He later practiced law in Washington, D.C., organizing the firm of Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, which is still practicing and has a staff of about 40 lawyers, and although inactive in the day-to-day practice of that firm, he is still carried as senior partner. He was President of Brigham Young University from 1951 to 1971, during which time it witnessed its greatest growth, and is now President Emeritus of BYU. Since resigning as President in August, 1971, he has been engaged in editing this one-volume history and also a four-volume documentary history entitled *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*.



**W. Cleon Skousen,
Associate Editor**

W. Cleon Skousen, author of 19 books, was educated in Canada, Mexico, and the United States; received his J.D. from George Washington University and served in the FBI for 16 years before coming to BYU in 1951. He served as secretary of the Alumni Association, Director of Public Relations, and a teacher of speech; served from 1956-1960 as chief of police of Salt Lake City; from 1960 to present as editor of *Law and Order Magazine*, the leading magazine on law and order in the U.S. Between 1960 and 1967, when persuaded by President McKay to return to BYU, he gave approximately 300 addresses each year on governmental and religious subjects; he has conducted lectures and tours in 44 foreign countries, and has spoken on more than 100 campuses across the U.S. He is presently professor of Ancient Scripture, teaching approximately 1,000 students each semester.

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